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OF

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OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*The Apology of Al Kindy. An Essay on its Age and Authorship.* By Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

AL BÎRÛNI, in his *Vestiges of Ancient Nations*, written A.D. 1000 (A.H. 390), while describing the customs of the Sabeans, cites the authority of *Ibn Ishâc al Kindy, the Christian*, in these words:

"Likewise Abd al Masîh ibn Ishâc al Kindy, the Christian, in his reply to the Epistle of Abdallah ibn Ismaîl al Hâshimy, relates of them (the Sabeans) that they are notorious for Human sacrifice, but that at present they are not able to practise openly the same." [1]

A work answering the above description has recently been published by the Turkish Mission Aid Society, in Arabic, under the following title: *The Epistle of Abdallah ibn Ismaîl al Hâshimy to Abd al Masîh ibn Ishâc al Kindy, inviting him to embrace Islam; and the Reply of Abd al Masîh, refuting the same, and inviting the Hâshimite to embrace the Christian Faith.*

The book, we learn from a Note at the end, was printed from two MSS. obtained, one in Egypt, the other in Constantinople. Neither has the name of the copyist, nor the year of transcription. They are both said in this note, to be full

[1] *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 187, by Dr. Sachau, London, 1879.
وكذلك حكي عبد المسيح بن اسحاق الكندي النصاري عنهم (اي الصابئه) في جوابه عن كتاب عبد الله بن اسماعيل الهاشمي انهم يعرفون بذبح الناس ولكن ذلك لا يمكنهم اليوم جهرا.

of errors and discrepancies. But the book has been edited with care and intelligence, and as a whole may be regarded as a correct reproduction of the original. The editor certainly deserves great credit for the way in which the task is executed. I proceed to give a brief account of the work.

The letters, themselves anonymous, are preceded by a short preface:

"*In the Name of* GOD, *the* ONE, *the* ETERNAL.

"It is related that in the time of ABDALLAH AL MÂMÛN, there lived a man of Hâshimite descent, and of Abbasside lineage, nearly related to the CALIPH. The same was famed, among high and low, for devotion to Islam, and the careful observance of all its ordinances. This person had a friend, learned and virtuous, endowed with the gifts of culture and science, of pure and noble descent from the BENI KINDA, and distinguished for his attachment to the Christian faith. The same was in the service of the Caliph, and nigh unto him in honour and dignity. Now these two men had a mutual love, and an implicit trust in the friendship of each other. AL MÂMÛN, Commander of the Faithful, moreover, and his whole Court, were aware of it. But we are averse from mentioning their names, lest it should do harm. The HÂSHIMITE wrote to the Christian a letter, of which this is a copy." [1]

[1] I subjoin the Arabic text:

بسم الله الواحد الصمد

ذكر انه كان في زمن عبد الله المامون رجل من نبلاء الهاشميين واخلنه من ولد العباس قريب القرابة من الخليفة معروفٌ بالنسك والورع والتمسك بدين الاسلام وشدة الاغراق فيه والقيام بفرائضه وسننه مشهورٌ بذلك عند الخاصة والعامة وكان له صديق من الفضلاء ذو ادب وعلم كنديّ الاصل مشهور بالتمسك بدين النصرانية وكان في خدمة الخليفة وقريبًا منه مكانا فكانا يتوادّان ويتحابّان ويثق كل منهما بصاحبه وبالاخلاص له وكان امير المؤمنين المامون وجماعة اصحابه والمتصلون به قد عرفوهما بذلك وكرهنا ان نذكر اسميهما لعلة من العلل فكتب الهاشمي الي النصراني كتابًا هذه نسخته.

The Hâshimite's letter follows immediately on this. He reminds his friend that he is himself well versed in the Scriptures, and in the practices and doctrines of the various Christian sects; and he proceeds to explain the teaching of Islam, and to press its acceptance on him. He begs of his friend to reply without fear or favour, and promises the guarantee of the Caliph that no harm should befall him for any freedom of speech in discussing the merits of their respective faiths. The reply of Al Kindy is introduced thus:

And the Christian answered him:

IN THE NAME OF GOD MOST MERCIFUL!

O Lord make my task easy: let it not be hard: and fulfil the same with thy blessing.

"To N—, son of N—, from M—, son of M—, the least of the servants of the Messiah. Peace, Mercy, and Grace be upon thee, and upon all mankind! Amen."

And thereupon he proceeds to take up his friend's arguments, point by point.

The Moslem's letter occupies only twenty-two pages; Al Kindy's reply the remaining 142. While our Apologist speaks respectfully of the person of Mahomet, he vigorously denounces his claims as a prophet, and attacks the whole system of Islam with uncompromising severity. The latter part of the Apology is devoted to the proofs of Christianity, and our Saviour's life and teaching. The reasoning is not, to our ideas, uniformly sound; nor are the facts (throughout deeply tinged with Alyite and Abbasside tendencies), especially those connected with the life of the Prophet and the early Caliphate, always accurate. But upon the whole the argument is conceived with great ability and force, and the language throughout is flowing, rich, and eloquent. Many passages, in particular the philippic on Jehâd and Martyrdom, are singularly powerful and impassioned. It is clear that the Apology can have proceeded from the pen of no ordinary scholar.

There is no doubt that this book is substantially the same as that referred to by Al Bîrûni. At page 26 will be found

the passage quoted by him as noticed at the beginning of this paper. Our Apologist there writes:

"We know from the Book of Genesis that Abraham lived with his people four-score years and ten, in the land of Harrân, worshipping none other than Al Ozza, an idol famous in that land, and adored by the men of Harrân under the name of the Moon, which same custom prevails among them to the present day. They conceal no part of their ancestral practices, save only the sacrifice of human beings. They cannot now offer up human sacrifices openly; but they practise the same in secret."[1]

In the brief Preface, it will have been observed that the correspondence is said to have taken place at the Court of AL MÂMÛN (198–218 A.H.). At the close of the Egyptian MS. is the following Note:

"It is related that the subject of these two Epistles reached the ears of Al Mâmûn; whereupon he sent for them, and had them both read to him without stopping, from beginning to end. He then declared that he had no ground for interference, nor any cause against the Christian apologist. There are (added the Caliph) two religions—one for this world, the MAGIAN, following the precepts of Zoroaster; the other for the world to come—the CHRISTIAN, following the precepts of the Messiah. But the true religion is that of the UNITY taught by our Master. That verily is the religion which serveth both for this life and the next."—p. 165.

This note is wanting in the Constantinople MS. It is no doubt an addition to the Treatise as originally put forth; but of what antiquity and authority there is no ground for saying.

It is otherwise with the short Preface, which is the same in both MSS., and probably formed the Introduction to the Discussion as it at first appeared. Excepting, however, that it gives the name of the Caliph, the preface adds nothing to what we gather from the Epistles themselves of the person-

[1] لا يكاتمون بها ولا يسترون منها شيئًا غير القرابين التي يتخذونها من الناس فان ذبح الناس لا يتهيّأ لهم اليوم جهرًا بل يحتالون فيه فيفعلون سرًا.

ality of the disputants, namely, that both lived at the Court of the Caliph; that the Mahometan was the cousin of the Caliph, a Hâshimite of Abbasside lineage; and that the Christian was a learned man at the same Court, of distinguished descent from the tribe of the Beni Kinda, and held in honour and regard by Al Mâmûn and his nobles. But the names and further identification of the disputants are withheld, from motives of prudence,—"in case it might do harm."

From the passage in Al Bîrûni, however, it is evident that in his time (390 A.H.) the Discussion was currently received under the title, "The Reply of Abd al Masîh *Ibn Ishâc* al Kindy, to the Epistle of Abdallah *ibn Ismaîl* al Hâshimy." The epithets Abdallah and Abd al Masîh are of course *noms de plume*. It is possible that the other names (in italics) are so also;—Isaac and Ishmael symbolizing the Christian and Moslem antagonists.

Whether this be so or no, the name of *Ibn Ishâc al Kindy* has occasioned the surmise in some quarters that our Apologist was the same as the famous "Philosopher of Islam," Abu Yûsuf ibn Ishâc al Kindy, who also flourished at the Court of Mâmûn and his Successor. There can, however, be little or no doubt that the famous Al Kindy was a Mahometan by profession. As a *Failsûf*, or philosopher, he was, it may be, not a very orthodox professor; but, at any rate, there is no reason to suppose that he had any leaning towards Christianity: on the contrary (as we shall see below), he wrote a treatise to refute the doctrine of the Trinity. His father, or grandfather, was governor of Kûfa, a post that could be held by none other than a Mahometan; and Al Ashâth, the renowned chief of the Beni Kinda, who was converted in the time of Mahomet, and married Abu Bekr's sister, is said to have been his ancestor; whereas our Apologist glories in his Christian ancestry.

On the philosopher Al Kindy, de Sacy gives us an interesting note. After showing that D'Herbelot was mistaken in calling him a Jew,[1] and citing the authority of Abul Faraj and Ibn Abi Oseiba for regarding him as a Mussul-

[1] On this, see notes in Slane's Ibn Khallicân, vol. i. pp. xxvii and 355.

man, he mentions three considerations which might be urged against this view. *First:* In the catalogue of his writings there is none relating to the Coran or to Islam. *Second:* Al Kindy was one of the translators of Aristotle, familiar with Greek and Syriac; and men of that stamp were mostly Christians. *Third:* In the Bibliothèque Impériale there is a MS. (257) entitled A Defence of the Christian Religion (apparently identical with our Apology), written in Syriac characters, but in the Arabic language, the author of which is named *Yácûb Kindi.*

"Of these objections (continues de Sacy) the last alone merits attention; but it may be met by these counter-considerations. In the Preface the author is not named. The work is only said to have been written by a person attached to the court of Al Mâmûn, a Christian of Kindian descent. It is called 'The Treatise of Al Kendy, *the Jacobite.*'[1] It is most likely by a misunderstanding, or with the view of increasing thereby the value of the work, that it has been ascribed to the authorship of Yácûb Kindy. This suspicion acquires greater force, as in the catalogue of Syrian writers, written by Ebed Jesu, we find a certain Kendi named as the author of a religious treatise; and the Kendi in question (the same without doubt as the writer of our Syrian MS. (257), or at least whose name has been assumed as such) lived, according to an historian cited by Assemanus, about 890 A.D. (280 A.H.), a date to which it is little likely that Yacub Kendi survived. . . . For the rest we may suppose that Kendi, in pursuit of his philosophical studies, had embraced opinions opposed to Mahometan orthodoxy, and that this led to his faith being suspected—a thing which has occurred to many Christian philosophers, and among the Jews happened to the famous Maimonides."[2]

But this *Kendi* of Ebed Jesu, whoever he was, could not possibly have been our Apologist, for he flourished towards the end of the third century of the Hegira, whereas the Apology (as I hope to establish below) was certainly written during the reign of Al Mâmûn, near the beginning of that century. The passage from Assemanus, referred to by de

[1] كتاب الكندي اليعقوبي. This, of course, is a mistake, as our Apologist was a staunch Nestorian. There may have been some other Kendy a Jacobite; or rather the epithet *ibn Yácûb* has been so misunderstood and misapplied.

[2] Relation de L'Egypte par Abd Allatif, M. de Sacy, Paris, 1810, p. 487.

Sacy, consists of a note on chapter cxlii. of Ebed Jesu's Catalogue (in Syriac verse) of Christian authors. The verse and note are as follows:

[VERSE.]—"CANDIUS *fecit ingens volumen Disputationis et Fidei.*

[NOTE.]—"Candius, ابن كندا, Ebn Canda, hoc est Candiae filius; who flourished under the Nestorian Patriarch Joannes IV., A.D. 893. Others refer the authorship to Abu Yûsuf Yâcûb ibn Ishâc al Kindi; but he, according to Pocock and Abul Faraj, was a Mahometan . . . But the Candius whom Ebed Jesu mentions was a Nestorian, not a Mahometan, and wrote in the Syrian language, not in Arabic." [1]

If any doubts were entertained of the religious principles of Abu Yûsuf ibn Ishâc, they must be set at rest by the fact that he wrote a treatise to disprove the doctrine of the Trinity. It was answered by Yahya ibn Adî, a Jacobite writer, whose pamphlet appears as No. 108 in Steinschneider's list.[2] The same is in the Vatican Library (Codex, 127, f. 88), and was kindly copied out for me by Prof. Ign. Guidi. In this tract, the attack of Ibn Ishâc is quoted and replied to passage by passage; and the tenor of the writing leaves no doubt of the antagonism of the writer to Christianity.

On all these grounds, we must clearly look for the author of our Apology elsewhere.[3] But before doing so, it may be expedient to notice the conjecture of de Sacy, that the Apology may have been ascribed to Abu Yûsuf ibn Ishâc al Kindy, either by a misunderstanding, or as a pious fraud with the view of gaining for it greater celebrity and weight.

As to the supposed misunderstanding, it seems doubtful whether, in reality, the Apology ever was so ascribed, except-

[1] Bibliotheca Orientalis, Assemani, A.D. 1725, vol. iii. p. 213. The assumption that he wrote in Syriac is unfounded. But the treatise was probably translated into that language, as well as transliterated from the original into Syriac writing.

[2] Pol. und Apolog. Literatur in Arab. Sprache, Leipzig, 1877, p. 126.

[3] Those who care to prosecute the inquiry further, will find an elaborate article on *Al Kindi der Philosoph der Araber*, Ein Vorbild seiner Zeit und seiner Volkes, by Dr. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1857. The paper is founded mainly on the authority of Ibn Abi Oseiba and Ibn Kufti, and is learned and exhaustive. A curious astrological treatise by the same Al Kindy is given by Dr. Otto Loth, p. 261, *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipzig, 1875. The cycles of Arabian history are there ascribed to astronomical conjunctions, and the essay closes with a prophecy of the eventual ascendancy of Islam over all other faiths.

There is also a short article with an exhaustive list of Ibn Ishâc's works, by Ibn Joljol, the Spanish writer, in the Bibliotheca Escurialensis, Casiri, Matriti, 1760 A.D. vol. i. p. 357.

ing as a mere conjecture in modern times. The misunderstanding, whatever it may have been, has arisen apparently from the similarity of name and tribe, as given in the quotation by Al Bîrûni.

The notion that, with the view of gaining greater weight, a paper purporting to be in refutation of Islam and establishment of Christianity, should have been ascribed to a Mahometan philosopher, will hardly, I think, be seriously held. What possible advantage could have been expected from an attempt to palm off a polemical work of the kind on an enemy of the Christian faith, who had himself attacked one of its cardinal doctrines? There is, moreover, no trace in the Apology itself of any design to rest upon the authority of a great name. The writer's identity, as we have seen, is carefully suppressed. The only thing common to the "Philosopher" and the Author, which appears throughout the work, is that the Author was learned, and went by the tribal title of *Al Kindy;* but that tribe was surely numerous and distinguished enough to embrace other men of letters and noble birth at the Court of Al Mâmûn. Leaving now the "Philosopher," we may proceed, therefore, to consider the internal evidence furnished by the book itself of its age and authorship.

I have said that the name of AL MÂMÛN, though given in the Preface, occurs nowhere in the Epistles themselves. But the manner in which the Caliph is throughout referred to, accords entirely with the assumption that they were written at his Court. He is spoken of as the paternal cousin of the Moslem writer; his just and tolerant sway is repeatedly acknowledged by Al Kindy; the descent of the Dynasty from the family of Mahomet is over and again referred to, and our Author prays that the Empire may long be perpetuated in his Patron's line. All this is perfectly natural, and in entire consistency with the ascription of the work to a courtier in the reign of Al Mâmûn.

Not less remarkable are the propriety and accuracy of all the historical notices. For example, when tracing the fate of the four Examplars of the Coran deposited by Othmân in the chief cities of the Empire, our Apologist tells us that the

copy at Medîna disappeared in "the reign of terror, that is, in the days of Yezîd ibn Muâvia"; and that the manuscript at Mecca was lost or burnt in the sack of that city by Abu Sarâya, "the *last attack* made upon the Káaba."[1] This is exactly what a person writing some fifteen years after the event, and in the reign of Al Mâmûn, would say; for the siege of Mecca was then, in point of fact, the last which had taken place, under the insurgent Abu Sarâya, in the year 200 A.H. Had the Apology been written later on, say in the fourth century, the "latest attack" on Mecca would not have been that of Abu Sarâya, but of Soleimân Abu Tâhir in 317 A.H. So also, in illustrating the rapine and plunder of the early Moslem campaigns, Al Kindy mentions, as of a similar predatory and ravaging character, the insurrection of Bâbek Khurramy, and the danger and anxiety it occasioned thereby "to our lord and master the Commander of the Faithful." This rebellious leader, as we know, had raised the standard of revolt in Persia and Armenia some years before, routed an army of the Caliph, and long maintained himself in opposition to the Imperial forces; and the notice, as one of an impending danger then occupying men's minds, is precisely of a kind which would be natural and apposite at the assumed time, and at no other.[2] Once more, in challenging his friend to produce a single prophecy which had been fulfilled since the era of Mahomet, he specifies the time that had elapsed as "a little over 200 years," and uses the exact expression to denote the period, which would fall from the pen of a person writing about the era, 215 A.H., when we assume the work to have been written.[3] While the incidental references to dates and historical facts are thus in exact and happy keeping with the professed age of the

[1] p. 81.

[2] p. 47. The name is erroneously printed اتابك الخزمي. But there can be no doubt that Bâbek Khurramy بابك خرمي is the correct reading.

[3] لان هذه نيف ومائتا سنة قد مضت من ذلك الوقت. The words imply "two hundred and odd years," or a little over 200. The edict against the eternity of the Coran was issued I think about the year 211 or 212 A.H.; and our Discussion took place probably a year or two later, say 215 A.H.

work, there is throughout not a single anachronism or forced and unnatural allusion,—which in a person writing at a later period, and travelling over so large a field, would hardly have been possible.

Still more striking are the aptness and propriety of the political allusions. These are in the strictest affinity, not only with the traditions of an Abbasside Dynasty, but of a Court which had become partizan of the Alyite faction, which freely admitted Motázelite or latitudinarian sentiments, and which had just declared the Coran to be created and not eternal. The Omeyyad race are spoken of with virulent reprobation; the time of Yezîd is named the "reign of terror"; and Hajjâj, with his tyranny and the imputation of his having corrupted the Coran, is referred to in the bitter terms that were current in that day. Abu Bekr, Omar, and Othmân are treated as usurpers of the Divine right of succession which (it is implied) vested in Ali. I need hardly point out how naturally all this accords with the sentiments predominating at the Court of Al Mâmûn; but which certainly would not have been tolerated some forty or fifty years later.[1]

The freedom of our Author's treatment of Islam would have been permitted at none but the most latitudinarian Court. He casts aside the prophetical claims of Mahomet, censures some of his actions in the strongest language, reprobates the ordinances of Islam, especially those relating to women, and condemns Jehâd with scathing denunciation. It is difficult to conceive how such plain-speaking was tolerated even at the Court of Al Mâmûn; at any other, the Apology would have had small chance of seeing the light, or the writer of escaping with his head upon his shoulders. That the work did (as we know) gain currency can only have been due to its appearance at this particular era.

These remarks apply with very special force to the section on the Coran, since it seems highly probable that the Apology was written shortly after the famous edict of Al Mâmûn which denied the eternity of the Moslem Scriptures. The composition of the Coran is assailed by

[1] See my Rede Lecture on the *Early Caliphate*, Smith and Elder, 1881, p. 21.

our Author in the most incisive style. First, a Christian Monk inspired it, and then Rabbis interpolated it with Jewish tales and puerilities. It was collected in a loose and haphazard way. Besides the authorized edition imposed by the tyranny of Othmân (and subsequently depraved by Hajjâj),[1] Ali, Obey ibn Káb, and Ibn Masûd, had each their separate exemplars. Having been compiled, if not in part composed, by different hands, and thrown unsystematically together, the text is alleged to be in consequence full of contradictions, incoherencies, and senseless passages. A great deal of this section, though in less irreverential language, was no doubt very similar to the kind of arguments held by the rationalistic Motázelites of the day, and favoured by Al Mâmûn. For we know that it was after a hot and prolonged discussion that the Coran was proclaimed by Al Mâmûn to be created. It is therefore altogether in accord with the probabilities of the case, that this particular phase of the argument should have been (as we actually find it) treated by our Author at great length and with a profusion of tradition possessing little authority, although popular in that day,—a kind of rank mushroom growth springing out of Abbasside faction. The tables were soon turned on this free-thinking generation, who in their turn suffered severe persecution; and never before or afterwards did such an opportunity occur, as our Apologist enjoyed, under the very shadow of a Caliph's Court, to argue out his case with his enemy's weapons ready to his hand.

Al Kindy makes a strong point of the hypocrisy of the Jews and Bedouins who lived at the rise of Islam, their superficial conversion, and the sordid and worldly motives by which, when the great Apostacy followed the Prophet's death, they were brought back to Islam, "some by fear and the sword, some tempted by power and wealth, others drawn by the lusts and pleasures of this life." It was just the same,

[1] The action of Al Hajjâj (who has been sufficiently misrepresented and abused by the Abbasside faction) appears to have been mainly confined to certain additions in the way of diacritical marks. See Slane's Ibn Khallikân, vol. i. p. 359 and note 14, p. 364. But it was natural, at an Abbasside Court, to vilify that great, but stern, Viceroy of the Omeyyads.

he said, with the Jews and Magians of his own day. And to make good his point he proceeds to quote a speech of the Caliph, made in one of the assemblies which he was in the habit of holding. The passage is so remarkable, and so illustrative of the character of Al Mâmûn, that, at the risk of lengthening my paper, I give it here in full :—

Speech of Al Mâmûn.

And I doubt not but (the Lord bless thee, my Friend!) thou rememberest that which passed at an assembly of the Commander of the Faithful, to whom it had been related in respect of one of his Courtiers that, though outwardly a Moslem, he was at heart a reprobate Magian: whereupon the Caliph delivered himself (as I have been informed) in the following terms :

"By the Lord! I well know that one and another (and here the Caliph named a whole company of his Councillors), though professing Islam, are free from the same; they do it to be seen of me; while their convictions, I am well aware, are just the opposite of that which they profess. They belong to a class who embrace Islam, not from any love of this our religion, but thinking thereby to gain access to my Court and share in the honour, wealth, and power of the Realm; they have no inward persuasion of that which they outwardly profess. Truly their case, to my mind, resembleth the too common one of the Jews, who, when Islam was promulgated, held by the Tourât and the Law of Moses. And, indeed, I know of one and another (here the Caliph named a whole band of his Courtiers) who were Christians, and embraced Islam unwillingly. They are neither Moslems nor Christians, but impostors. And how shall I deal with these, seeing that the curse of God is upon them all? When they abandoned the Magian religion (the vilest and most abominable of all religions), it was incumbent on them to hold firmly by the new religion which they embraced, instead of by that which they left only in appearance and hypocrisy; and so likewise, with those who abandoned the Christian faith (the most amenable of all religions to the effulgence of Islam and the truth of its creed). But herein, I have the example and precedent of the Prophet (on whom be blessing![1]). For many of his companions, and familiars, and near of kin professed to follow him and be his Helpers; whilst he (on whom be blessing!) knew well

[1] This pious salutation at mention of the Prophet, universal among the Mahometans, occurs only here in the Caliph's address, and not in any other part of our Author's writing.

enough that they were all the time hypocrites, opposed at heart to what they outwardly professed. These ceased not to study evil, and to plot, to seek his fall, and to assist the Idolators against him; insomuch that a company of them lay in wait at a certain pass to affright his mule, so that it might throw him, and he be killed. But the Lord delivered and protected him from their snares, and the evil they thought to visit him with. Notwithstanding, he intreated them courteously to the end, even until the Lord took his spirit unto himself. Thus he guarded himself by kindness and courtesy against their machinations. Wherefore, it well becometh me that I should follow his example. Then after his death they all apostatized, seeking both outwardly and in their hearts, both in secret and in public, to scatter Islam and destroy the empire; until, at the last, the Lord helped the same, and healed the schisms; and that he did by casting into the hearts of certain amongst them the lust of empire and love of the world; and so the government was strengthened and the divisions reconciled, by means of kindness and forbearance. Thus the Lord fulfilled that which he hath fulfilled for us; and herein, no thanks or praise to any but to the Lord alone! Now, therefore, I will no more make mention of that which I have seen and heard in respect of these my Courtiers; but I shall treat them with courtesy and forbearance until the Lord decide between us, and *he is the best of all deciders.*"

Now, unless my lord, the Commander of the Faithful, had spoken thus openly in the ears of the nobles at his Council (the Lord exalt the same!), and the tidings thereof had spread, and the present ones had told the absent ones, I had not ventured to make mention of it here. Thou art witness that I have not added one thing thereto. And I only remind thee now (for no long time has elapsed) of that which passed at this assembly, in order to bring up clearly the subject of the great Apostacy, and to show that the people were not reconverted therefrom unto Islam, but through love of the world, and to build up this Empire under which they now live. In proof thereof, if the Lord will, this answer will suffice for all enlightened persons who may peruse my book.—Page 66.

It may appear strange that the Caliph should have expressed himself in this outspoken way regarding many of his Courtiers in a public assembly. But, certainly, the

sentiments are in entire accord with what we know of the character and principles of Al Mâmûn, and also with the social and religious elements prevailing at Merve, where he first assumed the Caliphate, as well as at Baghdad, where he shortly after fixed his Court. It is difficult to believe that any one would have ventured to fabricate such a speech; or, supposing it genuine, that it should have been quoted by other than a contemporaneous writer.

I proceed to notice what evidence there is in the Epistles that the disputants were what they profess to have been, that is, persons of some distinction at the Court of Al Mâmûn. The Apology, it is true, from its antiquity and rhetoric, may well stand upon its own intrinsic merit; but, undoubtedly, the controversy is invested with fresh life and interest when we know that the combatants were not fictitious, but real personages.

First, as regards *the Hâshimite;* it is conceivable, of course, that he is an imaginary person, set up to be aimed at as the representative of Islam; a mere catspaw, to draw forth the Christian's argument. This was the surmise of one of the learned Ulema from Constantinople, to whom I showed the book; but his chief reason for so thinking was that the argument for Islam was weakly stated, and that a much better case might have been made out.[1] In opposition to this view, it may be observed that the personality and character of the Moslem are sustained consistently throughout both Epistles. Every notice and allusion is in keeping with his assumed Hâshimite and Abbasside descent, his relationship to the Caliph, his friendship for our Apologist, and the guarantee of freedom and safety obtained by him for the discussion. There is besides more than one incident of personal life. Thus we have a curious passage on the use of the Cross, in which Al Kindy reminds his friend that repeatedly in circumstances of danger he had used the sign, or ejaculated an appeal to the Cross, admitting thus the virtue of the same; and on one of these occasions, he specifies the place (Sabât al Medâin)

[1] He also objected to the word *Qarîb* (p. 3) as applicable by a Mahometan to a Christian.

P. 15-16 Missing

And one may be very certain that, when Orthodox views again prevailed, every effort would be made to suppress and exterminate an Apology, obnoxious not only for its attack on the religion of the State, but also for the political sentiments therein advocated as to the divine right of Ali, the usurpation of Abu Bekr, and the manner in which the Coran was compiled. But the work had in all likelihood already so spread during the reign of Al Mâmûn and his immediate Successors (who shared his Motázelite views), that its entire suppression became, no doubt on that account, impossible. And so copies survived, although stealthily, here and there in Mahometan countries. But why this remarkable book was not better known and valued in Christian countries, is very strange, indeed to my mind altogether unaccountable.

Admitting all that has been advanced, it will still remain a question of rare interest who this unknown "Al Kindy, the Christian," was. In a letter from Dr. Steinschneider to Prof. Loth, a suggestion is thrown out which might possibly lead to the identification of our Author. The trace is there given of a *Eustathius al Kindy*, mentioned among other Christian and Jewish names by Casiri in his Bibliotheca Arabica, as one of the translators of Aristotle, or copyists of Greek works. May this not have been our Apologist?[1]

Further inqury in this, or some other similar direction, might possibly throw more certain light on the authorship. Other MSS. of the Apology, whether in the East or in our European Libraries, might also with advantage be compared with the printed version to elucidate the purity of the text, and especially of such passages as appear to be imperfect or uncertain in the MSS. from which this edition was printed.[2]

[1] Dr. Steinschneider's letter will be found at page 315 of the Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. xxix. The passage referred to in Casiri is as follows: كتاب الا لا هيات . . . وهذه الحروف نقلها اسطاث الكندى. Bibliotheca Arab. Hisp. Michaelis Casiri, *Matriti*, 1760 A.D., vol. i. p. 310.

[2] There is the MS. in Paris referred to by de Sacy as No. 257 of the Bibliothèque Orientale. And there is also that mentioned by Steinschneider, No. 112, "*Kindi*, Jacob? Vertheidigung der Christlichen Religion gegen den Islam, in Karschunischen MSS." See his *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in Arabischer Sprache*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 131. In this last, the letter of al Hâshimy (we are told) is given in an abridged form.

The inquiry is not unworthy the attention of the most eminent of our Oriental scholars. The Apology is absolutely unique of its kind. In antiquity, daring, rhetoric, and power, we have nothing in the annals of the Mahometan controversy, at all approaching it. And any research that might throw light upon the origin of the Argument, the circumstances of our Author, the authenticity of the work, and the genuineness of the text handed down to us, must possess not only a literary interest, but in some respects a practical and important bearing on the same struggle which is being waged to-day, as engaged the labours of Abdallah the Hâshimite and Abd al Masîh, Al Kindy, the Christian, in the days of Al Mâmûn.

I have to express my acknowledgments to Prof. Ignatius Guidi of Rome, to Dr. Fritz Hommel of München, and to Dr. Steinschneider of Berlin, for their very kind assistance in the prosecution of this inquiry. To the first, I feel specially grateful for his goodness in copying out for me the entire controversy in which Abu Yûsuf al Kindy appears as an opponent of the doctrine of the Trinity.

It is my purpose to publish a full analysis of the Apology, with translation of the more important parts, which will enable the reader of this Essay to judge more fully of the weight of some of the foregoing arguments than he can at present do from statements as to its contents and composition, resting simply on my own authority.[1]

[1] An account of the Apology, with a few extracts, has already appeared in the *Indian Female Evangelist* for April, 1881, but it was necessarily brief.

Art. II.—*The Poet Pampa.* By Lewis Rice.

In the works of the poet Pampa, or Hampa as he was called in later times, we have earlier and more definite information than has hitherto been published regarding the period from which the Kannaḍa or Karṇâṭaka (so-called Canarese) language has been used for purposes of literary composition. From his first work, the *Âdi Purâṇa*, we learn that he was born in Śaka 824. But his second work, called *Vikramârjuṇa Vijaya* or the *Pampa Bhârata*, which established his fame, tells us that both were written in the same year—Śaka 863—and adds many particulars full of interest in regard to himself, and the circumstances under which he wrote.

His own genealogy is thus given. In the Bengi maṇḍala was a beautiful town named Vengi; connected with which were the *agrahâras* of Koṭṭûru, Niḍuguṇḍi and Vikramapura. The last, which was the chief of these, was renowned as the residence of Mânava (or Mâdhava) Somayâji, of the Vatsa gotra. His son was Abhimâna-chandra, whose son was Komarayya, whose son was Abhirâma Deva Râya. He, believing the Jina faith to be superior to that of the Brâhmaṇs, became a Jaina; and his son, distinguished as Kavitâguṇârṇava, was Pampa.[1]

Other poets having related the Bhârata at great length, some excelling in description and some in the narrative, all the pandits agreed that Pampa was the one who could do justice to it without sacrificing any of the story. On their petition he made the attempt; and taking his king as Arjuṇa, crowned him as the hero.

The following is a summary of the account of this royal

[1] The statement in the original is as follows:—

Utpala mâlâ.—

Jâtiyoḷ ellam uttamada jâtiya vipra kulange nambal ê |
Mâto, Jinendra dharmmame valaṁ dore dharmmadoḷ endu nambi sa |
Jjâtiyan uttarottarame mâḍi negaḷchidan int iḷâtma vi |
Khyâtiyan âtan, âtana magaṁ negaḷdaṁ Kavitâguṇârṇavaṁ ||
Pampaṁ.

patron, omitting merely laudatory verses. In the sky of the Chaḷukya vaṁśa, Yuddha Malla shone as its moon. And he ruled over a $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakh country.[1] His son was Ari Kesari, who with the ministers of the Bange rishaya, penetrated into the kingdom of Nirupama Deva, and inscribed his fame on all the points of the compass. He had two sons, the chief of whom was Narasimha Bhadra Deva. This Narasinga's eldest son was Dugdha Malla; whose eldest son was Baddiga. He was skilled in forty-two modes of warfare, and obtained the name of Sôlada Gaṇḍa (invincible champion). As if seizing a crocodile, he entered into the water and proudly seized Bhîma. To Baddiga was born Yuddha Malla, whose son was Narasimha. His guru was Subhadra muni. Eṛapa having gone over to the Lâḷas asking them for an estate, this Kali Narasimha offered him a much better maṇḍala, and confirmed it with a strong promise. He subdued the chiefs of the seven Mâlala (?); and plucked from the Ghûrjara Râja's arms the goddess of victory, whom, though desirous of keeping, he had held too loosely. The Mahipâla fled as if struck by thunderbolts, staying neither to eat, nor rest, nor pick himself up; while Narasimha pursuing, bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges and established his fame. His queen was Chandrânane. To them was born Ari Kesari Râja. He protected Vijayâditya, who took refuge with him, against Sakala Chakravartti named Gujjiga (or Gojjiga), who attacked him. Finding that in the four matters—bounty, valour, conquest, fame—he excelled even Baddiga and Narasimha, Guṇârṇava made that Ari Kesari his hero, and identifying him with Arjuṇa, undertook this poem.

So powerful was the effect of his poetry that by means of it, in the war of his own king of the Jôḷa country, he enabled him to win the very crowns of the hostile chiefs.[2] And Ari Kesari, taking him as a friend, directed him to

[1] Sa-pâda-laksha-kshitiyaṁ.

[2] Champaka mâlâ.—

Kavite negaḷteyam niṛisi Jôḷada pâḷe nijâdhinâthan â-|
Havadoḷ arâti nâyakara paṭṭave sâṛisi sanda pempu bhû-|
Bhuvanadoḷ âḍugum belage mikk abhimânada mâtu kîrttiyam |
Vivarisi sandan em kaviyo sat kaviyô Kavitâguṇârṇavam ‖

write this *itihâsa kathe*, which he finished in one year, and the king rewarded him with the village of Dharma-uram, situated in the Bachche Sâsira (or Thousand), as a *śâsana agrahâra*, which he re-named Sâram.

In the pith (*tiruḷa*) of the Kannaḍa of Puligeṛe, the royal city, did he write, naturally and without effort;[1] thus his *Bhârata* and *Âdi Purâṇa* put all former poems under their feet.[2] Resolved, while doing his secular duty on the one hand, and his Jaina religious duties on the other, that he would essay for the good of the world to write the Bhârata and Âdi Purâṇa, he completed the one in six months, and the other in three months. For these works, like Vyâsa, he got the name of Purâṇa Kavi; and they were read by all classes of people, by servants as well as by the greatest poets.

Such is the account full of incident that Pampa gives of himself and of his times. It appears from this that his patron Ari Kesari, seventh in descent from Yuddha Malla, a Chaḷukya prince, was king in Śaka 863 over a $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakh country called Jôḷa. The following is a summary of the pedigree and the historical references:

Yuddha Malla—moon in the sky of the Chaḷukya vaṁśa.
|
Ari Kesari—invaded Nirupama Deva.
|
Narasimha.
|
Dugdha Malla.
|
Baddiga—seized Bhîma.
|
Yuddha Malla.
|
Narasimha—established Eṛapa in a kingdom:
| defeated and pursued Ghûrjara Râja.
|
Ari Kesari—defended Vijayâditya against Gojjiga:
ruling in Saka 863.

[1] Kanda.—
Râja sudhâni puṭavaha |
Sâjada Puligereya tirula Kannaḍadoḷ nir-|
Vyâjad esakadoḷu pudid o-|
Nd ôjeya balav iniya kavite Pampana kavite ||

[2] Munnina kabbaman ellam ikki meṭṭidavu.

The only one, as far as is known, of the Western Châḷukya kings who bore the title of Yuddha Malla was Vinayâditya, who ruled from Śaka 602 to 617.[1] Nirupama Deva, into whose territories Ari Kesari made an incursion, must be the Raṭṭa or Râshṭrakûṭa king of that name. Bhîma may be the Châḷukya who is denounced in such strong terms in the Rudra Deva inscription.[2] Baddiga seems to have been a popular name at about this period; it occurs as that of the ruler of Kanchi in Śaka 726, and as that of a Raṭṭa king. Eṛapa is the name of a usurper of the Gaṅga kingdom, of whom the curious Begur-stone is a memorial. Ghûrjara Râja is, of course, a king of Gujarat. Gojjiga may be the same as the Raṭṭa king called Khotiga or Khodviga. Vijayâditya may be the Châḷukya of that name, the last of those in whose time the Raṭṭas were in the ascendant, and the predecessor of Tailapa, who restored the Châḷukya supremacy in Śaka 895.[3]

Not the least in interest among the items of information given us by Pampa is the mention of the Jôḷa kingdom. It is well known that the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Tsang describes a country of that name through which he passed on his way from Dhanakakaṭa to Drâviḍa, the identification of which has exercised the ingenuity of all the scholars who have undertaken to illustrate the geography of his travels. There seems reason to believe that a direct testimony to the accuracy of his statements regarding it has here for the first time come to light. The extent of the country may be relatively inferred from its designation as a 1¼ lakh country; and its situation from the capital being at Puligeṛe. This Puligeṛe, or Huligere of later times, seems identical with the Pulikara-nagara of inscriptions, and the modern Laksh-

[1] The only Yuddha Malla among the Eastern Châḷukyas ruled about S'aka 847; they are, therefore, out of the question.

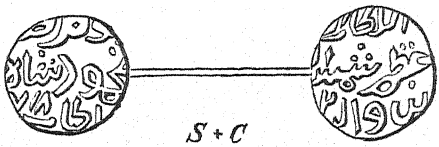
[2] The vilest of kings, a brute among men, the husband of his step-mother, who killed an eminent brother at dinner, intent upon attempts at swallowing the skies, etc.—Dr. Bhau Dâji's version, *Bo. J.* x. p. 46.

[3] The dominion of the Western Châḷukyas is described in inscriptions as a 7½ lakh country. The same designation is applied to the Hoysala kingdom of Mysore. Gaṅgavâḍi, the original territory of the Gaṅgas, was a 96,000 lakh country.

meśvara in the Dhârvâḍ country, situated a little north-west of the junction of the Varadâ river with the Tungabhadra.

In concluding this notice of Pampa, it may be stated that a poet named Nâgachandra, under the assumed name of Abhinava Pampa, wrote the *Pampa Râmâyaṇa* or *Râmachandra Charita Purâṇa* in Kannaḍa, about a century later. This Bhârata and Râmâyaṇa of the Jains in Kannaḍa thus preceded all the Brahmanical versions of those works in any of the South-Indian languages.

ART. III.—*On a Coin of Shams ud Dunyâ wa ud Dîn Mahmûd Shâh.* By CHARLES J. RODGERS, M.R.A.S., Normal College, Christian Vernacular Education Society for India, Amritsar.



S + C
Weight 51 grs.

OBVERSE:—السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين

REVERSE:—ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان ٧١٨

THIS coin bears evidence of being genuine. The metal is that mixture of silver and copper which obtained under the Pathâns of the date on the coin, 718 A.H. It is also of the same weight, or nearly so. The dated coins of Ala ud Dîn Muhammad Shâh of this type average, according to Thomas, 55·7. Those of Kutub ud Dîn Mubarak Shâh average 55 grs. The coins of Shahâb ud Dîn Umr are 54·5. The inscriptions, omitting names, are exactly similar to those of Ala ud Dîn's No. 135 of Thomas, Shahâb ud Dîn's Thomas No. 141, and Kutub ud Dîn's Thomas No. 147.[1]

The coin was found in a heap in which were several of Gyâs ud Dîn Balban, Gyâs ud Dîn Tuglaq, Muhammad Tuglaq, and one of Nâsir ud Dîn Khusrau Shâh, together with a great quantity of types of Ala ud Dîn Muhammad Shâh. Hence it had probably been in their company for many years. As there were none later than Muhammad Tuglaq, this would seem to indicate that the find was deposited either in the reign of Muhammad Tuglaq or of his immediate successors.

But who was Shams ud Dîn Mahmûd Shâh? There was

[1] This coin is no longer unique, as I possess three very fair specimens of it, all dated 716 A.H. Two of these are silver and copper mixed, the third is of copper.

a Shams ud Dîn in Kashmîr who, according to Prinsep, began to reign in 715 A.H. But the coin is not of a Kashmîr type. Neither, so far as we know, did the Kashmîrîs ever use the peculiar mixed metal of which this coin is composed. Neither did the Kashmîrî Kings ever use this peculiar inscription. The inscriptions, metal, and weight seem to point out its place of mintage as Dehli; for they are, as I have already pointed out, similar to the coins struck by the Sultans of Dehli before and after 718 A.H., the date on this coin.

According to the "Asâr us Sanâdîd" of Syad Ahmad, Kutub ud Dîn began to reign in Muharram, 716 A.H. That is, he began to reign in the first month of the year. Ferishtah, however, says the year was 717 A.H., and the day of the month the 8th. The Târîkh i Mubârak Shâhî gives the date as the 20th of Muharram, 716 A.H. As the coins Nos. 147–8 of Thomas are dated 716 A.H., we must allow the 716 to stand as the date of his accession.

The first year of Kutub ud Dîn's reign was spent in the performance of a variety of acts. He murdered a lot of people, set free some thousands of prisoners, raised a lot of mean people to places of trust, and made an incursion into Gujrât. Personally the King remained in Dehli engaged in drunkenness and debauchery (فسق و فجور).

In the second year of his reign—we are not told the month—but it would probably not be in the 1st, *i.e.* in Muharram, for in 717 that began on March 16th, but it would most likely be towards the end of the year, the King gathered together a large army, and himself led it toward Deogir in order that he might deliver that city from Harpâl Deo, the son-in-law of Râm Deo, who was engaged in the siege of that place. He left in Dehli, Gulâm Bacha Shâhîn as his deputy, and gave him the title of Wafâ Beg. The King was successful in his expedition. It must have taken him the whole of the cold weather, for Deogir is a long way from Dehli, and the King, besides relieving the town, made arrangements for the conquest of the Malabâr district. All the way back he indulged to that extent in drunkenness, that Asad ud Dîn, cousin of Alâ ud Dîn Muhammad Shâh,

conspired against him, but being betrayed by one of his confidential servants he was unsuccessful, and was executed together with twenty other persons, some of whom were in Dehli, and some of whom were journeying with the returning army. The words made use of with respect to Asad ud Dîn are داعیهٔ سروری درسرافتاده. Now this can only mean that he laid claims to the sovereignty, and then Ferishtah adds he conspired with some of the King's life-guards. It is quite possible that those executed in Dehli may have been conspirators who were engaged in a quiet way in making preparations for the advent of the new King by issuing coins in his name, or at any rate by getting them ready. It is a common thing, as we know, for kings to have had one title before their assumption of royalty, and another afterwards. So it need not surprise us that Asad ud Dîn took the title of *Shams ud Dîn Mahmûd Shâh*. Kutub ud Dîn took the trouble to investigate the matter, for we get the phrase بعداز ثبوت گناه. The discovery of the conspiracy may have sobered him for a time.

From all this it will be seen that I am inclined to assign this coin to Asad ud Dîn, son of the grand-uncle of Kutub ud Dîn. The year would be suited, and I think the circumstances surrounding the affair are not adverse to this assignment.

There is, however, just a possibility that Wafâ Beg, the King's viceroy in Dehli during his absence, was the man who caused these coins to be struck. When the King returned to Dehli, Ferishtah says—

"بعد ازان ملک شاهین راکه وفابیگ خطاب داشت
به سخن ارباب غرض بیجهت بکشت."

The words به سخن ارباب غرض show that some men had poured into the King's ear a stream of calumny against the viceroy. He may have been governing well—too well for some. He may have indulged the idea of raising himself to the throne. He would not have been the first slave who had seated himself on the throne of his master. The historian adds "بیجهت بکشت—executed him *without cause*." There may, therefore, have been no cause whatever but his

good rule at Dehli when viceroy. But these "gentlemen with intentions" may have coined these coins themselves, and taken them with them to show the King that Gulâm Bacha was really not simply aiming at royalty, but that he actually had assumed it by striking coins in his own name. We know that such things have been done in Indian history.

At any rate, the existence of this coin gives us some clue to the wholesale executions which took place on the return of Kutub ud Dîn to Dehli. He was monster great enough for anything. If we can find a reason for his fury besides drunkenness, we are bound to do so. I think we have done so. The King is away from Dehli, on an expedition seven or eight hundred miles away. He is engaged there for some time, and makes arrangements for the conquest of other provinces. He returns slowly to his capital. In the way there is a conspiracy against his life. Some of the conspirators live in Dehli. A coin is struck bearing the titles of the Emperor of Dehli. This coin is most probably struck in the capital itself. The viceroy may have been cognizant of all this: he may have winked at it. He may have taken an active part in it or encouraged it. Or he may have known of it, and sent the names of some of the conspirators to the Emperor. Some of the rest, fearing the worst on the Emperor's return, may have fudged up a case against the viceroy, who was slain without any reason.

If the coin is one of a would-be usurper, it is interesting. If it be one of the coins struck by a man's enemies in order to turn the King against him, it is more interesting. At any rate, it shows us that humanity in Dehli in A.H. 718, in the middle of the reign of one of the foulest monsters that ever disgraced a throne, was not quite hopeless. Some one thought himself more worthy of being king than *Kutub ud Dîn Mubârak Shâh*. The title and name seem to infer this, for the title is *Shams ud Dîn*, and the name *Mahmûd Shâh*. If the drunken sodomite was the pole of religion and the blessed king, it would not take a man of very high morals to be the *Sun of religion* and the *praised king*.

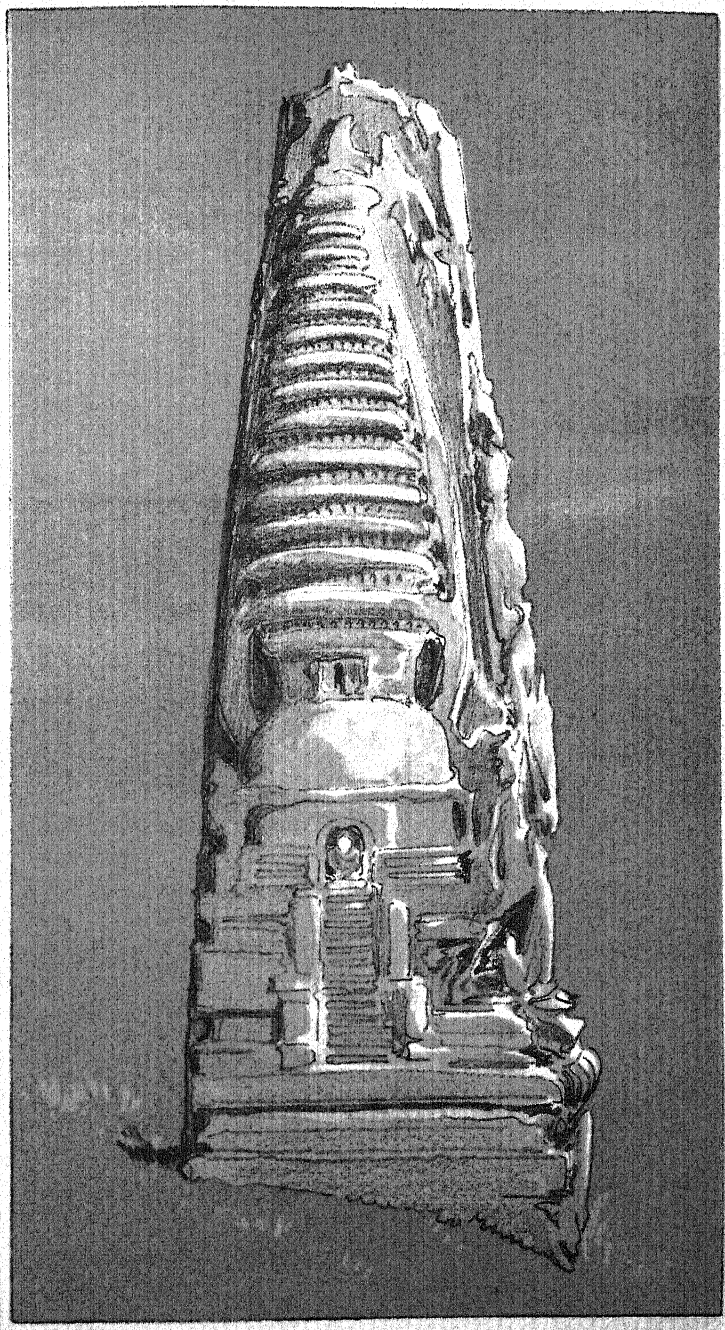
Art. IV.—*A Sculptured Tope on an old Stone at Dras, Ladak.*

By William Simpson, F.R.G.S.

Dras is a village on the banks of a stream of the same name, about the distance of one march beyond the Bul-tul pass, on the road from Cashmere to Leh. There are two sculptured stones at this place, and as Cunningham has described them in his work on Ladak, I shall quote from him :

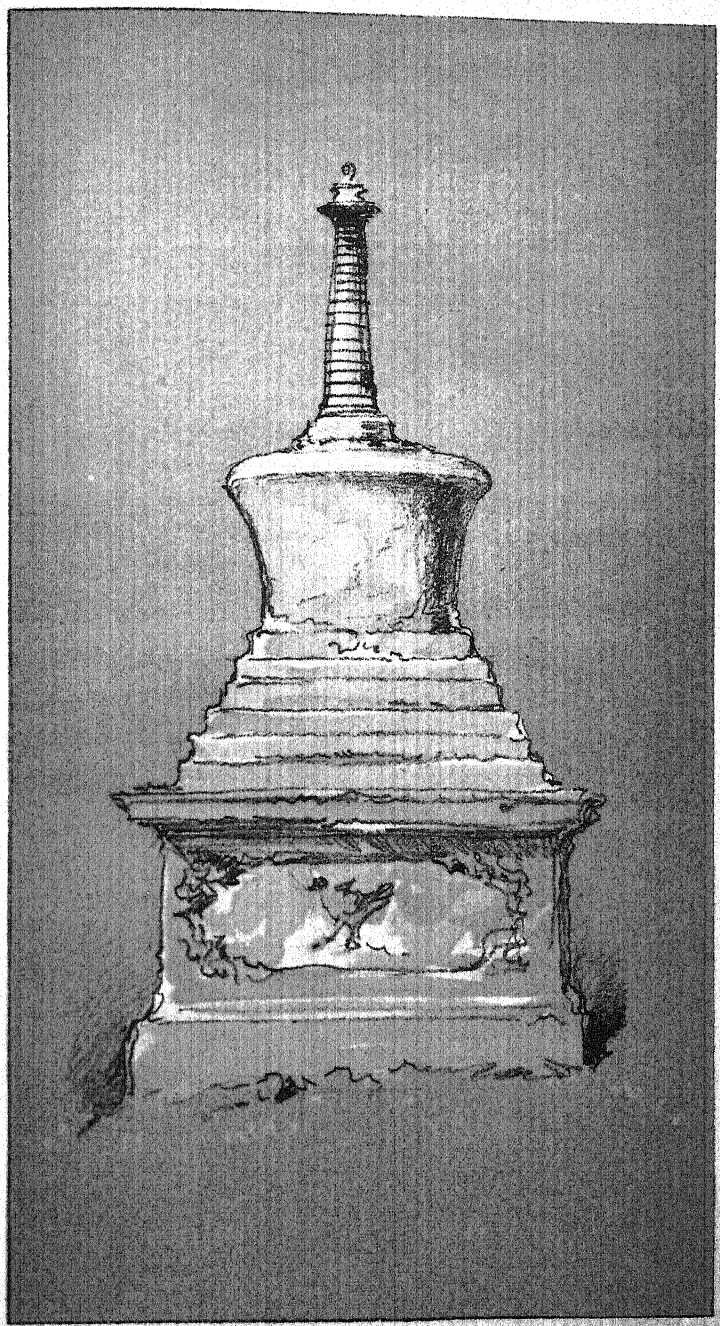
"On the side of the road, between the hamlet of Styalbo and the village of Drás, there are two pillars of granitic mica-slate, which the people call *Chomo*, or 'The Women,' but which, I believe, have no connection with Tibetan Buddhism, as the nearly obliterated inscriptions are in Kashmiri *Tákri*, and not in Tibetan characters. The eastern pillar has one principal figure, a four-armed female, and two attendant females, one on each side, and each with one leg bent. They all wear necklaces, earrings, amulets, and anklets. On the pedestal are several small kneeling figures with their hands raised and joined in attitudes of prayer. This pillar is six feet nine inches high, one foot six inches broad, and one foot thick. The western pillar has the same principal figure, also a four-armed female, with two attendant females on each side. This pillar is six feet high, two feet nine inches broad, and one foot thick. From the style of these figures, as well as from the nature of the alphabetical characters, I have no hesitation in stating my opinion that they are Brahminical statues erected by some Kashmirian Hindus. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that there is a third undoubted Hindu pillar standing close to them, which I believe to be a *Sati* pillar. On one side is sculptured a horseman, which is the usual emblem, placed on the pillar of a *Rajputni Sati*, to denote that her husband was a soldier. On the back of the pillar there is an inscription of eight lines in Kashmirian *Tákri*, which I am unable to translate satisfactorily."—pp. 381–82.

Cunningham gives drawings of both stones; these with the above description are evidence that he must have devoted



W. SIMPSON, LITH.

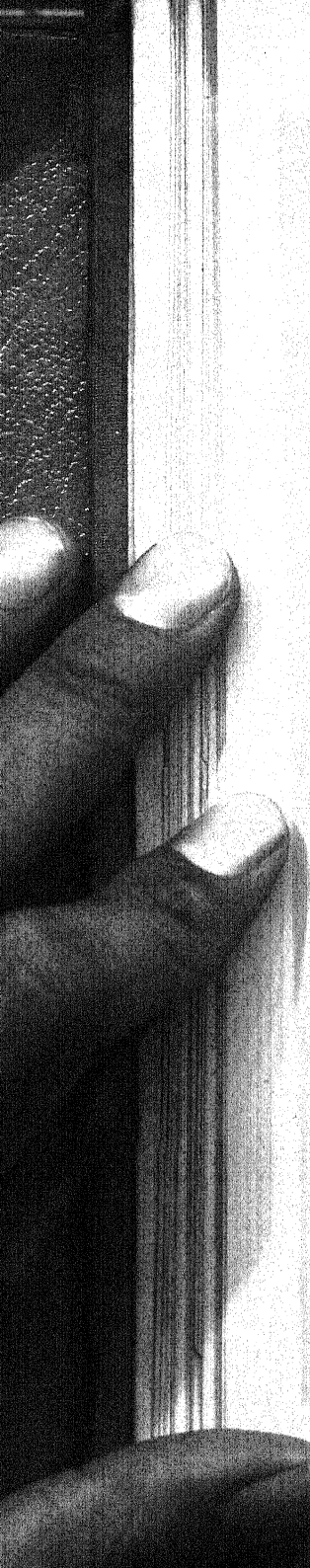
SCULPTURE OF TOPE ON OLD STONE AT DRAS, LADAK.



W. SIMPSON, DEL. & LITH.

CHORTEN,

OR BUDDHIST TOPE OF THE PRESENT DAY IN THIBET.



considerable time to them, and yet he has quite overlooked a very important sculpture on the back of the eastern pillar. This is a representation of a Buddhist Tope. The style of sculpture of the female figures, so far as I am able to judge, is quite in keeping with Cunningham's conclusions; but we can scarcely suppose that the Tope was the work of Hindus. We are led from this to the supposition that the art on the one side belongs to a different date from that of the other; and we may also suppose that the Buddhist is the older of the two. It would be important if we knew the exact date of both styles of sculpture—this I cannot pretend to determine; all that may be said is, that we do not require to assume a very ancient date for either.

The value belonging to this representation of a Tope consists in its bearing on the form of the Topes of the Peshawer Valley, and of those at Jelalabad; and at the same time on the Chortens or Topes of the present day in Thibet.

The Topes of India, from Amravati to Manikyala, so far as we as yet know, have all round bases. The well-known "Buddhist Railing" of the Bhilsa Tope will recall to the mind the ground-plan of these structures. When we cross to the right bank of the Indus, we find a marked change—a square base appears; and from the Khyber Pass to Gundamuck this form seems to have been followed without any exception. Now in the drawing, here given, of the sculptured Tope at Dras, a square base is distinctly visible, showing that the form was derived from the right bank of the Indus, and not from the left. The Jelalabad Topes had a passage all round the square base a few feet from the ground, thus producing an appearance which might be described as two stages. In the sculptured example there are some indications which suggest stages, but I think they show that there must have been some departure from this type. The great Tope at Peshawer is described as having five stages, from which it is possible that in the Peshawer Valley the number at times varied.

The Topes beyond the Khyber had another distinguishing

feature; that was, they had stairs leading up to the top of the square base, where there was a platform used in some way for the ceremonials performed at these shrines. The small Topes had one stair, the larger had two, and the very largest had four, one on each side of the structure. These stairs on the more magnificent Topes must have had a very imposing appearance. In the sculptured Tope the stair appears prominently.

There is a small sculpture of a Tope in the Lahore Museum, it was found in the Peshawer Valley, and on it there is represented a sitting figure at the base of the circular part of it. From my own explorations at Jelalabad I should say that the Topes there had all figures in this position, and facing the stairs of approach. In no case did I find the remains of any of these figures, but in more than one Tope I found what I supposed were the remains of where it had been placed, and I assumed them to have been a part of the design before I had noticed the sculptured Tope in the Lahore Museum. This particular arrangement is very distinct in the Dras sculpture.[1]

Thus far, I think, the remains of Topes beyond the Indus explain the peculiar points of the one found at Dras.

In a paper read to the Royal Institute of British Architects I attempted a restoration of one of the Jelalabad Topes.[2] From the ruined condition of the monuments, in no case did I find the summit of one of their domes. This left me destitute of any guidance as to the number or size of the surmounting umbrellas. The only hint available was what might have been derived from the small model of a Tope found at Manikyala,[3] but as it was only a relic casket, and belonged to the Indian side of the Indus, it did not seem of sufficient authority, so I made no attempt to realize this part of the design, but merely indicated three umbrellas, that being a common number in the more southern

[1] In describing the Great Tope at Peshawer, Hiouen Thsang states: "Sur la face méridionale de l'escalier de pierre du Grand Stoupa, il y une image peinte du Bouddha, qui est haute de seize pieds."—Vol. i. p. 110.

[2] Read 12th Jan. 1880, in which a copy of the restoration is given.

[3] Given in Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 80.

Topes. I had completely forgotten this sketch of the Dras stone, which is in one of my old sketch-books; it was only the other day that I chanced to look it up, and its value as bearing on the Jelalabad Topes became at once apparent; and, on showing it to Mr. Fergusson, he recommended that it should be published, which I have much pleasure in now doing.

That this sculptured Tope gives an approximate idea of the umbrellas of the Trans-Indus Topes I will now proceed to show. By comparing it with the small model Tope found at Manikyala, a strong resemblance in the size and form of the umbrellas is distinctly visible. I have a photograph of a small sculptured Tope found in the Peshawer Valley, and now in the Lahore Museum; it has only three or perhaps four umbrellas, they form a solid pyramidal mass over the Tope, and the diameter of the lower one is equal, if it does not exceed, the diameter of the Tope beneath. This extensive width of the lower umbrella is exactly the case in the Dras Tope; where it will also be seen the larger number of umbrellas raises the pyramidal form into that of a spire, and it will at the same time be noticed that there is no pretence of a pole to support them, they form a solid structure, with some indication of ornament between each umbrella. We have not only the extended diameter of the umbrellas in this Dras Tope, and the large number of them—thirteen—but we have their great height, which forms quite a new feature in our knowledge of such structures in India. That this distinctive characteristic belonged to the Trans-Indus Topes I think can be made out pretty clearly. Hiouen Thsang gives a rather more detailed account of the Great Tope at Peshawer than is usual with him. He states that: "Sur le sommet du Grand Stoûpa, il éleva encore une coupole en cuivre doré qui avait vingt-cinq étages."[1] This was by far the grandest Tope in India, and that may explain why there were such a number of Chattas; we may reasonably assume that the smaller Topes would have fewer, and that the number was variable. That they were

[1] Hiouen Thsang, transl. by M. Julien, vol. i. p. 108.

large in proportion to the Tope, and that they were arranged in a pyramidal form, towering high above the structure beneath, I have not the slightest doubt now in my own mind, after seeing the Dras sculpture. Vestiges of this arrangement can be pointed out in various directions. On the Tibetan Dagobas there is a spire on the summit, with a series of discs or rings; it will be seen that the Dras sculpture gives us the connecting link to this form. In Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture*,[1] there is an illustration of a monumental gateway to a Buddhist monastery in Pekin; over the gateway is a Tope of the Tibetan form, in which it will be seen these rings or discs are combined into a pyramidal mass. In the same work will be found another illustration of the same arrangement, that is, the Temple of Swayambunath, in Nepal.[2] This last is, in fact, a Tope or Dagoba, and it is surmounted by a spire formed of thirteen discs, the same number as the Dras sculpture. That these discs were derived from umbrellas has all along been generally assumed, but up to the present we had no monumental evidence to show its derivation. This, I think, has now been found.

In my restoration of the Ahin Posh Tope at Jelalabad, I had authority for all its parts, except the surmounting umbrellas. In order to complete that restoration there should be added, as it was a large Tope, let us say, a spire of thirteen umbrellas, and I believe you will have a very fair rendering of what the structure was like. There is one bit of detail in the Dras Tope, which is too roughly represented for us to realize its exact character. It is most probably an external support for the umbrellas; it starts from the dome of the Tope, and is continued like a frame on the outside of the umbrellas up to the pinnacle. Such a mass of umbrellas, whether made of copper or other material, would be heavy, as well as liable to be blown down by storms—I can speak of the strength of the wind in the Jelalabad Valley from experience—and means would be necessary to prevent this. As the um-

[1] p. 693. [2] p. 302.

brellas were gilt and ornamented, we may assume that this part of the construction would be the same, but the sculpture gives us no indication of this. In the Tope on the gateway at Pekin, already mentioned, there is an ornamental form which hangs down on the side of the discs; this may perhaps be a vestige of it. If this is not the correct explanation, the only other suggestion which occurs is, that it was a garland of flowers—of which we have a well-defined example among the Bharhut Sculptures.

I come now to deal with this sculpture in relation to the Tibetan Topes. We know the form of the tee of the Peshawer Valley Topes from a couple of small ones in the Lahore Museum; they resemble the one on the Casket Tope found at Manikyala. They all have a projecting cornice on the upper part. On comparing them with the tee of the Dras sculpture, I should say that the form there shown had resulted from a continued copying of the first one in a rude manner, till the mouldings of the cornice had been lost in the process. The use of plaster, in thick coatings,—which was the practice beyond the Indus, and no doubt went from that region into Ladak, for the Chortens there at the present day are still thickly coated,—will easily account for the change in form which has occurred. If this should turn out to be a fact, it gives us a very curious transformation. I have made a rough outline of a Tibetan Tope, of which there are numbers in almost every village at the present day, in some places they are more numerous than the houses. Now in these Chortens, what we would call the body of the Tope is exactly the form of the tee of this sculptured Tope at Dras. The spire, but in a reduced form, has been retained, but the dome below has in course of time disappeared from the design, and become merely a part of the square base, and is represented now by a few plinths, like steps.

Should this suggestion of mutation be accepted, we have an important question to determine as to how this was brought about. Very great changes of this sort may be accounted for by a long period of copying and re-copying by clumsy workmen; but, although possible, it is difficult to

believe that the principal part of the structure could have been entirely lost. This process of undevelopment might have taken place, but it does not prevent other suggestions from being considered. We may take it for granted that the Thibetans had mounds, or cairns, and even dagobas, before the style of construction beyond the Indus had penetrated to the Himalayas. Two centuries and a half before Christ Buddhist missionaries went to Kashmere, and that is long before the Indo-Classical style had been used for the Buddhist structures in the Peshawer Valley. Mr. Fergusson has thrown out the idea that the tee of the Buddhist Dagoba was originally a tomb, or at least a simulated relic casket. This theory I feel much inclined to adopt. The so-called tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ presents itself as an illustration in its favour. George Smith described to me the Zigarets of the Euphrates Valley as having been placed on the tops of mounds, and they are only small shrines reminding one of the usually given restoration of the Tower of Babel. We have thus a well-authenticated type from which it is quite possible that the tee may have originated. Mr. Fergusson mentions another illustration—the tomb of Akbar at Secundra, with the simulated coffin on its summit. It is quite possible that the Tibetans may have had some customary form of their ancestral mounds or cairns, with rites attached, which caused them to look on what we call the tee as the most important part of the Dagoba, and hence the reason that the dome was neglected.

In the paper read to the Royal Institute of British Architects, the probability was pointed out that the Tibetan Chorten was derived from the Indus Valley. I need scarcely point out that this sculpture at Dras goes a long way to establish the idea. The square base on which they rest seemed to me a strong reason for this conclusion. As the *pushim* of Tibet still finds its way into India through Kashmere, it is pretty strong evidence that that is the natural route into Northern Thibet at least; and the style of art and architecture followed in the Peshawer Valley, and which was celebrated in the early centuries of the Christian era, no doubt forced

its way through this passage. The Tibetan Chorten is wide in its resemblance to the Bhilsa Tope; compare the Chortens, however, with the Topes of Jelalabad and those near Peshawer, and the resemblance is not so distant. The absence of the dome and the stairs shows a considerable modification, which time has produced. For the one change I have thrown out some hints, which further research may confirm or demolish; for the other nothing can be said at present in the way of elucidation.

There is still another probability to be derived from this sculptured stone; and that is with reference to the Pagodas of China. The origin of these structures has not up to the present been quite satisfactorily accounted for. About eight years ago, when in China, I tried to get information on the subject. All I could learn was, that they were imitations of buildings in India. Mr. Edkins, as well as others, assured me that the old Chinese books distinctly stated that such was the case. To one acquainted with the architecture of India, the difficulty was to discover what particular form of structure had been copied. The only explanation which offered itself was, that the Dagoba might have been the form that was followed, but that the umbrellas had got multiplied, and increased in size, till they became roofs, and each with a room under it. Place a drawing of a Pagoda from Southern China beside the Bhilsa Tope, and I think no one would suspect any connexion between the two; but, however unlike in this case, we had instances where the upper portion of the Dagoba is more extended, and its exaggeration into the Pagoda was thus a theory which might be accepted. In the absence of almost any other theory being likely, this became the most probable. Still it wanted something like monumental evidence to give it a satisfactory confirmation, and that has been found in this sculptured Tope under consideration. A glance at its high tower of umbrellas will show that its transformation into a Pagoda was easy. The pictures of Chinese Pagodas which we generally see are those of Southern China. Now in the North, particularly about Peking, the style is different. I can name two examples—the Tien-

Ning-Sï, close to the western wall of Peking, and the Pa-Li-Chwang Pagoda, on the north of Peking. The design of these, although differing in the ornamental details, is essentially the same. Instead of a room under each roof, the roofs are represented as constructed on each other, and there are thirteen of them in each of these Pagodas, exactly the same number as in the umbrellas in the Dras sculpture. Under the lower roof only are the walls of an inclosed space. A Pagoda of this kind will be found in Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture*.[1] It is at Tung-Chow, about fifteen miles from Peking; it also has thirteen roofs, showing that this was a very favourite number. The octagonal form of the Chinese Pagoda resulted from a very mystical figure of eight sides, called the "*Pah-Kwah*," the importance of which in Chinese ideas will be familiar to those who have read the Yih-King. Having accounted for this peculiarity of these Peking Pagodas, it will be seen, if we remove the distinctive construction as well as the ornament of the Chinese style from them, that what is left would be almost identical with this Tope sculptured on the pillar at Dras. I feel satisfied that we may take it as now established that the Chinese Pagoda was copied from the Topes of the Indus Valley and Afghanistan.

Probably the date when this style of building began in China may be found in the old books of that country. It may be assumed that it would be about the time when the Pilgrims were sent to India for books and statues; we might be pretty certain that they would carry back the details of the Buddhist religious buildings, and more particularly that of the Dagobas. We have direct information from Hiouen Thsang on this point. He died in 664, and just previous to his death a large stupa was erected for the preservation of the books and statues he had brought with him. It is stated that: "Dans sa construction, on avait imité fidèlement la forme adoptée dans l'Inde. Elle avait cinq escaliers et etait surmontée d'une coupole; sa hauteur totale était de cent

[1] p. 697.

quatre-vingts pieds."[1] Here we have the stairs copied, which were a marked feature of the Trans-Indus Topes, of which no trace is left in the Pagodas now. There must be an error either in the translation, or it may have crept into the Chinese original, as to the number of them; it is difficult to understand how five stairs could be arranged on a four-sided structure, and Hiouen Thsang must have been too familiar with this, having seen so many Topes in India, to have made the blunder. The Peshawer Tope had five stages, and its celebrity may have made it the model, and it is possible the mistake may be on this point.

That it was by way of Tibet that the type of the Pagoda went to China, we have an additional evidence in the fact that the form of the present Tibetan Chorten has also penetrated along the same route. We find one on the gate of the Buddhist monastery already referred to. In Peking there is an exact facsimile of a Chorten on some rising ground near the marble bridge on the west of the palace; it is called the "White Ming Pagoda," and I was told that it contained a scab from Buddha's body. I saw another at Chin-Kiang, on the Yantze Kiang. It stands over a narrow street, the passage underneath is formed by large stone lintels, supported by perpendicular blocks, with bracket capitals, which are unlike Chinese architecture, but would not seem strange in India. I could get no information on the spot as to how this very peculiar mixture of architecture came to Chin-Kiang, for the Hindu architecture of the passage, combined with the Chorten, would be as curious an anomaly if found in Tibet as on the banks of the Yantze Kiang.

Since this paper was written I have found a passage in Mr. Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism* which is worth adding, as it not only bears upon the dates of the Chinese Pagodas, but also on the names given to them in China.

"The number of pagodas in China is very great. There are nine within thirty miles of Shanghai . . . . . At Lo-yang, in the

[1] Vie et Voyages de Hiouen Thsang, p. 318.

Tsin dynasty (A.D. 350), there were forty-two, from three to nine stories high, richly painted, and formed after Indian models. The word *t'a* (formerly *t'ap*), now in universal use, has displaced the older names *feu-t'a* (*budu*) and *fo-t'u* (*buddu*). The original purpose of the edifice was to deposit relics of Buddha. These relics might be a hair, tooth, metamorphosed piece of bone, article of dress, or rice vessel. When bodies of deceased Boddhisattwas and other revered persons were burnt, the remains were placed in structures which received the same name, *t'upa* or *st'upa*, and it is these that have been described by travellers, in Afghanistan and other regions where Buddhism formerly prevailed, as *topes*.

"'When there is no 'relic'' [*she-li*; in Sanskrit *sharira*], says the Cyclopædia *Fa-yuen-chu-lin*, 'the building is called *Chi-ti*' [in Sanskrit *Chaitya*], and it may be intended to commemorate the birth-place of Buddha, the spot where he became enlightened, where he taught, or where he entered into the Nirvâna. Footsteps of Buddha, an image of a Bodhisattwa or of a Pratyeka Buddha, are also honoured with the erection of a *Chi-ti*."—Chinese Buddhism. By the Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D., pp. 134–5.

From this we see that the names came to China with the models from India.

The Rev. S. Beal, in his Introduction to Fah-Hian, p. xxiv, also mentions the forty-two pagodas at Lo-yang, as having been "formed after Indian models." He also gives some data which explain how the models most probably came to that place. A Shaman called Dharmarakcha came from the western countries bringing a large number of Buddhist and Brahminical works, which he presented to the Imperial Court. This man took up his residence at Lo-yang, where he was employed with other Shamans from 265 A.D. to 308 A.D. translating Buddhist books. Lo-yang is now known as Honan, and Edkins mentions a native of India, called Kashiapmadanga, who came to China shortly after 61 A.D. and died at Lo-yang; but there is no notice of Pagodas at this early date, hence it may be concluded that the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century is the period when Pagodas after the Indian models were first introduced.

ART. V.—*Note on Pl. xxviii. fig.* 1, *of Mr. Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship," 2nd Edition.* By S. BEAL, Professor of Chinese, London University.

I BEG leave to call attention to a very curious result, drawn from a comparison of the two versions, viz. that the Vaggi or Vaggians of Vesâlî are the same as the Yue-chi of the Chinese.

If my version be referred to, it will be seen that I was at a loss how to restore the Chinese symbols used in the narrative, viz. Yue-chi; I put the word Getæ in form of a query, in the first instance, but afterwards used the expression as I found it, viz. Yue-chi.

But from Mr. Davids' translation it is made plain that the Chinese symbols are here equivalent to Vaggi or Vaggians. Seeing this, I was led to look further, and to my surprise I found that M. Léon Feer, in his edition of the "Sûtra of 42 Articles," p. 47, had already identified the Yue-chi of the Chinese with the Vriggis of India. He does so, indeed, by way of query, but, undoubtedly, his restoration is a right one. In my version of the Sûtra I had adopted the usual equivalent "Getæ" for Ta-yue-chi, and, although I do not think that the *Ta*-yue-chi must necessarily be the same as the Yue-chi, yet certainly the last combination is properly restorable to Vriggi or Vaggi.

This led me to seek further, and I found from various quarters that the Vaggi, or the Samvaggi, or combined Vaggians, must have been Scythians.

General Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India," p. 447, observes that "in the time of Buddha the Vregis or Waggis were divided into several clans, as the Lichhavis, the Vardehis, and the Tirabhuktis. The exact

number of their clans would appear to have been eight, as criminals were arranged before the eight clans, or a jury composed of one member from each of the separate divisions of the tribe." They are called by the people of the North the Samvaggis or "united Vaggis."

But, regarding the Vaggi and the Lichhavi as the same people, we are told by Mr. Hodgson that the Litsavi, or in Tibetan Litsabyis, are the so-called Scyths ("Collected Essays," p. 17, Trübner's edition).

And M. Foucaux, "Lalita Vistara," p. 137, identifies the Litsabyis with the Vaggians of Vesâlî.

Now one of the chief incidents in the history of the Vaggians of Vesâlî, as it is narrated in the Parinibbâna Sutta, and in the Life of Buddha by Asvaghosha in Chinese, is the earnestness with which they contended for a portion of the relics of Buddha's body after its cremation, over which they desired to erect a Stûpa.

And we are also told how, when they had obtained their share of the relics, they raised a Tchaitya, and instituted a grand fête in honour of the occasion.

It occurred to me that the scene depicted, Pl. xxxviii. fig. 1, "Tree and Serpent Worship," referred to the feast of this dedication. It was necessary, however, to connect this scene with Vesâlî. I was agreeably surprised to find that the scene immediately underneath the Chaitya feast was one certainly connected with Vesâlî. It is the scene at the Monkey Tank in that place, where the two monkeys offered a pot of honey to Buddha. It is related in Julien ii. 387, "A little distance," he says, "to the west of the Monkey Tank is a Stûpa. Here the monkeys, taking Buddha's alms dish, climbed a tree and filled it with honey." The scene on the pillar must refer to this.

But, again, taking the scene below this, we see, first of all, that it relates to the place where Buddha *stopped* (denoted by the flat stone), followed by men and by *Kinnaras*. The figures in the scene before us point to this.

But, again, the connected scene of the Deva standing in a position of communication (ekamantam) with Buddha, in all

probability represents Mâra advancing towards Buddha, and addressing to him this prayer, "Now is the time to enter on the bliss of Nirvāna." The story is well told, both in the Parinibbāna and by Asvaghosha. We recognize Māra in this scene by the presence of his three or four daughters, who are always associated with him, and especially in the temptation scene, of which this is but the complement. Now these identifications connect the entire group here depicted with Vesâlî.

The dedication of the Tope, then, we argue, is the festival held by the Vaggi at Vesâlî. If so, we have in this a satisfactory explanation of the dress and general appearance of the actors in the scene; they were Scyths. And their appearance fully bears this out. Mr. Fergusson was so impressed with it, that he describes this scene as the most interesting of all the Sanchi sculptures.

The fact of these Samvaggi, or combined Scythians, being settled at this early time in the Ganges valley, is an important ethnographical item in our knowledge. We see why the shape of this tope differs from the others, and approaches that of the Kâbul type, and we can also understand how the influence of these Northern tribes, after their conversion to Buddhism, would cause the spread of the doctrine they professed among their fellow-countrymen in the Kâbul valley, and thus account for the strong hold Buddhism took on the Northern tribes at a very early date.

I think it also goes to confirm the idea that the Sākyas, to whom Buddha himself belonged, were a Turanian tribe, and in sympathy with these Vaggi, whom Buddha resembles in so many personal distinctions.

ART. VI.—*On the Present State of Mongolian Researches.* By Prof. B. JÜLG. In a Letter to Robert N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

MY DEAR SIR,—In reply to your request that I would send a brief account of the present state of Mongolian Researches, I have great pleasure in forwarding to you, for publication in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, the following notes—together with a list of the literary works available for the study of the Mongolian dialects.

Comparative Grammar, under the generic name of the Ural-Altaic or Finno-Tataric families, comprehends a series of languages to which, by the researches of Castrén, the language of the Samoyeds has been added, there being, therefore, now a fivefold division of them:—Tungoos (Manchu), Mongols, Turko-Tatars, Finns, Samoyeds.

These languages again admit of separate stratification. None of the groups stand in such close relation as those of the Indo-European family. Professor Wilhelm Schott first called attention to this relation in his *Versuch über die tatarischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1836, and *Ueber das altai'sche oder finnisch-tatarische Sprachengeschlecht*, Berlin, 1849; and Alexander Castrén in his lectures, entitled, *Ethnologische vorlesungen über die Altaischen völker, nebst Samojedischen märchen und Tatarischen heldensagen* (edited by Anton Schiefner), St. Petersburg, 1857, gave a very interesting survey of the whole family.

After the mighty Temudschin united the ever-discordant Mongolian tribes, no people on earth have ever so gravely disturbed the nations around them. They were insuperable, and a terror to the whole world, while acting up to the spirit of their proud motto: *Erein mör nigen hui*, "A man's path is only one," *i.e.* the path, through sufferings, boldness and valour, to eternal glory. Thus, W. Schott, in his *Aelteste*

nachrichten von Mongolen und Tataren, historisch-kritische abhandlung, Berlin, 1846, page 1.

They have founded the greatest world-wide empire that ever existed, they have conquered the whole of Asia, and have made themselves masters of a large part of Europe; their dominion extended from the Japanese sea, deep into the heart of Central Europe; their sway almost reached the Atlantic, as it did from the icy fields of Siberia to the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean.

As authorities for the above statements, I may quote the following historical, geographical and ethnological works:—

The account of travels by Plano Carpini (1245), Ruysbroek (Rubruquis, 1251), and especially by Marco Polo (1271–1295). The account of his travels has been translated into most of the European languages. The best extant are those in French, by Pauthier, *Le livre de Marco Polo*, 2 vols., Paris, 1856; in German, by A. Bürck, with appendices and corrections by K. F. Neumann, 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1855; in Italian, by Bartoli (Florence, 1864); and in English, by W. Marsden, *The travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian, in the thirteenth century . . . translated from the Italian with notes.* London, 1818, 4to. This book was several times reprinted. The latest edition is that of Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., *The book of Ser Marco Polo concerning the kingdom and marvels of the East, newly translated and edited*, 2nd edition, London, 1875.

Of much importance, also, the description of *Abul-Ghasi Bahadur*, Khan of Kharezm, a Muhammedan historian who wrote in the Jagatai or East-Turkish dialect. His work was edited by Frähn, with the title, *Abulghasi Bahadür Chani Historia Mongolorum et Tatarorum nunc primum Tatarice edita*, folio, Kasan, 1825, and subsequently was edited and translated into French by Baron Desmaisons, *Aboul-Ghâzi Behâdour Khan, Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares publ., traduite et annotée*, 2 vols., St. Pétersbourg, 1871–1874. On the subject of the Mongolian dynasty in India attention may be drawn to *Baber-nameh Djagataice*, ed. N. Ilminski, Kasan, 1857, and *Mémoires de Baber, fondateur de la dynastie Mongole dans*

l'Hindoustan, trad. pour la première fois sur la texte djagatai, par A. Pavet de Courteille, 2 vols., Paris, 1871. Note, also, W. Erskine, *History of India under Baber and Humayun*, 2 vols., Lond. 1854. Rashid-eddin treated on the history of the Mongols in Persia. His work was edited and translated by M. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, fol. (pp. clxxxv. and 450), Paris, 1836, and with a Russian translation by E. Beresin, 3 vols., St. Petersburg, 1858–1865. Another work in Russian must also be noticed, viz. that by W. Grigorjew, *History of the Mongols from the oldest times to Tamerlan, translated from the Persian of Chondemir* (8vo. pp. xii. and 158), Petersburg, 1834.

Copious materials are also contained in De Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols et des autres Tartares occidentaux*, Paris, 1756–1758, with *Supplément à l'histoire des Huns*, par Jos. Senkowski, St. Petersburg, 1834. It was translated into German by J. Carl Dähnert, *Allgemeine geschichte der Hunnen*, 5 vols. 4to. Greifswald, 1768–1771. Further in K. D. Hüllmann, *Geschichte der Mongolen bis zum jahre* 1206, 8vo. (pp. xvi. and 144), Berlin, 1796. C. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols, depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan*, 4 vols., La Haye and Amsterdam, 1834–1835. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der Mongolen in Russland*, Pesth, 1840, and, also, by the same, *Geschichte der Ilchane das ist der Mongolen in Persien*, 2 vols., Darmstadt, 1842–1843. El. Beresin, *The invasion of Russia by the Mongols*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1852–1854 (in Russian). Franz v. Erdmann, *Temudschin, der unerschütterliche, nebst einer geographisch-ethnographischen einleitung und den erforderlichen besondern anmerkungen und beilagen*, Leipzig, 1862. Léon Feer, *La puissance et la civilisation Mongoles au treizième siècle* (8vo. pp. 40), Paris, 1867. O. Wolff, *Geschichte der Mongolen oder Tataren, besonders ihres vordringens nach Europa, sowie ihrer Eroberungen und einfälle in diesem welttheile, kritisch bearbeitet* (8vo. pp. iv. and 426), Breslau, 1872. Mr. Henry H. Howorth, in his *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th century, Part I. The Mongols proper and the*

Kalmuks (8vo. pp. xxviii. and 743), London, 1876; *Part II. The so-called Tartars of Russia and Central Asia*, Divisions 1 and 2, 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xxxiv. and 1087, 1880, has given us a voluminous work of rare industry, putting together as it does the immense materials at hand for the history of the Mongols and Tatars.

Before attempting to give an account of the Mongolian tribes and their languages, it will, I think, not be out of place to enumerate some of the general works, which will enable the reader to acquire some fuller knowledge of this people. This list comprises necessarily many of the more modern accounts of travellers. These are: P. S. Pallas, *Sammlungen historischer nachrichten über die mongolischen völkerschaften*, 1st vol. 4to. (pp. xiv. and 232), St. Petersburg, 1776, 2nd vol. 4to. (pp. x. and 438), 1801, and Benjamin Bergmann's *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken in den jahren* 1802 *und* 1803, 4 parts, Riga, 1804–1805 (I. 351; II. 352; III. 302; IV. 356), each standard works. The same must be said of Isaac Jacob Schmidt, *Forschungen im gebiete der älteren religiösen, politischen und literärischen bildungsgeschichte der völker Mittel-Asiens, vorzüglich der Mongolen und Tibeter* (8vo. pp. xiv. and 287), St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1824. To these may be added the works of the Archimandrite Hyakinth Bitschurinski, compiled mostly from Chinese sources: *Zapiski o Mongolii* (Description of Mongolia), 2 vols. 8vo. St. Petersburg, 1828; vol. i. pp. xii. and 230, vol. ii. pp. vi. and 339, translated into German by K. F. von der Borg, with the title of *Denkwürdigkeiten über die Mongolei von dem Mönch Hyakinth, aus dem russischen übersetzt*, 8vo. (pp. xiv. and 426), Berlin, 1832. *A History of the four first Khans of the house Tschinggis*, translated from the Chinese into Russian, 8vo., Petersburg, 1829. A *Description of Sungaria and of the eastern part of Turkestan*, alike translated from the Chinese into Russian, St. Petersburg, 1829, and a *Historical Survey of the Oirat or Kalmuks from the fifteenth century to the present time*, Petersburg, 1834. We must, also, not omit F. von Erdmann's *Vollständige übersicht der ältesten Türkischen, Tatarischen und*

Mogholischen völkerstämme nach Raschid-ud-din's Vorgange, Kasan, 1841.

Among modern travellers reference may be made to Timkowski, *Journey to China through Mongolia in the years* 1820 *and* 1821, St. Petersburg, 1824 (Russian), with a translation into German by J. A. E. Schmidt, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1825–1826, and into French by Eyriès-Klaproth, 2 vols., Paris, 1837; to these may be added, Huc, *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et la Chine pendant les années* 1844–1846, 2 vols., Paris, 1853, not omitting the researches of N. Przewalski, *Mongolia i strana Tangutow*, Petersburg, 1875, of which an English translation has been published, with a preface by Colonel H. Yule, C.B., and a German one by Albin Kohn, with the title, *Reisen in der Mongolei, im gebiete der Tanguten und den wüsten Nordtibets in den jahren* 1870–1873, *aus dem russischen übersetzt und mit anmerkungen versehen*, Jena, 1877; a second edition of this book was issued in 1881. Besides these, may be noticed, A. Pozdnjejew, *Urginskie chutuchty. Istoritscheskij otscherk ich proschlawo i sowremennawo byta* (The Clergy of Urga. A Historical Survey of their Past and Present Life), 8vo., Petersburg, 1879. *Goroda sjewernoi Mongolii* (The Towns of Northern Mongolia), 8vo. Petersburg, 1880, and *Obraztsy narodnoi literatury mongolskich plemen. Wypusk perwyi* (Samples of the Popular Literature of the Mongolian Tribes, fasciculus i.), 8vo. pp. vi. and 346, Petersburg, 1880.

The fatherland proper of the Mongols is the so-called Mongolia. It stretches from Siberia in the north towards the great wall of China in the south, from Dauria and Manchuria in the east to the Altai, and the sources of the Irtysh, Thian-shan (*i.e.* heaven mountains) and East Turkestan in the west. In the centre of this country is the desert Gobi, Chinese *Sha-mo*, *i.e.* sand-sea. The Mongolian population, however, extends in the south over the great wall to the basin of the *Kökö nōr* (blue lake) and thence extends due west over *Tanggud* and the northern border of *Tibet*. Crossing the political frontier, we find Mongols in the Russian province *Turkestan*, in the territories of *Semirje-*

tschensk (land of the seven streams), *Alatau*, and *Semipalatinsk* in the west, in the south of the province of Tomsk, with a more populated region due north in Siberia, round the *Baikal* lake. The country north of the Gobi from the Altai, Tangnu, and the Saian mountains in the west, to Manchuria in the east, is called Khalkha, with the chief districts, Urga (Kürē), Uliassutai, Khobdo (Kobdo). In a north-westerly direction from Gobi, between Thian-shan and the Altai, is Sungaria. The sum total of the Mongol population under Chinese government is calculated at between two and three millions.

Generally the whole Mongol tribe may be divided into three branches: 1. *East Mongols*; 2. *West Mongols* (*Kalmuks, Oelöd*), and, 3. *Buriats.*

These again may be subdivided into a number of hordes. Cf. I. J. Schmidt, *die volksstämme der Mongolen, als beitrag zur geschichte dieses volkes und seines fürstenhauses* from the *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 6e série, tome ii. 1834, pp. 409–477. W. Schott, *Bevölkerung, verfassung und verwaltung der heutigen Mongolei, nach Jakinf Bitschurinskij: statistitscheskoje opisanie kitaiskoi imperii* (Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire), in Erman's *Archiv für wissenschaftliche kunde von Russland*, 1845, vol. iv. pp. 534–547.

1) *The East Mongols.* Divided into the Khalkhas in the borders just mentioned, into Shara Mongols south of the Gobi along the great wall north-eastward to Manchuria, and lastly into Shiraigol or Sharaigol in Tangut and in northern Tibet.

2) *The West Mongols* (*Kalmuks, Oelöd, Oirad* or *Dörbön Oirad*=the four Oirad, *Mongol Oirad*). On the signification and employment of these different names, as well as regards the subdivision of the tribes, there is much uncertainty. The name Kalmuk, so generally employed among us, is, in fact, only used by the Wolga-Kalmuks (Khalimak), but even with them the name is not common. It is of foreign origin, and most likely a Tataric word, which has yet to be explained. *Oirad* means the 'near ones,' the 'related.' The usual

explanation given is that the single tribes consider themselves as being related to each other; hence, *Mongol Oirad*, the Mongol related tribe. This is also the favourite name among Kalmuks. *Dörbön Oirad*=the four related tribes comprise: 1) *Sungars*, 2) *Torgod*, 3) *Khoshod*, 4) *Dörböd*.

The signification of the name *Oelöd*, in the East Mongolian *Oegeled*, now the most widely spread among the tribes living in China, is likewise very doubtful. Some assert that 'Oelöd' is nothing but the Chinese transcription of Oirad, as the ordinary Chinese language does not possess the sound *r*. We have, however, to bear in mind that we have a Mongolian root *ögelekü*, with the sense 'to be inimical,' 'to bear hatred,' 'ill-will,' etc. The main population of the Kalmuks live or rather drag their existence after the usual fashion of Nomad tribes in Sungary, in the eastern part of the Thian-shan, on the south border of the Gobi, on the Kökö-nōr, and in the province of Kan-su. All these are under the Chinese government. In consequence, however, of the extension of the Russian Empire in Thian-shan and Alta-tau, many hordes have come under Russian sway. According to an approximate account we may reckon in the territory Semirjetschensk (Kuldja), and Semipalatinsk, 34,000 Kalmuks, while in the southern part of the Government Tomsk, on the Altai, the Kalmuk population amounted formerly to 19,000. Besides these we find a section of Kalmuk population far in the west, on the banks of the Wolga (near Astrachan). From their original seats in Sungary they turned in their migrations to the north, crossed the steppe of the Kirgise, and thus gradually reached the Emba and the Or. Between these two rivers and the Ural the *Torgod* settled in 1616; thence they crossed the Wolga in 1650, and took possession of the now so-called steppe of the Kalmuks; being followed in 1673 by the *Dörböd*, and in 1675 by the *Khoshod*. In 1771, a considerable number returned to the Chinese Empire. I refer to the interesting description given by Bergmann, *Nomadische streifereien*, vol. i. pp. 139–246. At the present time there is a not unimportant population in the so-called steppe of the Kalmuks, which ex-

tends between the Kaspian and the Wolga in the east and the Don in the west, and from the town of Sarepta in the north to the Kuma and the Manytsch in the south. According to modern statistical accounts, this population amounts to 75,630. To these we have to add 24,603 more on the borders of the Kosacks of the Don; and, lastly, 7,298 in the bordering provinces of Orenburg and Saratow. The sum total of the so-called Wolga Kalmuks is therefore 107,531. Besides the standard work of Bergmann, reference may advantageously be made to Zwick and Schill, *Reise von Sarepta in verschiedene Kalmücken-Horden des Astrachanischen Gouvernements im Jahre* 1823, Leipzig, 1827.

3) *Buriats.* In the southern part of the Russian province of Irkutsk, in a wide circle round the Baikal Lake, the heirdom proper of the Buriats, which they also call the 'Holy Sea.' The country east of the lake is commonly called Transbaikalia. Their country practically extends from the Chinese frontier on the south, within almost parallel lines to the north, to the town Kirensk on the Lena, and from the Onon in the east to the Oka, a tributary of the Angara, in the west, and still further west towards Nishne-Udinsk. They are most numerous beyond the Baikal Lake, in the valleys along the Uda, the Onon and the Selenga, and in Nertshinsk. These Trans-Baikalian Buriats came to these parts only towards the end of the seventeenth century from the Khalkhas. While Mongols and Kalmuks generally continue to live after the usual fashion of Nomads, we find here agricultural pursuits, most likely, however, due mainly to Russian influence. Christianity is also making its way. The sum total of the Buriats amounts at present to about 250,000. Compare also the Polish work of Agathon Giller, *Opisanie zabajkalskiéj krainy w Syberyi* (Description of the Trans-Baikalian Country), 3 vols., Leipzig, 1867.

Another tribe separated from the rest of the Mongols is the so-called *Hazâra* (the thousand), and the four *Aimak* (*i.e.* tribes), who wander about as herdsmen in Afghanistan, between Herat and Kabul. In external characteristics they are Mongols, and in all probability they are the remains of a

tribe from the time of the Mongol dynasty. Their language, which shows, of course, Persian influence, is strictly Mongolian, more particularly West Mongolian or Kalmuk, as has been proved by H. C. von der Gabelentz, in his Essay, *Ueber die sprache der Hazâras und Aimaks* in the Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. xx. pp. 326–335.

Agreeably with this threefold division of the Mongols we have also a threefold division of their respective languages: 1) East Mongolian or Mongolian proper; 2) West Mongolian or Kalmuk; 3) Buriatic.

The dialects just mentioned are found to be in close relation to each other, when we examine their roots, inflections, and grammatical structure. The difference between them is indeed so slight, that whoever understands one of them understands all. Phonetically a characteristic of them all is the "harmony of vowels," which are divided into two chief classes: the hard, *a o u*; and the soft, *e ö ü*; between which *i* is in the middle.

All vowels of the same word must necessarily belong to the same class, so that the nature of the first or root-vowel determines the nature of the other or inflection-vowels; now and then a sort retrogressive harmony takes place; in this fashion that a later vowel determines the nature of the former. The consonants preceding the vowels are equally under their influence. The Mongolian dialects have no *pre*positions, but only *post*positions, the inflection of the noun being formed by this method.

The Mongolian characters, which in a slightly altered form are also in use among the Manchus, are written perpendicularly from above downward, and the lines follow from left to right, the alphabet having signs for seven vowels and diphthongs derived from them, and for seventeen consonants. All these are modified in shape according to their position, in the beginning, middle, or end of a word, and also by certain orthographic rules. In Mongolian and Manchu writing the syllable (*i.e.* the consonant together with the vowel) is considered as a unit, in other words a

syllabarium rather than an *alphabet*. The existing characters are lineal descendants of the original Uigurian forms, which were themselves derived from the Syriac, having been brought to the Uigurs by Nestorian missionaries. An Indian and Tibetan influence may also be noticed, while the arrangement of the characters in perpendicular lines is common to the Chinese. The writing was brought into its present shape by the learned Lamas Sa-skja Pandita, Phags-pa Lama and Tschoitschi Odser in the thirteenth century (cf. H. C. von der Gabelentz, in the Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, Göttingen, 1838, vol. ii. pp. 1–21, *Versuch über eine alte Mongolische inschrift*), but is exceedingly imperfect. Every one who has tried to read Mongolian knows how many difficulties have to be overcome. It will thoroughly try the patience of a student to read many words correctly, while he has no means of feeling absolutely sure that he is right in every instance. This difficulty arises from the ambiguity of certain letters, or from the fact that the same sign is to be pronounced differently according to its position in the word. Thus there are no means for distinguishing the *o* and *u*, *ö* and *ü*, the consonants *g* and *k*, *t* and *d*, *j* and *s* (*ds*). *A* and *e*, *o* (*u*) and *ö* (*ü*), *a* (*e*) and *n*, *g* and *ch*, *t* (*d*) and *on* are liable to be mistaken for each other. Other changes will be noticed and avoided by advanced students. It is a great defect that such common words as *ada* (a fury) and *ende* (here), *ende* (here) and *nada* (me), *aldan* (fathom) and *altan* (gold), *amidu* (in life) and *amitu* (alive), *iredschü* (coming) and *iradschu* (cutting), *ordu* (court-residence) and *urtu* (long), *onochu* (to seize) and *unuchu* (to ride), *bal* (honey) and *bel* (middle of the body), *tere* (this) and *dere* (pillow), *gebe* (said) and *kebe* (made), *gem* (evil) and *kem* (measure), *ger* (house) and *ker* (how), *naran* (sun) and *nere* (name), *jagon* (what) and *dsagon* (hundred), should be written exactly alike. This list might be largely increased. Such circumstances do not encourage the study of the Mongolian languages, as it takes a long time before the beginner is able to avoid ambiguities which are indeed troublesome to the most advanced scholar. These

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defects apply equally to the Mongolian and Buriatic alphabets.

In 1648, the Saja Pandita composed a new alphabet (the Kalmuk), in which these ambiguities are avoided, though the graphic differences between the two alphabets are only slight. The Kalmuk alphabet avoids the angular and clumsy shapes of the Mongolian, and has, on the contrary, a rounded and pleasing shape. The Kalmuk alphabet has also this great advantage, that every sound has its distinct graphic character; a mistake between two characters can scarcely occur. The Kalmuk words once mastered, they can be easily recognized in their Mongolian shape. The dialectical differences are also very slight.

I consider, therefore, the Kalmuk to be the key of the Mongolian, and that it should form the groundwork of Mongolian studies, and I advise every one who wishes seriously to study the Mongolian languages, to commence his labours with the Kalmuk. The Kalmuk and East Mongolian dialects do not differ much, at least in the spoken language; but the Kalmuks write according to their pronunciation, while the Mongolian orthography exhibits much the same spectacle as French and English, where the actual pronunciation is strangely at variance with the orthography.

Sōn (*dsōn*) 'hundred,' is pronounced alike by the Kalmuks and the East Mongolians; but while the former follow this pronunciation also in writing, according to Mongolian orthography the word appears in the form *dsagon*. The dialectic difference between the two languages very frequently lies only in a different pronunciation of some letters. Thus East Mongolian *ds* is in Kalmuk soft *s*, etc. The chief difference between the two dialects lies in the fact that in Kalmuk the soft guttural *g* between two vowels is omitted, while through the joining of the two vowels, a long vowel is produced. In the pronunciation of common East Mongolian the *g* is likewise omitted, but it is written; while in Kalmuk, as just now mentioned, the guttural can only be traced through the lengthening of the syllable. Thus we find: Mongol *chagan* 'prince,' Kalmuk *chān*; M. *dagon* 'voice,

sound,' K. *dōn, dūn*; M. *dologan* 'seven,' K. *dolōn*; M. *agola* 'mountain,' K. *ōla, ūla*; M. *nagor* 'lake,' K. *nōr, nūr*; M. *ulagan* 'red,' K. *ulān*; M. *jagon* 'what,' K. *jōn* (*jūn*); M. *dabagan* 'mountain-ridge,' K. *dabān*; M. *sanagan* 'thought,' K. *sanān*; M. *baragon* 'on the right,' K. *barōn, barūn*; M. *schibagon* 'bird,' K. *schowōn*; M. *tschilagon* 'stone,' K. *tschilōn* (*tschulūn*); M. *dschirgogan* 'six,' K. *surgān*; M. *degere* 'high, above,' K. *dēre*; M. *uguchu* 'to drink,' K. *ūchu*; M. *togodschi* 'history,' K. *tōdschi, tūdschi*; M. *egüden* 'door,' K. *öden*; M. *dsegün* 'left,' K. *sön*; M. *ögede* 'in the height,' K. *ödö*; M. *ögeled* 'the Kalmuks,' K. *ölöd*; M. *üileged* 'if one has done,' K. *üilēd*; M. *köbegün* 'son,' K. *köwön*; M. *gegün* 'mare,' K. *gün*; M. *kegür* 'corpse,' K. *kür*; M. *charigad* 'returned,' K. *charēd*, etc.

The Buriatic, in these peculiarities, is almost always found with East Mongolian, with which it is in every respect closely allied. In the pronunciation of some letters the transition of East Mongolian *tsa, tse*, into Buriatic *ss* is noticeable; for instance: Mong. *tsetsek* 'flower,' Buriatic *ssessek*; M. *tsak* 'time,' B. *ssak*; M. *tsagan* 'white,' B. *ssagan*; M. *tsetsen* 'prudent,' B. *ssessen*. *Ss* is sometimes pronounced like (the German) *ch*: East M. *ssain* 'good,' B. *chain*; M. *ssedkil* 'heart,' B. *chedkil*. *K* in the beginning or middle of a word is always aspirated.

Another important fact to be noticed, is that a clear distinction must be drawn between the higher and nobler written or book-language, and the common or conversational language of every-day life. The difference between the two is very considerable, and may be fairly compared to that between the Modern High German book-language, and the different dialects. All grammars and dictionaries as yet published treat only on the book-language, and so, also, with a few exceptions, the published literary documents are written in this higher style. The exceptions are the *Gesser-chan*, and the *Siddhi-kür* and *Djangariad*; the two latter published by Golstunskij. The popular or conversational language has not yet been fixed in writing till very lately by the work of A. Pozdnjejew, which contains rich materials for popular literature, and is an important step in this direction.

The literature known up to the present date consists mostly of translation from the Tibetan, the holy language of Buddhism. Tibetan is even still the language of the learned. It is well known that the Tibetan Buddhist literature is itself translated from the Sanskrit; hence, now and then, through Mongols and Kalmuks we get acquainted with Indian works, the originals of which are not known in Sanskrit. Such is the case, for instance, with the tales of *Siddhi-kür*. Many books have also been translated from the Chinese. Most of the writings are of a religious, historical, philosophical, medical, astronomical, or astrological character. Favourite subjects are folk-lore and fairy tales. Among the religious books, perhaps the most important is that containing the legends entitled, *üliger ün dalai* 'ocean of comparisons.' This is the book which the late I. Jacob Schmidt edited under the title, *Der Weise und der Thor*, in Tibetan and German, Petersburg, 1843. To this may be added the *boddhi mör*, or 'the holy path,' the *altan gerel* 'gleaming of gold,' the *mani gambo*, and *jertüntschü jin toli* 'mirror of the world.' Little has as yet been published, but what has been will be mentioned below. What has been known of poetical literature before Pozdnjejew is scarcely worth mentioning. In some parts of the historical and narrative literature we find, wherever the narrative takes a higher flight, an admixture of poetical diction. The poetry appears in a certain parallelism of the phrases, with a return either of the same endings (rhyme), or with the same words (refrain). Frequently we find, besides the rhyme or refrain, alliteration. (Cf. the essay of H. C. von der Gabelentz in the Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, Götting, 1837, vol. i. pp. 20–37, *Einiges über Mongolische poesie*, an essay which has, however, been superseded by the work of Pozdnjejew.)

I shall now enumerate such books as have been published to advance the knowledge of the Mongolian languages, some being original Mongolian texts, others the same translated into modern European languages; and I take first a few writings of a more general character which embrace the whole.

Besides the two excellent writings of W. Schott, already alluded to, viz. *Versuch über die Tatarischen sprachen*, Berlin, 1836, and *Ueber das Altai'sche oder Finnisch-Tatarische sprachengeschlecht*, Berlin, 1849, Abel Rémusat's *Recherches sur les langues Tartares, ou mémoires sur différents points de la grammaire et de la littérature des Mandchous, des Mongols, des Ouïgours et des Tibétains*, vol. i. 4to. pp. li. and 398, Paris, 1820, must be mentioned; and, also, Nawrocki, *Short remarks on the difference between the Kalmuk and Mongolian languages*, which appeared in Russian in the *Utschenyja Zapiski* (Literary News) of the Kasan University in 1840, iii. pp. 160–176.

Not much praise can be bestowed on the labours of Boller, *Die wurzelsuffixe in den ural-altaischen sprachen* (Vienna, 1857), *Die übereinstimmung der tempus- und moduscharaktere in den ural-altaischen sprachen* (1857), and *Die pronominalsuffixe des ural-altaischen verbums* (1858). On the other hand, the essay of W. Schott, *Das zahlwort in der Tschudischen sprachenclasse, wie auch im Türkischen, Tungusischen und Mongolischen* (Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie, 1853), is deserving of the highest praise; as is, also, the same learned professor's *Altajische studien oder untersuchungen auf dem gebiete der Altai-sprachen* (from the third fasciculus the title is *Auf dem gebiete der Tatarischen (Turanischen) sprachen*), 5 fasc. Berlin, 1860–1870, from the essays of the Berlin Academy, a very ingenious paper, full of sound and acute etymologies and explanation of forms.

As considerable may be noticed the essay of G. Bálint, written in Hungarian, *Párhuzam a magyar és mongol nyelv terén* (Parallelism between the Magyar and Mongolian Languages), crown 8vo. pp. xxx. and 62, Budapest, 1877. The national pride of the author scorns the idea that his people should be closely related to the poor hunters and fishermen of the Ugro-Finn race; but this has been proved long ago by the professors of a rational science of language. Accordingly Bálint, in his introduction, opposes Hunfalvy, who maintains this view; and himself tries to prove the Magyars to be as closely as possible connected with the world-storming Mongols. It can be easily conceived that such a thought

would flatter the national pride of the Magyars; it is, however, quite impossible. Every rational etymologist knows that the Magyar language is much more closely allied, as far as dictionary and grammar are concerned, to the Finno-Ugrian than to the Mongolian; though it is quite conceivable that the Magyar has many roots and words in common with the Mongol, inasmuch as both belong to the Ural-Altaic branch. But always valuable is the small comparative vocabulary of the Magyar and Mongolian languages (pp. 1–62), though in this there are many forced and impossible etymologies.

I reserve till the end of this paper a full reference to A. Pozdnjejew's work, which treats likewise with all three dialects, and pass to a discussion of the individual dialects.

A. East Mongolian or Mongolian Proper.

a. *Grammars and Exercise Books.*

I. J. Schmidt, *Grammatik der Mongolischen sprache*, 4to. pp. xii. and 179, St. Petersburg, 1831.

Jos. Kowalewski, *Kratkaja grammatika mongolskago knischnago jazyka* (Short Grammar of the Mongolian written language), 8vo. pp. 197, Kasan, 1835.

Robert Yuille, *Short Mongolian Grammar* (in the Mongolian language); xylography from the English mission press before Selenginsk beyond the Baikal, 1838. This book will always remain unique.

Alexius Bobrownikow, *Grammatika mongolsko-kalmyckago jazyka* (Grammar of the Mongolian-Kalmuk Language), 8vo. pp. xi. and 400, Kasan, 1849. An excellent book, in which Kalmuk and Mongolian are placed side by side. Inflection and syntax are fully treated, and many examples of the language are given.

Carlo Puini, *Elementi della grammatica mongolica*, 8vo. pp. x. and 42, Florence, 1878. This is a brief abstract of the grammar of Schmidt.

Alexander Popow, *Mongolskaja christomatija* (Mongolian Chrestomathy), vol. i. 8vo. pp. x. and 318; vol. ii. pp. 1–199

containing the dictionary, Kasan, 1836. A work admirably adapted for beginners. By the same author is *Arithmetika na mongolskom jazykje* (Arithmetic in the Mongolian Language), Kasan, 1837.

Jos. Kowalewski, *Mongolskaja chrestomatija* (Mongolian Chrestomathy), Part I. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 591, Kasan, 1836; Part II. 8vo. pp. iv. and 595, 1837. An excellent work, with a full selection of reading exercises, and an equally excellent commentary to the same.

(Schergin), *A collection of maxims, prayers, fables, tales, sayings, anecdotes, and dialogues,* translated from the Russian into Mongolian, with a Mongolian-Russian dictionary (Russian), 8vo. pp. vi. and 327, Kasan, 1841.

Louis Rochet, *Sentences, maximes et proverbes Mantchoux et Mongols accompagnés d'une traduction française, des alphabets et d'un vocabulaire de tous les mots contenus dans le texte de ces deux langues,* 8vo. pp. vi. and 166, Paris, 1875.

b. *Dictionaries.*

I. J. Schmidt, *Mongolisch-deutsch-russisches wörterbuch nebst einem deutschen und einem russischen wortregister,* 4to. pp. viii. and 616, St. Petersburg, 1835.

Jos. Etienne Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français,* vol. i. 4to. pp. xiii. and 594, Kasan, 1844; vol. ii. 4to. pp. 595–1545, 1846; vol. iii. 4to. pp. 1547–2690, 1849. An excellent dictionary.

Texts.

Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses, verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus; aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt, und mit dem Originaltexte, nebst Anmerkungen, Erläuterungen und Citaten aus andern unedirten Originalwerken herausgegeben von Is. Jac. Schmidt, 4to. pp. xxiv. and 509, St. Petersburg, 1828. Compare also Abel Rémusat, *Observations sur l'Histoire des Mongols Orientaux, de Sanang-Setsen,* 8vo. pp. 88, Paris, 1832 (Extrait du Nouveau Journal Asiatique).

Die Thaten des Vertilgers der zehn Uebel in den zehn Gegenden, des verdienstvollen Helden Bogda Gesser Chan; eine mon-

golische heldensage, nach einem in Peking gedruckten exemplare aufs neue abgedruckt unter der Aufsicht des Akademikers Is. Jac. Schmidt. Edited by the Imperial Academy of Science, 4to. pp. 191, St. Petersburg, 1836.

Die Thaten Bogda Gesser Chan's, des Vertilgers der wurzel der zehn übel in den zehn gegenden. Eine ostasiatische Heldensage, aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt von Is. Jac. Schmidt, 8vo. pp. xv. and 287, St. Petersburg, 1839.

Cp. W. Schott, *Ueber die sage von Geser-Chan* (Transactions of the Berlin Academy of Science, Phil. hist. class, 1851, pp. 263-295), and B. Jülg, *Ueber die griechische heldensage im wiederscheine bei den Mongolen* (from the Transactions of the Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner zu Würzburg, 1868 (Leipzig, 1869, pp. 58–71).

Altan Tobtschi. *Mongolian Chronicle in the original, and translation, with addition of the Kalmuk text of the history of the Ubaschi Chuntaidschi and his war with the Oirats.* Translated by the Lama Galsang Gombojew (Russian), sixth part of the "Arbeiten der orientalischen abtheilung der Kaiserlichen archäologischen gesellschaft," 8vo. pp. xiv. and 234, St. Petersburg, 1858.

Ardschi Burdschi. *Mongolskaja powjest* (Ardschi Burdschi, a Mongolian Tale). Translated from the Mongolian into Russian by the Lama Galsang Gombojew, 4to. pp. 19, St. Petersburg, 1858.

Schiddi-Kür, *Sobranie Mongolskich skazok* (Siddhi-Kür, a Collection of Mongolian Tales). Translation from the Mongolian into Russian by the Lama Galsang Gombojew, 8vo. pp. 102, St. Petersburg, 1865. An extract from the Ethnographical gazette "Sbornik" of the Russian Geographical Society, 1865.

B. Jülg, *Mongolische märchen. Erzählung aus der Sammlung Ardschi Bordschi. Ein seitenstück zum gottesgericht in Tristan und Isolde. Mongolisch und deutsch nebst dem bruchstück aus Tristan und Isolde. Als probe einer gesammt-ausgabe von Ardschi Bordschi und den neun nachtrags-erzählungen des Siddhi-Kür,* 8vo. pp. 37, Innsbruck, 1867. This is the first Mongolian print out of Russia.

B. Jülg, *Mongolische märchen-sammlung. Die neun märchen des Siddhi-Kür nach der ausführlichen redaction und die geschichte des Ardschi-Bordschi Chan* (Mongolian, with a German translation and critical notes), 8vo. pp. xvi. and 256, Innsbruck, 1868.

B. Jülg, *Mongolische märchen. Die neun nachtrags-erzählungen des Siddhi-Kür und die geschichte des Ardschi-Bordschi Chan. Eine Fortsetzung zu den "Kalmükischen Märchen."* Translated from the Mongolian, with Introduction and Notes, 8vo. pp. xvi. and 132, Innsbruck, 1868.

We cannot pass by in silence the *Sagas from the far East; or, Kalmouk and Mongolian Traditionary Tales. With historical preface and explanatory notes.* By the Author of "Patrañas; Household Stories from the Land of Hofer," 8vo. pp. xx. and 420, London, Griffith and Farran, 1873, which *contains from page* 1–324 *a complete verbal, though now and then misunderstood, translation of the Siddhi-Kür and Ardschi-Bordschi of the present writer. The author does not mention this on the title-page, and from page* v. *of the preface it might be naturally inferred that it was her own work.*

We have finally to mention that between the years 1867 and 1879, in the Synodal Printing Office at St. Petersburg, a number of Christian liturgical writings have been printed in Mongolian and Russian, for the use of such of the Mongols as have been converted from Buddhism to Christianity. Such are primers for children, calendars, catechisms, legends of saints, Psalm-books, missals, church rituals. It is not necessary to mention these severally, as they cannot claim to be strictly scientific.

B. Kalmuk.

Grammars.

Alexander Popow, *Grammatika Kalmyckago jazyka* (Grammar of the Kalmuk Language), 8vo. pp. ix. and 390, Kasan, 1847. A good book.

Alexius Bobrownikow, *Grammatika mongolsko-kalmyckago jazyka* (Grammar of the Mongol-Kalmuk Language), 8vo. pp. xi. and 400, Kasan, 1849. We have already adverted to the merits of this book when speaking about Mongolian grammars.

H. A. Zwick, *Grammatik der West-Mongolischen das ist Oirad oder Kalmükischen Sprache*, 4to. pp. *a–d* and 149, *s.l.s.a.* The preface is dated Königsfeld in the Grand-Duchy of Baden, November, 1851. The book is autographed. The author has lived for many years as a Moravian in the colony at Sarepta (Province of Astrachan), near the Kaspian, in intercourse with the Kalmuks, partly as a missionary. The book, however, has nothing to recommend it.

Dictionaries.

The earliest Kalmuk dictionary is that by Philip Joh. von Strahlenberg, *Das Nord- und Oestliche Theil von Europa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze Russische Reich mit Siberien und der grossen Tatarey in sich begreifet, etc.*, 4to. pp. xxvi. and 438, Stockholm, 1730; pp. 137–156: *Vocabularium Calmucko-Mungalicum.*

It was translated a few years later into English under the title, *An Historico-Geographical Description of the North and East Parts of Europe and Asia; but more particularly of Russia, Siberia and Tartary; both in their Ancient and Modern state, together with an entire new Polyglot Table of the Dialects of thirty-two Tartarian Nations; and a Vocabulary of the Kalmuk-Mungalian Tongue, as also a large and accurate Map of those Countries, and variety of Cuts representing Asiatick-Scythian Antiquities. Written originally in High German by Mr. Philip John von Strahlenberg, a Swedish Officer, thirteen years Captive in those parts. Now faithfully translated into English*, 4to. pp. ix. and 463, London, 1738. The vocabulary is to be found on page 142.

H. A. Zwick, *Handbuch der Westmongolischen sprache*, 4to.; pp. 1–400 are autographed; pp. 401–482, containing the German index to the dictionary, are printed; *s.l.s.a.* It appeared, however, in 1852. The title-page runs, *gezeich. u. gedr. v. I. N. Heinemann in Hüfingen* (Grand-Duchy of Baden). It is a rather voluminous dictionary; it lacks, however, arrangement and scientific method; everything is confused; but it is of some value on account of its being the most complete existing vocabulary.

Parm. Smirnow, *Kratkij russko-kalmyckij slowar* (A Short Russian-Kalmuk Dictionary), 8vo. pp. 127, Kasan, 1857.

Const. Golstunskij, *Russko-Kalmyckji slowar* (A Russian-Kalmuk Dictionary), 8vo. pp. iv. and 136, St. Petersburg, 1860.

A complete Kalmuk-German Dictionary to the tales of Siddhi-Kŭr, with many syntactical contributions, is to be found in my edition of the *Siddhi-Kür*, on pp. 135–223.

Texts and Translations.

In the *Nomadische Streifereien* of Benjamin Bergmann, to which I alluded above, are translations, or partly paraphrases from the Kalmuk. Thus:

Vol. I. pp. 247–351, *Ssiddhi-Kür*, Mongolian Tales.

III. pp. 185–230, The Mirror of the World, a Mongolian Document, *i.e.* a Buddhist Cosmology.

pp. 231–302, *Bokdo Gässärchan*, a Mongolian Religious Writing in two Books. This is the so-called Abridged Gesser.

IV. pp. 3–180, *Goh Tschikitu*, a Religious Document in four books, from the Mongolian. An attractive heroic story.

pp. 181–214. An Epic Poem taken from the Dschangariad (fragment).

I further mention:

Alexius Bobrownikow, *Dschangar. Narodnaja Kalmyckaja skazka* (Dschangar, a Kalmuk Popular Tale), 8vo. pp. 30, St. Petersburg, 1854. It is a Russian translation of the Dschangariad, and a reprint from the Advertiser of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg, 1854, vol. v. p. 99 *sqq*. This Russian translation, by Bobrownikow, was rendered into German by Franz von Erdmann in the "Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen gesellschaft," Leipzig, 1857, vol. xi. pp. 708–730, *Kalmückischer Dschangar. Erzählung der Heldenthaten des erhabenen Bogdo-Chan Dschangar.*

Galsang Gombojew, *History of the Ubaschi Chuntaidschi, and of his war with the Oirats.* A Kalmuk text, with a

Russian translation, in the above-mentioned *Altan Tobtschi*, St. Petersburg, 1858, pp. 198–224. A poetic heroic story.

B. Jülg, *Die märchen des Siddhi-Kür. Kalmükisch. X. Erzählung*, fol. pp. 6, Vienna, 1861. This was published as a specimen of an edition which subsequently appeared.

Const. Golstunskij, *Ubaschi-Chun Taidschijn tūdschi, narodnaja Kalmyckaja poema Dschangara i Sidditu Käryjn-tūli, izdanyja na Kalmyckom jazykje* (The history of the Ubaschi Chun-Taidschi, the Kalmuk Popular Poem Dschangar, and the tales of the Siddhi-Kür), edited in Kalmuk, *autographed, entirely Kalmuk*, St. Petersburg, 1864, oblong fol. The history of Ubaschi on pp. 1–7, Dschangar, pp. 7–74, Siddhi-Kür, pp. 48.

B. Jülg, *Die märchen des Siddhi-Kür. Kalmükischer text mit deutscher übersetzung und einem kalmükisch-deutschen wörterbuch*, 8vo. pp. xvi. and 223, Leipzig, 1866.

B. Jülg, *Kalmükische märchen. Die märchen des Siddhi-Kür oder Erzählungen eines verzauberten Todten. Ein Beitrag zur Sagenkunde auf buddhistischem gebiete. Aus dem Kalmükischen übersetzt*, 8vo. pp. vi. and 69, Leipzig, 1866.

K. Th. Golstunskij, *The Mongol-Oirad Laws of the Year* 1640, *the Supplementary Commands of the Galdan Chun-Taidschi, and the Laws compiled for the Wolga Kalmuks under the Kalmuk Chan Donduk-Daschi*, Kalmuk text, with a Russian translation and notes (Russian), 8vo., introduction pp. 1–16, text pp. 33, translation and notes pp. 35–143, St. Petersburg, 1880.

C. Buriatic.

Grammars.

M. Alexander Castrén's *Versuch einer Burjätischen sprachlehre nebst kurzem wörtercerzeichniss. Herausgegeben von* Anton Schiefner, 8vo. pp. xv. and 244, St. Petersburg, 1857.

A. Orlow, *Grammatika Mongolo-Burjatskago razgowornago jazyka* (Grammar of the Mongol-Buriatic Colloquial Language), 8vo. pp. x. 265 and iv. Kasan, 1878.

The book of Orlow is distinguished by the solidity and soundness of its author. It abounds in good examples.

Instead of the original Mongolian types, a Russian transcription is used. At all events, the grammar is much more thorough and rich in instructive matter than is the essay of Castrén.

As I mentioned above, the Buriats are being gradually won over to civilization, and even to Christianity. An attempt has been made to promote this end through instructive writings. I may name, in this respect, a Christian tract (most probably translated by I. J. Schmidt), under the title *ssain amugulang un jabudal un mör* (path of the blessed conduct), small 8vo., pp. 28, Petersburg, 1818, in Mongolian types. I may also mention that this tract was translated and published in Kalmuk, pp. 14.

A similar tract, which contains the Christian doctrine, prayers, the creed, the ten commandments, etc., was printed *s.l.s.a.* in Mongolian types, small 8vo. pp. 30. It has been translated like the former into Kalmuk, pp. 26.

N. Boldonow, *Daida-delchein uschir* (*o mirozdanii*) (on the world-structure), 8vo. pp. 29, Irkutsk, 1862. Buriatic, in a Russian transcription.

Utschenie o swjatoj christianskoj wjerje, etc. (information on the Christian creed), expounded in conversations with the Buriats, together with a translation into the dialect of the Buriats north of the Baikal, 8vo. pp. 148, Kasan, 1877. Russian and Buriat, the latter in a Russian transcription.

Schitie swjatitelja Nikolaja, episkopa Myrlikijskago (Life of the High Priest Nicholas, bishop of Myra in Lycia). In the dialect of the Buriats north of the Baikal, 8vo. pp. 31, Kasan, 1879. Buriat transcribed in Russ.

I must add that, formerly, the Russian, more recently the English Bible Society, have endeavoured to provide good translations of the Sacred Books of the Old and New Testament. I think I may fairly mention these among literary monuments, as, owing to the rarity of Mongol-Kalmuk texts, they were for a long time the only source of our knowledge of the language. Besides this, they are distinguished by the accuracy of the translation, and are thus deserving of the

highest praise. At the request of the Russian Bible Society, I. J. Schmidt translated into Mongolian:

The Gospel according to S. Matthew, sm. fol. pp. 118, St. Petersburg, 1819.

The Gospel according to S. Mark and S. Luke, sm. fol. pp. 222, St. Petersburg, 1821.

The Gospel according to S. John, sm. fol. pp. 99, *s.l.s.a.*

Acts of the Apostles, sm. fol. pp. 143, St. Petersburg, 1820.

And into *Kalmuk*:

The Gospel according to S. Matthew, sm. fol. leaves 59.

The Gospel according to S. Mark and S. Luke, sm. fol. pp. 225.

The Gospel according to S. John, sm. fol. pp. 97. The same in a modern reprint, 12mo. pp. 145, *s.l.s.a.*

The Acts of the Apostles, sm. fol. pp. 137.

Two English missionaries, Edward Stallybrass and William Swan (and for a time, at least, Robert Yuille), have lived for twenty-three years among the Buriats, whom they tried to convert; they had even set up a printing establishment in Selenginsk so as to be able to print and propagate more easily the writings necessary for their mission. To their labours is due the Mongolian *Old Testament*, which has been published in a thick quarto volume by the *London Bible Society*. It was translated in Siberia during the years 1836–1840, and was printed at the mission press with the Mongolian types existing in Russia—a fact which is indicated at the end of the divisions which appeared in the course of the years in Mongolian. I. Jac. Schmidt, Member of the Russian Academy of Science at St. Petersburg, had to declare, under an order of the Minister of Education and of the Interior, that the translation was in accordance with the text of the editions recognized by the Protestants. This declaration is printed at the head of every one of the books in Russian.

These enterprising missionaries have also translated the *New Testament*, which, however, was printed with other type after they were expelled from Russia:

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: translated out of the original Greek into the Mongolian

language, by Edward Stallybrass and William Swan, many years missionaries residing in Siberia; for, and at the expense of, the British and Foreign Bible Society, 8vo. pp. 925, London, 1846.

In conclusion, I must call special attention to the frequently quoted grand work of A. Pozdnjejew, who was the first to introduce us to the popular literature of the Mongols. The book in question has the title: *Obraztsy narodnoj literatury Mongolskich plemen*, etc. (*Specimens of the popular literature of the Mongolian tribes*). *Part I. Popular songs of the Mongols, collected and edited, with additional notes on the character of the popular poetry of the Mongolian tribes, on the poetry of the higher literature, and the artificial character of the Mongol versification*, 8vo. pp. vi. and 346, St. Petersburg, 1880.

The author lived for three years among the different Mongolian tribes, and collected much and valuable materials for his work, among which may be mentioned the very valuable historic works entitled *erdenijn erike, kökö debter, schara tūdschi, juan tschao*, publications which will provide a rich mine for Mongolian researches. The author contemplates finishing his work in four volumes. The present volume is extremely rich in instructive matter, and makes us acquainted, as it were, with a new world. In pp. 1–43 we have the original text of the Mongolian, Kalmukian, and Buriatic popular songs. Then follows, in pp. 60–319, the text in a Russian transcription, with a Russian translation, and a copious commentary on the songs. The Russian transcription is especially valuable as giving us, for the first time, an exact notion on the deviation of the present pronunciation from the original alphabet as determined by the written characters. The remarks on pp. 319–346 regarding Mongolian versification and strophic composition are also deserving of much praise. Every statement is illustrated by copious and practical examples. I look forward anxiously to the publication of the remaining volumes.

INNSBRUCK, *July* 24, 1881.

ART. VII.—*Sanskṛit Ode addressed to the Fifth International Congress of Orientalists assembled at Berlin, September,* 1881. By the Lady Paṇḍit RAMĀ-BĀĪ, *of Silchar, Kāchār, Assam.* With a Translation by Professor MONIER WILLIAMS, C.I.E.

ओ३म्

समुदारमहाशया बुधा,
भवतां स्वस्ति सदाऽस्तु वृद्धिमत् ।
प्रियभाषणभक्तिसत्कृतीः
कृपया स्वीकुरुताऽनघा मम ॥ १ ॥

विकला हृतभूषणाऽधुना
जरती संस्कृतभारती विदः ।
अहहाद्य चिरादसंस्कृता
शरणं वः सुमतोनुपस्थिता ॥ २ ॥

इयमार्त्तरवेण पीडिता
विलपत्यन्तरमर्म्मभेदिना ।
शृणुताऽवहिता यथाह्ययं
प्रविशेत् क्षीणतरो भवच्छ्रुतीः ॥ ३ ॥

"हाः—

परिवर्त्तिनि नित्यशो जग-
त्यचलं किं नु तदस्ति यन्मुदः ।
विधिदुर्ह्वसिते भ्रमाकुलं
न घटीयन्त्रदृशां प्रपद्यते ॥ ४ ॥

तडितोऽपि गतिः क्वचिज्जनै-
रिह निर्णेष्यत एधितश्रमैः ।
न तथापि विधेर्विचेष्टितं
महदायासशतैश्चिरं कृतैः ॥ ५ ॥

सुभगाऽहमभूवमेकदा
बहुपुत्रेष्टसमृद्धिशालिनी ।

भगिनीरतिवर्त्त्य मेऽपरा
भुवि मान्या भुवनैकसुन्दरी ॥ ६ ॥
कवयोऽखिलमोहनस्वरा
विदुषो(sic) दार्शनिकाः कलाविदः ।
गणका अपि नीतिकोविदा
गुरुविज्ञानविशेषमण्डिताः ॥ ७ ॥
अनिशं नवदिव्यभूषणैः
स्वकृतैस्ते बत माममण्डयन् ।
अभवच्चिरजीवनव्रतं
मम सेवैव यदीयमच्चतम् ॥ ८ ॥
तदनिर्व्वचनीयविज्ञता
मुकुराणां मम केलिसद्मनाम् ।
अवशिष्टमिहाद्य खण्डशः
परितो ध्वस्तमहो निदर्शनम् ॥ ९ ॥
क्व स मे विभवोऽद्य ते सुताः
क्व च वल्मीकभुवादयः प्रियाः ? ।
न कथन्नु ममेदृशी दशा
पुनरावृत्य निरीक्ष्यतेऽपि तैः ॥ १० ॥
विकला हतसाधुपुच्चका
सततं विद्रुलहृत् चताङ्गका ।
शववत्पतितास्म्यनादृता
श्वसितेऽपि चमता न मेऽधुना ॥ ११ ॥
मम नाम विलीनतेजसो
मृतभाषेत्यभिधीयते परैः ।
इति दुःसहदुःखदुःखिता
कथमद्यापि भवेऽस्मि हा विधे ॥ १२ ॥
क्व मदीयविपत्सुदुःखिता
अवशिष्टास्तनया ममाऽधुना ।

पुनरुद्धरणं प्रकुर्य्युरि-
त्यहहाऽऽशास्तमभून्मया चिरम् ॥ १३ ॥
क्व पुनः स्वत एव तेऽद्य मां
बत निःशेषयितुं कुबुद्धयः ।
समवेत्य विचारयन्त्यतः
किमिवाऽन्यज्जविताऽसुखं परम् ॥ १४ ॥
प्राणैः समं मे बत देवनागरं
संहृत्य तत्सद्मनि रोमनाक्षरम् ।
दृच्छन्त्यधिष्ठापयितुं यदीदृशी
तेषां मतिः स्यान्नतदा कथं विपत् ? ॥ १५ ॥
यद्यात्मजा मे भुवि चिह्नमात्रम-
प्युच्छेत्तुमिच्छन्ति तदा क एव माम् ।
रक्षन्तु कं वा शरणं प्रयामि हे
किं वाऽपि दुःखावृतजीविताशया ॥ १६ ॥
आसन्पुरैके दिवसा यदार्यसू-
वीरप्रजाऽऽसीदतिसर्व्वसुन्नता ।
भूभङ्गिसञ्चालितविश्वमण्डला
सत्कीर्त्तिभाभासितदिग्दिगन्तरा ॥ १७ ॥
आर्य्याश्च ते यन्महिमाविमोहितं
लोकत्रयं यज्जयशब्दकम्पितम् ।
क्वायेव तद्यातपथानुवर्त्तकं
विश्वं यदाऽभूत्किल मन्त्रमुग्धवत् ॥ १८ ॥
वाल्मीकिकृष्णप्रभृतीनृषीन् वहन्
राज्ञः सतो रामयुधिष्ठिरादिकान् ।
सीतादयश्चापि (sic) सतीः प्रसूय हा
रत्नप्रसूर्भारतभूरभूच्छुभा ॥ १९ ॥
सैवाद्य सर्व्वत्र परानुवर्त्तकान्
आत्मद्रुमोच्छेदपरश्वधायितान् ।

पुचान्प्रसूयाऽनपनेयदुर्य्यशाः
अङ्गारसूरार्य्यकलङ्कसङ्कुला ॥ २० ॥
किं ते निधे नास्ति महाशये जलं
विज्ञाय शीघ्रं प्रलयाय भारतम् ।
संप्रापयैतं पृथिवीकलङ्कं
त्वं मानचिन्ताद्पसारय प्रभो ॥ २१ ॥
अद्यैव भस्मीभवतु ज्वलच्छिखे
ऊताशने भारतमेतदञ्जसा ।
मा कोपि नामास्य पुनः कदाचन
स्ववाक्पथे प्रापयतु स्खलन्नपि ॥ २२ ॥
इत्यादि मातुः करुणा गिरो मुङ्
समीरिता न प्रविशन्त्यहो श्रुतीः ।
यङ्गारतानां किमतः परं भवे
त्पापमहाश्चर्य्यसुदुःखकारणम् ॥ २३ ॥
निस्तेजसो वा विकलाः श्वसच्छव-
प्रायाश्चिरं दास्यनिपीडितान्तराः ।
वृथैव कण्ठेन विशोषितेन किं
तेषां पुरो नष्टधियो हि तेऽधुना ॥ २४ ॥
यद्यूयमद्येत्य (sic) सुदुर्दृशामिमां
समागता उन्नतिसाधनोत्सुकाः ।
गीर्व्राणवाण्यास्तदतीव भारती
प्रजा चिरायोपकृता भवत्कृते ॥ २५ ॥
गास्याम (sic) यावद्धृदये भवन्ति नः
प्राणाः सुपूज्यान्भवदीयसद्गुणान् ।
जीयास्त नित्यं भवतां सदात्मनां
आशास्महे विश्वपितुः सुमङ्गलम् ॥ २६ ॥

इति

रमाबाई

सिलचर काचार आसाम प्रदेश
भारतवर्षात् १२—८—८१.

Free Translation of the above Ode.

By Professor MONIER WILLIAMS, C.I.E.

Noble-minded and learned Sirs! may health and prosperity be ever present with you! Kindly receive the expression of my homage and devotion. O men of knowledge, the ancient Sanskṛit language is at the present day like an aged mother shorn of her beauty and bereft of her ornaments. For a long time, alas! she has remained unhonoured, and now flees to you well-disposed scholars for protection. In the sharpness of her grief she laments with a heart-rending cry of pain. Listen attentively, that her feeble cry of suffering may enter your ears.

"Alas!" she cries, "in this revolving world every existing thing, however apparently unchangeable, is subject to the caprice of fate, and has its ups and downs like a machine for drawing water from a well.[1] It is possible for men with great difficulty to track here and there the path of lightning. Yet not in the same way, even with a hundred efforts, can they trace the course of Destiny. Formerly I was like a favourite wife, blessed with many prosperous sons; surpassing all my other sisters I was honoured as the most beautiful woman in the world. Poets, whose songs fascinated the universe, wise men, philosophers, artists, mathematicians, politicians, and men distinguished in every kind of profound science continually adorned me with fresh divine ornaments of their own construction, having vowed to serve me with lifelong, unbroken service. But now, alas! in my once joyous abode, glittering with the tokens of their unbounded erudition, mere fragments are left scattered as sad examples around me. Where are now these my sons who were my glory? Where my countless friends? How is it that none of them return to look with pity on my condition? With impaired energies, bereft of my noble sons, ever agitated in heart and with wounded limbs, have I fallen unhonoured like a dead body on the ground; and now I have not even power to draw a single breath. Nay, my very speech, deprived as I am of

[1] Ghaṭī-yantra may also mean a clock.

all vitality, is described by my enemies as 'dead.' Thus, oppressed by insupportable grief, how can I any longer be said to exist? alas, my destiny! Where are now my remaining children, who are deeply distressed by my calamities? Oh! that they may effect my resurrection—this has long been my prayer. And where are those evil-minded ones who of their own accord take counsel together that they may bring me to nothing? Can any other thing be more painful than this?

"And now they wish to tear away the divine Nāgarī characters—dear to me as my very soul—from their home and replace them by the Roman letters. If their intention be carried out, will not then a great disaster befall me? If my own children seek in this manner to extirpate all marks of my existence on the earth, who will be my guardians? to whom shall I flee for refuge? What hope shall I have of life when thus overwhelmed with misfortune?

"In former days the land of Bharata was the producer of noble sons and heroic offspring, like jewels; she was exalted above all; her slightest look of displeasure moved the whole globe; her glorious fame illuminated the universe; and the three worlds were fascinated by the greatness of those noble children, and thrilled by the glory of their victories; and the universe, charmed as it were by the spell of their example, followed in their path like a shadow. Such were the great sages Vālmīki and Vyāsa (Kṛishṇa), and others, and great kings like Rāma and Yudhishṭhira, and devoted wives like Sītā and others. Now, to her ineffaceable disgrace, she brings forth sons like charcoal, whose actions cast a dark blot upon the Āryan race, who follow the ways of foreigners, and lay the axe to the root of their own tree of knowledge.

"Is there not sufficient water, O Ocean, in thy vast receptacle to inundate our land? May thy floods, O Lord, prevail to sweep away these stains from her honour! Or this very day may some blazing conflagration quickly reduce this land of Bharata to ashes, and let no voice pronounce her name, even in faltering accents, till every mark of her dishonour be removed!"

Such is the piteous cry uttered by the mother of learning. Yet, alas! how grievous, how disgraceful, how surprising is it that it penetrates not the ears of the Indian people! Why, then, should her voice be rendered hoarse with useless lamentation before such a people—a people long ground down by slavery, bereft of power, energy and intellect, and little better than breathing corpses?

If you noble-minded men, assembled this day in Congress, will look with favour on the miserable condition of the Sanskṛit language, and restore her by your efforts to her former exalted position, the people of India will be for ever grateful to you. We will ever sing the praises of your noble qualities, and offer up prayers to the Father of the Universe for your prosperity as long as our hearts throb with life.

Note.

The young lady Ramā-bāī (author of the above Ode) has recently attracted much attention in Indian society. She is described as a slight, girlish-looking woman of fair complexion, about twenty-two years of age. Her family lived in Mysore, and her brother was a Paṇḍit in the service of the Gaikwār of Baroda. In the hope of ameliorating the condition of their countrywomen, the brother and sister travelled together through Bengal and Assam, delivering lectures on female education to crowded audiences. Unfortunately their further co-operation in this good work was cut short by the brother's death. Since the occurrence of that event Ramā-bāī has married a Bengali gentleman—a Wakīl by profession, and M.A. of the Calcutta University. She is said to speak Sanskṛit fluently, and to be able to repeat the whole Bhāgavata Purāṇa by heart. What has gained her the greatest reputation for learning has been her power of improvising Sanskṛit verses. On the third day of the Oriental Congress at Berlin, I received a Sanskṛit letter from her inclosing the above metrical address, and asking me to lay it before the Congress. This I did, and the original Sanskṛit was read, with the proper metrical intonation, by Paṇḍit Śyāmajī Kṛishṇavarmā, before a large meeting of members of the

Aryan section, held in the Hall of the University. Much interest was naturally excited in the minds of those present, by the unusual phenomenon of a lady Paṇḍit capable of writing such good Sanskṛit poetry.

It would be scarcely fair to criticize the young lady's Sanskṛit scholarship too severely. Here and there the inadvertencies are obvious, though the greater part of the composition is unexceptionable. In a few cases where the exigencies of the metre—which is Vaitālīya as far as verse 14, and after that Jagatī—have prevented my making the necessary corrections, I have indicated the inaccuracies by the word *sic*. Nor will the original bear too literal a translation, the construction being now and then intricate and obscure. Still I trust my version, though free, will in all cases give a fairly correct idea of the meaning.

After all, the inaccuracies and obscurities are not greater than those in the other two Sanskrit addresses presented to the Congress, and the verses of Ramā-bāī are, in my opinion, by far the best in point of poetical merit.

MONIER WILLIAMS.

Oxford, December 21, 1881.

ART. VIII.—*The Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkestan and the Adjacent Countries in the Second Century* B.C. By THOS. W. KINGSMILL.

THE following notes refer to a period which is one of considerable historic interest. In the Far East the Emperor Wu-ti, the most enterprising of the Han dynasty, having broken the power of the Turkish empire of the Hiung-nû, *i.e.* Kara-Nîrus, was engaged in strengthening the internal administration of China, and in extending its influence abroad. In the west the Romans had, B.C. 146, captured and destroyed Carthage, and had reduced Greece to a Roman province. The Ptolemies yet ruled in Egypt; and, in Asia, the Syrian empire under the house of the Seleucidæ still survived, but was showing evident signs of decrepitude. In Asia Minor, Pontus was rising into importance under Mithradates V., who was one of the first of the more important sovereigns of the continent to enter into close relations with Rome. This position of affairs finally resulted in the great war between his son Mithradates VI. and Rome, which afforded that encroaching power the opportunity of firmly establishing the Roman rule in Asia, and of eventually overturning the decadent power of Syria, already frittered away by internal dissensions between the members of the royal house of Seleucidæ.

To the east of Syria lay the powerful state of Parthia, which, founded by Arsaces I. about the year B.C. 250, had now, B.C. 124, descended to the greatest of Parthian monarchs, Mithradates II. His father, Artabanus, had lost his life in an attack on the Tochâri, the Ta-hia of the Chinese narrative, who, having accomplished the destruction of the Greek kingdom of Bactria, were threatening the adjacent kingdom of Parthia. Mithradates continued the war and was ultimately successful, taking possession

apparently of Sarangia, and forcing the Scythian tribes who had poured down on Bactria to find a bent for their superabundant energy in Afghanistan and the Punjâb.

To the north-west of Parthia lay Armenia, a country geographically of importance in the long-continued disputes of West and East; and its peculiar relations with Pontus and Parthia led to the first contact of Rome with the latter power. Forced at last to take some side in the quarrel of Rome and Pontus, Mithradates II. of Parthia despatched an envoy to the Roman general Sylla; and thus, by a curious concatenation of circumstances, it fell to the lot of one man to open negotiations with the two great empires of the East and West, China and Rome.

The Chinese embassy preceded, however, that sent to the Roman general by some thirteen years, and may probably be referred to the year 105 B.C. The power of Rome was already making itself felt in Asia, but the absence of any allusion to it in the pages of Sze-ma T'sien seems to prove that Parthia had as yet seen no cause to anticipate the struggle for empire which the events of the next few years forced upon her. For some years longer she succeeded in holding herself neutral in the great war between Rome and Mithradates of Pontus; but the great republic at last compelled her to declare herself, and we find the Parthians for a short period in alliance with Pompey, an alliance, however, sufficiently unnatural to lead to a breach a few years later, and finally culminating in the total defeat of the Roman army under Crassus.

The descriptions given in the following pages will serve to explain many of the allusions to Serica and the Seres in the pages of the Augustan poets, and we can the more readily comprehend how Parthia came to be the medium of communication. A misinterpretation of the embassy of Chang K'ien has led to erroneous views on the intercourse of China and the West, and as the accounts of that embassy, taken mainly at second-hand from late Chinese writers, could scarcely be made to tally with what we know of Asia from other sources, much needless doubt has been thrown on the

accounts of the embassy extant. I have in the following notes adhered to the original description given in Sze-ma T'sien's great work, the Shiki, and as Sze-ma was almost a contemporary of the events he describes, his account is naturally more trustworthy than that of later writers, who simply copied his descriptions, or, if they varied, generally did so erroneously.

Two writers from very different stand-points have given us geographical descriptions of Central Asia during the period referred to. In the East, we have Sze-ma T'sien; in the West, Strabo. The Chinese is somewhat the older in date, having been born B.C. 163, while Strabo's birth is attributed to about B.C. 66. As might be expected, the Chinese author is fullest in his descriptions of Eastern Turkestan, while Strabo's recital ends with the lately-overthrown Greek kingdom of Bactria. The Chinese author was acquainted with Parthia, and even with Sarangia, the modern Seistan, while many of the other Central Asian states were known to him by report. Both writers were careful and critical, and hence have arisen many curious and undesigned coincidences, which enable us to gauge the general trustworthiness of both narratives. These coincidences I have remarked on in the notes attached to the text, which is a translation of Chapter CXXIII. of the Shiki or "Historical Memoirs," a work which deservedly holds a high rank amongst histories; and the translation of which in full would add much to our knowledge of the early history of Eastern Asia.

I have preserved the ordinary transliteration of the Chinese names; not that that system is to be considered correct, but that it has for the present become so firmly fixed as to be more familiar to students. The rules for transliteration into the older language, which seems to have partially survived up to the Han dynasty, may be briefly stated: 1st. *Non-aspirates in Chinese represent the corresponding surds in the ancient language.* 2nd. *Aspirates in Chinese represent the corresponding sonants and aspirates.* This rule has, however, to be modified on account of the tyranny exercised in Chinese by the tones over the other essentials of language. The

third rule, therefore, is: *The third and fourth lower tones being unable to take the aspirate, words in those tones which, according to rule* 2, *should begin with an aspirated consonant, have to exchange the aspirate for the corresponding non-aspirate.* The other rules are secondary to these; but I may mention the following as essential: 4th. *Chinese palatals* (ch *and* ts) *are the representatives of older dentals, and in the aspirated series are frequently substituted for original sibilants.* 5th. Ng *is the usual representative of* r; n, *however, occasionally taking its place.* Sometimes *r* follows the rule of *l*, which may be stated thus: 6th. L *initial usually remains unchanged, but as in Latin* l *is often the substitute for an original* d, *the same change is also of common occurrence in Chinese.* L *final disappears in modern Chinese, and its loss is represented by a lengthened vowel or diphthong, the latter most frequently* ao.

The following is mostly a translation from the 123rd Chapter of the Shi-ki, or "Book of History," of Sze-ma-T'sien. Information derived from other sources is inserted in the form of notes.

As a portion has already appeared in print (*vide* "Celestial Empire," May 6th, 1876), I shall only give a summary of the beginning.

Chang-k'ien had been sent by the Emperor Wu-ti, of the Han dynasty, to try and open communication with the Yueh-ti (Viddhals), the *Ἐφθαλῖται* of the Greeks, who, having been dispossessed by the Turks (Hiung-nû or Kara-Nirûs), had poured down on the decaying Greek kingdom of Bactria, called by Sze-ma T'sien Ta-hia 大夏, *i.e.* Tochâr-ia, from the Tochâri (*Τόχαροι* of Strabo), who had lately overrun it, and which name survives to the present day as Tokhâristan.

Chang-k'ien on his road outwards was captured by the Turks, and held in captivity for ten years. Having made good his escape, and nothing daunted, he determined to carry out the object for which he had been sent. Travelling westwards for ten days he arrived at Ta-wan 大宛, a country which forms the central feature in the narrative, and regarding which much misapprehension has existed. Ta-wan

has been usually identified with Ferghâna or Kokand, the valley watered by the upper streams of the Sir Daria, and recently annexed by Russia, but the narrative will show that it must be placed east of the great Pamîr steppe, and most probably near the site of the modern Yarkand. I have been only able to find one allusion in classic writers to a district which can be identified with Ta-wan of Sze-ma T'sien. Strabo[1] speaks of Bactria as extending to the countries of the Sêri (T'sin) and Phryni; and the latter of these (the *w* of the Chinese word representing *vr* in Sanskrit, or *φρ* in Greek), is apparently the Wan[2] or ta-Wan of the Chinese author, for one form is used as frequently as the other.

Chang-k'ien tried to induce the people of Ta-wan to enter into a league under the Chinese suzerainty, with the object of driving back the Turks then encamped along the slopes of the Tien-shan. In this, although received with civility, he was unsuccessful; and he went on to K'ang-ku 康居, apparently Karakul, on the Pamîr. Passing through K'ang-ku, Chang-k'ien came to the Yueh-ti, who dwelt then on the banks of the Tu-kwai shui 都媯水, or Surkh-ab of to-day, their southern boundary being formed by the Kwai shui (the Wakh or Oxus). Though animated with a burning hatred towards the Turks, who had expelled them from their ancient seats in what is now Kan-suh, they could not be brought to agree to the proposition of the Chinese ambassador, who thereupon went on to the Tahia (Tochâri) with the object of returning to China through Tibet. After a detention of more than a year, he was a second time captured by the Turks, but taking advantage of the confusion caused by the death of the Shen-yû, he finally escaped back to China (B.C. 126), after an absence of thirteen years. He was honourably received and promoted to high office.

Sze-ma T'sien then proceeds with a geographical description of the countries visited. Ta-wan lay to the south-west of the Hiung-nû territory, and about 10,000 *li* due west from

[1] Καὶ δηκαὶ μέχρι Σηρῶν καὶ Φρυνῶν ἐξέτειναν τὴν ἀρχήν.—Strabo, XI. xi.

[2] Wan or Yuen, for the word occurs in both forms, may be more simply the representative of Yar in Yarkand.

China. The country was for the most part settled and the land cultivated, producing both rice and wheat. The inhabitants made use of wine made from the grape 蒲陶,[1] and possessed many Shen[2] 善 horses. These were described as sweating blood, and being descended from a celestial breed 天馬子. There were some seventy cities large and small in the country, and its population was calculated at about 100,000. Its troops used the bow and spear and shot from horseback.

North-west of Ta-wan lay K'ang-ku; west, the greater Yueh-ti (*Εφθαλῖται*); south-west, Ta-hia (*Τόχαροι*); north-east, the Wu-sun 烏孫 (*Ἀσιανοὶ*). To the east were Kan-mi 扜宻[3] or Kan-mao and Yu-t'ien 于寘 (Khoten). West of this latter place the rivers flowed to the western sea. East of it into the Im-châk (the salt marsh, later on called the salt water 鹽水, *i.e.* Lake Lob[4]), which was said to have an underground communication with the sources of the Yellow River. Adjoining the Im-châk were the states of Low-lân 樓蘭 (apparently originally called Dardan[5]) and Ku-sze 姑師 (also called Kiu-sze or Ché-sze 車師, *i.e.* Akshi[6]), the plains outside the cities of which reached to the waters of the lake.

Of Wu-sun we are told that it lay some 2000 *li* to the north; its people were herdsmen, and similar in their customs to the Hiung-nû. They could produce some 10,000 bowmen, brave in fight. Formerly subject to the Hiung-nû, they had attained independence. They married their near relations, and refused to pay homage at court.[7]

[1] *P'u taou tsze* 蒲陶子 'the grape' is apparently connected with the Greek *βότρυς*. Strabo, XI. X., speaking of Margiana, calls it *ἐυάμπελος*, and says of the grapes that they grow in bunches two cubits in size, *τὸν δὲ βότρυν δίπηκυν*.

[2] I have left *shen* here untranslated, as in the sequel it will be found to bear a technical meaning.

[3] 扜 *Han* or *Kan* is probably in error for 扜 *yu*; Kumîl was probably the pronunciation.—See Chinese Recorder, vol. vii. p. 342.

[4] Lob is apparently a corruption of Lavâpa, *i.e.* 'salt water.'

[5] See Chinese Recorder, vol. vii. p. 342.

[6] In the Shuiking called 且末 *Ch'e-mut*, *i.e.* Aksh-mar-dana.—*Id.*

[7] The Wu-sun are apparently to be identified with the Asii or Asiani, who according to Strabo occupied the upper waters of the Jaxartes, and who are classed as nomades with the Tochâri and Sacarauli (? Sara Kauli, *i.e.* Sarikoolies). This would answer perfectly with Sze-ma's description, both as to locality and customs.

North-west of Ta-wan lay K'ang-ku,[1] whose inhabitants were similar in their customs to the Yueh-ti, and which could produce some 80,000 or 90,000 bowmen. On its south lay the Yueh-ti, on the east the Hiung-nû.

Some 2000 *li* to the north-west of K'ang-ku lay Im-t'sai, called subsequently Im-t'sai-li-kan[2] (Samarkand), very similar in its customs to K'ang-ku, and which could muster upwards of 100,000 bowmen. It adjoined a great marsh,[3] without defined banks, covered with reeds, and (communicating with) the northern sea.

West of Ta-wan, at a distance of 2000 or 3000 *li*, lay the Yueh-ti,[4] who dwelt north of the Oxus. Their country

[1] K'angku, apparently Karakul; the *ultra-sara k'* is, however, more regularly the equivalent of *g* or *gh*. The proposed identification of these two names, apparently Turkish, Sarik-kul and Kara-kul, seems to raise a difficulty. They stand alone on the Pamîr, in the second century B.C., as Turkish proper names. Shaw (High Tartary, etc., p. 27) speaks of the Sarikolies as of Aryan type, with light complexions; the inhabitants of K'ang-ku are described below in similar terms. There is some difficulty in accounting for so early a use of the Turkish name of Karakul on the Pamîr as the time of Chang-kien's mission, *circa* B.C. 130. On the whole I am rather disposed to see in it the Rañgha of the 1st Fargard of the Vendidad, which Sir H. Rawlinson (Notes to Monograph on the Oxus, Journ. of Royal Geogr. Soc. vol. xlii. pp. 494, 501) places in the exact position I have marked out for K'ang-ku. Etymologically *K'ang* (in Cantonese *Hong*) 'repose,' 'joy,' and Zend *Rañh* 'to sound,' 'praise,' seem to be connected with Sansk. *Ras*, 1st *gustare, amare*, 2nd *sonare, clamare;* so that the old pronunciation of the Chinese word probably approached nearer than the modern to the Zend *Rañ*, in which case the Chinese name K'ang-ku would represent sufficiently well the Rañha of the Vendidad. The verse in question has been translated so very differently by Spiegel and Haug, that it is difficult amid the conflict of authority to offer any satisfactory explication; *Rañha* 'above the waters' may refer to its position surrounding the lakes of the Pamîr; or, taken in connection with the next sentence, to the legend of the upheaval of Pamîr, more explicitly given in the 2nd Fargard, accompanied by the creation of snow and earthquakes, as the land rose from the primeval ocean. The short description, "governed without kings," will agree with the semi-nomadic character of its inhabitants similar to the Yueh-ti. That they were not Turks we may gather from the text, which always connects them with the Aryan inhabitants of Wan, *Yarkand*, or Im-t'sai, *Samarkand*.

[2] Im-t'sai-li-kan. It seems not improbable that the first two characters are inverted. *T'sai-im-li-kan* 蔡奄黎軒, *i.e. Sal-im-ar-kand*, for Salmarkanda, approaches sufficiently near to the modern Samarkand, Marakanda of Ptolemy.

[3] Major Herbert Wood, on the evidence of Greek and Persian authors, as well as from his own observations (Shores of Lake Aral), came to the conclusion that the Sir-daria originally ended in a marsh to the south-east of the present Aral. The northern sea mentioned by Sze-ma is, so far I am aware, the first allusion in Chinese literature to Lake Aral.

[4] The *Ching-i* 正義 says of the Yueh-ti or Ephthalîtæ that they "lived some 7000 *li* north of India. They had pink and white complexions, and were accustomed to shoot from horseback. The most celebrated rubies (瑋珍)

was bounded on the south by the districts lately conquered by the Ta-hia (Tochâri), and on the west by Ansik 安息[1] or Parthia. The Yueh-ti were herdsmen and nomades, and in manners and customs resembled the Hiung-nû. They could muster some 100,000 or 200,000 bowmen. After their defeat at the hands of the Hiung-nû, they had removed to a distance, and passing Ta-wan had attacked the Ta-hia from the west and defeated them. The Yueh-ti followed the course of the Tukwai (Surkh-ab), and fixed their royal residence on its northern bank. A portion of the tribe, not being able to get away with the others, took refuge in the Nanshan amongst the Tibetans and became known as the lesser Yueh-ti.

About 1000 *li* to the west of Ta-hia lay Parthia, a very powerful state, about 1000 *li* square, and which had dependent on it about 100 cities large and small. It was well cultivated, and had marts where the people and merchants trafficked. Both carriages and ships were used for the conveyance of merchandize, and it had a silver coinage, bearing the image of the king, changed with each successive reign.

To its west was T'iaou-chi[2] 條枝 (Sarangia or Drangia); to its north Im-t'sai-li-kan (Samarkand).

T'iaou-chi was on the sea-coast. It was an agricultural country, producing rice. There were large birds[3] there, with eggs as large as water-jars. It was inhabited by a turbulent people, who were continually changing their sovereigns, and hence fell an easy prey to Parthia. Old men in the latter country said that in Sarangia were the Yok-shui and the Si-wang-mu,[4] but they had not seen them.

came from their country, and they were in the habit of dressing in bright-coloured garments." The ruby mines of the Upper Oxus Valley are still celebrated; and Procopius speaks of their light complexions.

[1] 安息 *Ngan-sik*. The old pronunciation of 安 seems to have been *ar*; *cf.* Gr. Ἄρσης, Sansk. *ram*. Parthia was apparently known to the Chinese as Arsak, after the title of its kings.

[2] *T'iaou* is to be compared with Gr. σειρά, showing that the initial was *s*.

[3] Ostriches, whose former range seems to have extended to these regions.

[4] The *Yok-shui* 弱水 'weak' or rather 'dead water,' is evidently here applied to the Hamun or Lake of Seistan. The Yok-shui of Chinese legend referred apparently to an ancient lake once occupying the greater part of Eastern

Ta-hia (Tokhâria) was situated about 2000 *li* south-west of Ta-wan, to the south of the Kwai-shui (Oxus). It was a settled country, with towns and villages; the people very similar to those of Ta-wan. There was no supreme ruler, each city and town electing its own chief. Its soldiers were weak and cowards in battle, fit only for traders. The Yueh-ti attacked it from the west, defeated its forces, and established their sovereignty. Its population was reckoned at upwards of a million; its capital was Lam-shi-ch'eng.[1] It had marts for the sale and purchase of merchandize. To its south-east lay Shen-tuh 身毒 (India).

When Chang-k'ien was in Ta-hia, he noticed some goods which had come from Sze-chuen 蜀, and, asking how they came, he learnt that they had come by way of India.

Of India we learn that it was situated some thousand *li* to the south-east of Ta-hia. The country was cultivated, and the manners and customs of its inhabitants were very similar to those of the Tochâri. The climate was damp and hot, and the people made use of elephants in war. It lay near a great river (the Indus). Chang-k'ien calculated the distance from Ta-hia to China at 12,000 *li*. It was situated to the south-west of the latter country.

India lay upwards of 1000 *li* to the south-east of Ta-hia. There were commercial relations between Sze-chuen and India, the two countries not being very distant from one another. At present intercourse with Ta-hia is carried on with difficulty through Tibet, the Tibetans not being

Turkestan, and of which Lakes Lob and Gash are the decaying representatives. It is associated with the Kwen-lun-shan, *i.e.* mountains of Gandhâra, and the *Si-wang-mu* 西王母. The latter name seems to be a corruption of Sumeru, the character 王 being used for 亡, in Cantonese *mong*, and connected with the root *mar* or *mor* 'to die.' W. F. Mayers, in his Chinese Readers' Manual, *s.v.* gives a sketch of the wonderful legends which have grown up round these two names. They are evidently connected with the Hindoo stories of the Gandharvas. Finding, as their knowledge of Eastern Turkestan extended, that they could not apply the legends to Lake Lob in its then condition, and hearing of the similar situation of the Hamun, the stories were readily transferred to the new site.

[1] *Lam-shi-ch'eng* 監市城, the *Da-rapsa* Δάραψα of Strabo. The phonetic, as seen in 擥 *lam*, *i.e.* λαμβάνω, seems to point to an original *lamb*. *Darampsa* was probably the original form of the name.

friendly. Some few on the north, on account of what they can gain from the Hiung-nû, prefer the shorter road by Sze-chuen, which is besides free from robbers.

The Emperor heard that Ta-wan had entered into relations with Tochâria and Parthia, all being important countries with large commerce, well-settled land, and arts yielding only to the Chinese. Their military power was but small, and they valued highly the productions and wares of China. To their north lay the Yueh-ti and Kang-ku, fierce in war. They might be induced by the hope of profit to enter into relations with China. This was as reasonable a connexion as could be hoped for, since the countries extended some 10,000 *li*, and nine interpreters were needed to reach the different tribes, their authority extending as far as the Western Sea (the Arabian Gulf).

The Emperor was pleased, and gave his assent to what Chang-k'ien had suggested, and directed him to despatch from Kien-wei 犍爲,[1] in Sze-chuen, expeditions along the four roads leading outwards from that place, viz. by Mang 駹, by Yen 冉, by T'u 徙, and by Kiung-pak 邛僰. Each advanced 1000 or 2000 *li*. That taking the northern road was stopped by the Tai-tsok 氐筰, that going south by the Kwen-ming 昆明 of Sui 嶲.[2] The Kwen-ming tribes acknowledge no supreme ruler. They were a set of robbers, and seized and killed the Chinese travellers, so that this route had to be given up. They, however, heard that some thousand *li* or so to their west lay a country where elephant carriages were used, named T'în-yût,[3] the people of which carried on a clandestine trade with Sze-chuen.

As the Chinese were now seeking to establish a route to Tochâria, they commenced by endeavouring to communicate with T'în-yût. They first tried to open a road to the south-western I 夷, and spent much money on it. They did not however succeed, and discontinued it. Chang-k'ien affirmed

[1] Kien-wei, now Kiating-fu.

[2] Sui, now Likiang-fu in Yunnan.

[3] *T'în-yût* 滇越, apparently the ancient Sthâneswara, now Oude and Rohilkund (see Cunningham's Ancient Geog. of India, vol. i. p. 328), but here applied to North-eastern India generally.

that it was possible by this route to reach Tochâria, and a second time tried negociation with the I. He was, however, appointed to conduct a force about to attack the Hiung-nû, as he was well acquainted with the localities where water and provisions were to be found, so that the army should not suffer from their want. He was also invested as Marquess of Powang. This was in the sixth year of the term Yuen-so (B.C. 123).

The next year he was appointed escort officer, and ordered, in conjunction with General Li, to lead the right wing in an attack on the Hiung-nû. The Hiung-nû surrounded General Li, whose forces suffered severe loss; Chang-k'ien came, however, to his aid, and succeeded in rescuing many of his troops.

This was the year in which the Chinese despatched the light-horse general (Ho kü-ping) with 10,000 troops to attack the western settlements of the Hiung-nû. He succeeded in advancing as far as the Ki-lien-shan.[1]

The next year the King of Hwan-ya 渾邪 induced his people to submit to the Chinese, and in consequence Kam-ch'eng 金成, Ho-si 河西, Si-ping 西並, and Nam-shan 南山, as far as the Im-chak (Lake Lob), were cleared of the Hiung-nû,[2] and for the time their chiefs ceased their encroachments. Two years after this the Chinese routed I-Shen-yu, to the north of the Gobi.

After this the Emperor bethought himself of asking Chang-k'ien as to the condition of Ta-wan. Chang-k'ien had been deprived of his marquessate (on account of the defeat mentioned above).[3] He replied, "When your servant lived amongst the Hiung-nû, he heard that the king of the Wu-sun was called Kw'en-mo 昆莫. His father had ruled over a small state lying immediately to the west of the Hiung-nû, which was attacked by the latter, who killed Kw'en-mo's

[1] 祁連山. K'i-lien is said by a Chinese commentator to have been the Hiung-nû title for heaven. The How-han-shu gives Chang li, *i.e.* Tangri, as the equivalent (*vide* A. Wylie, Journ. of the Anthropological Inst. vol. ii. No. 3).

[2] These positions were in the prefectures of Lanchow and Si-ning, in the present Kan-suh. For a detailed account of these operations *vide* Shiki, ch. 110; also A. Wylie, *l.c.*

[3] A. Wylie, *l.c.*

father (his name, according to the Han-shu, was Nan-tow-mi 難兜靡). Kw'en-mo was deserted in the wilderness. The ravens brought him meat in their mouths and hovered over him, and a wolf came and gave him suck.[1] The Shen-yu, astonished at the prodigy, took him and brought him up, and when he grew up to manhood gave him a body of troops to command.

Finding he was a man of ability, the Shen-yu restored to him his father's people, and gave to him the protection of the western cities. Kw'en-mo carefully looked after the interests of his people. He made war on the adjacent petty states, and trained a corps of 10,000 bowmen, and accustomed them to battle. The Shen-yu dying, Kw'en-mo led his people to more distant quarters, and established himself as an independent prince, as he did not wish to continue subject to the Hiung-nû. The Hiung-nû thereupon sent a force to attack him, but were unsuccessful, on account of the spiritual protection afforded him as well as the distance. Without any important fight, they entered into a compact with him. At the same time, the Shen-yu was much distressed at the progress of the Chinese.

The territory of Hwan-yu had been almost depopulated, and the barbarian tribes were willing to accept presents from the Chinese, who at that time were on their part willing enough to act liberally towards Wu-sun. They might invite them, therefore, to move eastward, and take up their abode in the former territory of Hwan-yu, where they and the

[1] This tale of suckling by a wolf, familiar in the cases of Romulus and Cyrus, is matched by at least two more tales from Chinese sources. In the Tso-chuen (VII. v.) is given the story of Tsze-wan of T'sû suckled by a tiger (Ch. Class. vol. v. p. 297). Klaproth (*Tableau de l'Asie*) relates from Chinese sources the similar story of Assena, founder of the modern Turks (p. 114). The addition of the raven (烏 *wu*) alone is a play on the name of the tribe (Wu-sun). With regard to the attack on the Wu-sun, Mr. Wylie's translation (*op. cit.*) may be quoted. In the year 176 B.C. the Shen-yu wrote to the Emperor: "Now, in consequence of a slight breach of the treaty by some petty officials, you pursued the Right Sage Prince till he was driven westward into the territories of the Yueh-ti. There, however, Heaven favoured our cause. Our officers and troops were loyal and true; our horses were strong and spirited; and by slaughter, decapitation, subjugation, and pacification, our army effected the complete reduction of the Yueh-ti; while Low-lan, Wu-sun, Hu-ki, and the adjacent kingdoms, to the number of twenty-six in all, without exception submitted to the Hiung-nû; and thus all the bowmen nations are united in one family."

Chinese would be as brothers. If they accepted the invitation, it would be equivalent to cutting off the right arm of the Hiung-nû. The Wu-sun placed in close contact with China, and a connexion formed through them with Tochâria in the west, all might then become outer tributary states to the empire.

The Emperor gave his assent to the scheme, and appointed Chang-k'ien leader, with the rank of Chung-lang 中郎. He took 300 men, each provided with two horses. The mission was supplied with about 10,000 sheep and oxen, and gold and silk for presents in almost unlimited quantities. Everything was done to expedite it; along the road it was to traverse presents were sent to the neighbouring districts.

On his arrival amongst the Wu-sun, Chang-k'ien was received with ceremonies similar to those made use of by the Shen-yu. He was much mortified at this: knowing, however, that barbarians generally were avaricious, he told them that he was the bearer of gifts from the Emperor. If the King were not willing to acknowledge the Emperor as his superior lord, then he would take them back with him. If he agreed to acknowledge him, then he would present them, and affairs would go on as before. Chang-k'ien then explained the object of his visit. The people of Wu-sun had the opportunity of moving eastward and occupying the territory of Hwan-ya; in case they did so, the Emperor would bestow a princess of his own immediate family on the King. The people of Wu-sun (it was urged in reply) would be divided; their king was old, and they dwelt so far from China that they did not know whether it was a large or small state. They were accustomed to serve the Hiung-nû for a long time; they would still be near them, and their leaders feared the power of the Hu. They did not desire to change their quarters, nor could their king yield his prerogative. Chang-k'ien could not prevail on them to accept his propositions.

K'wen-mo had some ten sons, the second of whom was called Ta-luk 大祿; he was brave and skilled in leading troops. He moved his quarters with about 10,000 horsemen.

Ta-luk's eldest brother was Tai-tsze, and had a son named Sham-t'su. This brother died young; as his death approached, he expressed to his father his desire that Sham-t'su should become Tai-tsze, in order to preserve the succession. K'wen-mo willingly assented, and after his death Sham-t'su 岑娶 became Tai-tsze. Ta-luk was irritated that he had not been appointed; he plotted with his younger brothers, and raised a rebellion, with the object of compelling his father to set aside Sham-t'su. K'wen-mo was now old; he was apprehensive that Ta-luk would kill his nephew, and sent away the latter to new quarters with 10,000 horsemen. K'wen-mo had still 10,000 horsemen left, which he kept about his own person. The forces of the state were thus divided into three, of which those adhering to K'wen-mo were however the most powerful; but K'wen-mo, under the circumstances, did not dare to enter alone into a compact with Chang-k'ien.

Chang-k'ien in consequence divided his embassy, and sent his lieutenants to Ta-wan, Kang-ku, the greater Yueh-ti, Ta-hia, An-sik, Shen-tuh, Yu-t'ien, Yu-mui, and the contiguous countries, Wu-sun supplying escorts and interpreters.

When Chang-k'ien returned, he arranged with Wu-sun that they should send ten envoys, with ten horses, to return thanks (for the proposals that had been made), and that they should be able to see the extent and power of China. On Chang-k'ien's arrival, he was promoted to the dignity of Ta-hing, and made one of the nine grandees, but died the following year.

The Wu-sun envoys having seen China, its great population, its wealth, and liberality, returned to their own country well rewarded, and for many years matters improved between the two countries. The envoys sent by Chang-k'ien to Ta-hia had been successful, and all seemed ready for an arrangement. It was thus communications commenced between China and the countries to the north-west, the way to which had been opened by Chang-k'ien. All succeeding envoys spoke of the honesty and straight-forwardness of his dealings

with foreign states, and the latter agreed in their appreciation of his character.

After the death of the Marquess of Po-wang (Chang-k'ien), the Hiung-nû, hearing of the communications between China and the Wu-sun, were irritated, and wished to make an attack on the latter, before the Chinese commissioners had time to go southward and form a league with Ta-hia and the greater Yueh-ti. The Wu-sun were alarmed; they sent envoys to China with a present of horses, and asked a Chinese princess in marriage, and that they and the Chinese should be brothers. The Emperor laid the request before his ministers in council. They all said, "Let them first send the wedding presents, afterwards we will send the bride." The Emperor wrote a letter in reply: "Shen horses come from the north-west; those to be obtained in Wu-sun are good; they are known as T'ien horses. The best obtainable are the Han (blood-sweating) horses of Ta-wan. Even more celebrated than these are the celebrated Wu-sun horses, called Western paragons 西極, and the noted horses of Ta-wan, called the T'ien horses, etc. When China first desired to establish settlements in the west, it founded the principality 郡 of Tsau-t'siuen, to facilitate intercourse with the north-west. Since now China is sending missions to Parthia, Samarkand, Sarangia, and India, and the Emperor is desirous of having a supply of Wan horses, he sends this letter in the hopes that his wishes will be attended to."[1]

As to the missions sent by China to foreign countries, the larger consisted of about one hundred individuals: few exceeded this number. The men had been trained under the Marquess of Po-wang, and afterwards had had increased experience, and had grown veterans in the service. The Chinese despatched yearly missions, of which the larger consisted of ten or more companies; the smaller of five or six. Those to the more distant countries were absent eight or nine years; to the nearer, a year or so.

It was about this time that China effected the conquest of

[1] The whole of this passage is written in a peculiar style. The text is probably corrupt.

Yueh, and made an impression on the south-western I in Sze-chuen, so that these requested permission to send envoys to do homage to the Emperor. At the same time the departments were formed of Yik-chow 益州, Yut-sui 越巂, Yang-ho 牂牁, Sham-lai 沈黎, and Wan-shan 汶山.[1] The desire being to amalgamate with the empire all the countries between it and Tochâria.

The same year Peh-Shi-ch'ang 柏始昌, a man of Luyût 呂越, was sent with ten companies through the newly-appointed departments to proceed to Tochâria. They were stopped by the K'wen-ming,[2] who murdered the escort and plundered the presents, and put an end to the expedition. In consequence of this outrage, the Chinese raised three battalions from amongst the criminals of the empire, and about 10,000 troops of Sze-chuen soldiery, and sent them under the command of the two generals Kwoh-c'hang and Wei Kwang-tung to punish the K'wen-ming for the outrage on the mission. They executed or imprisoned about 10,000 individuals, and an expedition was again despatched. The K'wen-mings again plundered it, so that eventually attempts at intercourse were given up, and all communications with Tochâria passed along the northern route by way of Tsiuts'iuen.[3]

As the number of the expeditions increased, a distaste for Chinese commodities arose among the outer states, and their goods were not valued. When the Marquess of Po-wang opened up the road to the outer world, they were highly esteemed. Succeeding missions, however, fell to wrangling. The Emperor wrote letters stating that foreign countries were strange and bizarre, and dangerous to be traversed, he therefore invited volunteers. He found that he had to give up the more distant expeditions, as none were found to take

[1] Near the present Ching-tu-foo in Sze-chuen.

[2] See above, p. 83.

[3] Tsze-lung says, in his account of the intercourse of the Hans with the Western states: "The southern route led through Sze-chuen 蜀, the northern by way of Kin-ch'eng 金城 and Tsiu-ts'iuen 酒泉. The southern route not being opened, they made use of the northern, which they were enabled to do owing to the retreat of the Hiung-nû. The southern route was rougher, longer, and altogether more difficult to travel than the other."

a pleasure in travelling. His words were heard with indifference; he asked for officers from among the people, but none presented themselves. He made provision for numbers of men, and despatched them along the road, but they returned; they would not be restrained from robbing and plundering the goods, and the missions proved an utter failure.

The Emperor still persevered; he punished the greater delinquents; he was angry and ordered them to repay.

When he again sought for envoys, he did his best to select good men—not poor, nor given to breaking the laws; but the officials suddenly, and without permission, commenced again to shirk having anything to say to foreign affairs. They said that the majority looked upon them with indifference, and but few favoured these expeditions. Idle reports without foundation were circulated, and much unpleasantness ensued. The envoys sent were all the sons of poor men; the officials provided private stores of goods, and with a view to private pelf procured them of the trashiest description. The foreigners in consequence grew suspicious of the Chinese caravans, the more especially as the words of the leaders could not be depended on. Thinking that the Chinese forces were at too great a distance ever to get at them, they stopped supplies of food and goods in order to distress the expeditions. The caravans were well-nigh starved, and ill feeling ran so high that blows were exchanged.

Low-lan and Ku-shi were but small countries, and the road lay through their territories; they attacked and plundered the envoy Wang-k'wei to show their resentment. The Hiung-nû at the time were very hostile, and thought an opportunity had arrived for striking a blow at these missions to the west; they sent envoys all round to remonstrate at the danger to foreign interests; they all had cities and towns, and their soldiers, though not strong, might strike a blow. The Emperor thereupon sent the Marquess of Piao to punish the Hiung-nû; he gave him command of the cavalry of the allied states, and about 10,000 infantry. The Marquess

in due course arrived at the (Hiung) Nû (?) River, and determined to attack the enemy; but the latter had retired.

The next year he attacked Ku-shi; and the Po-nû with 700 of his light cavalry having arrived, he captured the King of Low-lan. Having reduced Ku-shi to terms, he disposed his troops so as to overawe Wu-sun and Ta-wan, and returned. Po-nû was made Marquess of Chuk-ye (B.C. 108).

Wang-k'wei was frequently employed as an envoy, and what he did with reference to the difficulty at Low-lan was reported to the Emperor. The Emperor accordingly having raised an army, placed Wang-k'wei in command, with orders to assist Po-nû, and invested him as Marquess of Ho. At this time Tsiu-ts'iuen extended from Ting-chang as far as the Yuh-men.

Wu-sun having sent a thousand horses as a betrothal gift, the Emperor sent Kiang-tu, a princess of the Imperial house, as a bride to Wu-sun. K'wen-mo, King of Wu-sun, made her right foo-jen. The Hiung-nû having also sent a lady to marry K'wen-mo, he made her left foo-jen. K'wen-mo being old, he ordered his grandson, Sham-t'su, to marry the princesses.

Wu-sun was rich in horses; rich men had as many as 4000 or 5000. When the first Chinese envoy arrived in Parthia, the King[1] despatched a general with 20,000 horse to meet him on the eastern frontier, from which to the capital was about 1000 *li*. On the way they passed some ten cities. The inhabitants were all of the same race and very numerous. On the return of the mission, he sent envoys with it, that they might see the extent and power of China. He sent with them, as presents to the Emperor, eggs of the great bird of the country, and a curiously deformed man from Samarkand.[2]

[1] Apparently Mithradates II., who ascended the throne *circa* B.C. 124.

[2] Such gifts were evidently customary in these countries. When Pandion (King of the Indo-Scyths?), who a little later reigned over the north-west of India, sent an embassy to Augustus at Samos, the mission brought as presents a partridge larger than a vulture (περδικὰ τε μείζω γυπός), and a *hermes* (a man without arms, who shot from a bow with his feet), as well as tigers, snakes, and a large river tortoise. (See Strabo, lib. xv.) The bird was apparently one of

Adjoining Wan, on the west, were the small states of Hwan-ts'im 驩潛[1] and Ta-yik 大益. To the east of Wan were Ku-shi, Yu-mi, and Su-hiai 蘇薤. All complied with the desires of the Chinese envoys, and sent tribute to the Emperor. The Emperor was much pleased, and took the opportunity of sending an expedition to explore the sources of the Ho (Yellow River). The Ho rises in Khoten; the mountains about its source produce large quantities of jade, whence it is conveyed to China. The Emperor examined the ancient charts and books, and learnt that the name of the mountains in which the Ho has its rise is the K'wen-lun 崑崙 (*i.e.* mountains of Gandhâra; see note on p. 82).

About this time the Emperor was in the habit of making pleasure excursions by sea, when he was accompanied by all the foreign visitors at court, and great numbers of people took part in them. Gifts and largesses were bestowed on them, and a liberal store of provisions, so that they might see how rich and liberal was China. There were every means of enjoyment afforded, plays and sleight of hand tricks; numbers collected to see them, and those who went were rewarded. Wine was there in lakes, flesh as if forests. The Emperor gave orders to show the foreign visitors over the imperial granaries and treasuries, where all manner of things were piled up, so that they might have some idea of the great resources of the empire. They were especially struck at the mechanism by which the plays and other representations were produced, and their astonishment was kept continually on the stretch.

At this time caravans regularly passed and re-passed between China and the countries lying to the north-west, and even from places far to the west of Wan, from Kiao-t'sze

the Struthionidæ; the descriptions point to the ostrich, but the ostrich was well known to the Romans, who ought certainly to have known better than to call it a partridge. There is no physical difficulty involved in the supposition that the range of the ostrich formerly extended across the Persian Gulf to the deserts of Karmania and Sarangia. Its eastern limit would thus coincide with that of the lion. It is possible, of course, that a second species of Struthio, now extinct, inhabited these districts at the time in question, and that it was sufficiently distinct to justify the description of Strabo.

[1] Hwan-ts'im, *Kharism*, Zend *Quairizem*, Gr. Χωράσμια. Ta-yik, possibly the Δέρβικες of Strabo, the Δροπικοὶ of Herodotus.

驕恣 and An-jan 晏然,[1] but they had not yet established binding rules with respect to the treatment of envoys. From Wu-sun they went westwards as far as Parthia, and approached the Hiung-nû.

When the Hiung-nû had conquered the Yueh-ti, they had sent envoys bearing a letter from the Shen-yu; the neighbouring countries had passed them on, and had supplied them with provisions, not daring to detain or incommode them. On the arrival of the Chinese caravans, unless they were prepared with presents and rich stuffs, they could not obtain food, nor could they purchase beasts of burden or horses. These people concluded that as China was a long way off and was rich, they could compel the caravans to purchase what they needed at any price they wished. They, moreover, feared the Hiung-nû more than they did the Chinese envoys.

In all parts of Wan and the adjacent countries the people used grape wine. Rich men stored as much as 10,000 *shih* in their cellars. They did not value it till it was at least ten years old. They loved their wine as their horses loved lucerne 苜蓿. The envoys having brought home specimens of both, the Emperor introduced the culture of the vine and of lucerne in the fertile districts of the empire.[2]

T'ien horses were now abundant. From foreign nations

[1] 晏然 *An-yan*. As in the similar case of Parthia, we must pronounce the initial syllable *Ar*—the Aria or Arian-a of Strabo and Herodotus, the Haraêva of the Avesta. It lay south-west of Bactria, and its name survives in the Herat of to-day. Strabo says of it that it is "partly composed of valleys inclosed by mountains, and partly of inhabited plains. The plains are watered by the rivers Arius (Heri Rud) and by the Marqus (Murg-ab) . . . Its length is about 000 *stadia*, and the breadth of the plain 300 *stadia*" (XI. x.). Kiao-t'sze is robably the Arachôsia of Strabo, situated on the banks of the Arachotus, the Haraqaiti of the Avesta, the 蜎羅跂提 *I-lo-k'i-ti* of the Shui-king.

[2] The Chinese name for the grape 葡萄, or as it is here written 蒲陶 *p'u-tao*, is not native. As the grape itself was introduced from the neighbourhood of Yarkand, we have to look to that locality for the origin of the name. Strabo speaks in many places of the exuberant growth of the grape in Central Asia. The wines of Asia, he said, might be kept for three generations in unpitched vessels (εἰς τριγονίαν παραμένει ἐν ἀπιτώτοις ἄγγεσι). So in his account of Margiana, he speaks of bunches of grapes two cubits in size. It seems not unlikely that in the Chinese word, therefore, which regularly represents the Greek βότρυς (see *ante*, p. 79), we have a vestige of the Greek occupation of Bactria. It is possible too that the 苜蓿 *muk-suk* of the Chinese may have some connexion with the Μηδικὴ βοτάνη of Strabo (XI. viii.).

envoys came in numbers, and were distributed amongst the royal residency. The cultivation of grapes and lucerne succeeded to their best hopes.

From Ta-wan westerly, as far as Parthia, although the languages spoken differed slightly, they yet had a general resemblance (大同俗) and were mutually intelligible. The men had all deep blue eyes (深目) and large beards and whiskers. They were astute traders, and would wrangle over a farthing. The held their women in high estimation, and the husband commonly took his wife's advice before coming to a decision. Their country produced everything except silk and varnish 漆.[1] They did not understand the art of casting cash 錢 or metal vessels (some copies for 錢 read 鐵, *i.e.* they did not understand the art of casting iron vessels, a more probable supposition, as Sze-ma previously, see p. 81, speaks of the Parthians using silver coins). They induced some of the attendants attached to the Chinese mission to desert, for the purpose of teaching them the art of casting weapons and vessels. They obtained from China surreptitiously gold and silver for the purpose of making various utensils. They were not in the habit of using silk fabrics 幣. When the Chinese envoys were going away, many went with them; of these a few went in an inferior capacity, but the greater number were introduced to the Emperor.

It was reported that there were concealed in Urh-chi 貳師城 a number of *shen* horses, which the people were not willing to hand over to the Chinese envoys. The Emperor wished much to have a stock of Wan horses, and was pleased at the information. He sent officers skilled in the management of carriages, with a thousand pieces of gold and a golden horse, to ask of the King of Wan the *shen* horses at Urh-chi.[2]

[1] A curious coincidence with Strabo's description of Bactria (XI. xi.): πολλὴ δ'ἐστὶ καὶ πάμφορος πλὴν ἐλαίου—"It is an extensive country, producing everything except oil."

[2] Urh-shi-ch'eng, the capital of Ta-wan, has not been identified; it was probably not far from the site of the modern Yarkand. On p. 97, *infra*, we are told that the "royal city of Wan had no wells within the walls, and was altogether dependent on streams without the city for its supply of water." This

Wan had had enough of Chinese commodities, and readily entered into a plot. China, they said to themselves, is far distant, and between us lies the Salt Lake (Lob), subject to sudden disturbances. Should they go to the north, they will encounter the Hu (Turkish) robbers; if to the south, there is a dearth of water and fodder. Whichever road they take, there is an absence of towns and a scarcity of provisions. The Chinese envoys travel in companies of a hundred men or so; if they try to cross without provisions, they will die before they are half over. It would be easy to stop a large army without any effort on our part. As for the Urh-chi horses, the people of Wan value them and do not wish to hand them over to the Chinese envoys. The envoys were annoyed at their opprobrious words; they broke up the golden horse and took their departure.

The chief men of the city were vexed at their departure, and bethought themselves the Chinese envoys will think but little of us, now that we have let them go; let us suggest to our eastern neighbours in Yuk-ch'eng 郁城 to intercept and murder them and plunder their goods.

The Emperor was greatly enraged at hearing this, and consulted privately respecting the mission with Ting Han-tang. The latter told him that the military resources of Wan were weak, and that though the Chinese troops did not exceed 3000 men, still they were brave and well trained in the use of the bow, and could at any time capture and destroy Wan. The Emperor had himself had experience of his troops, when he despatched the Marquess of Chuk-ye to Low-lan, the result of which was the capture of the King by the 700 cavalry first arrived. The Emperor expressed his assent to Ting's suggestion, and as he had a fancy for the Marquess on account of his favourite concubine, the lady Li, he appointed Li Kwang-li 李廣利 to command the force against

perfectly tallies with the description of Yarkand given by Hayward (Journ. of Royal Geogr. Soc. vol. xl. p. 4): "Both the city and fort are supplied with water from several tanks, into which it is conveyed by canals cut from the river. These are frozen in the winter, and the supply is then stopped, but the tanks contain sufficient water for the consumption of the inhabitants until the regular supply is renewed in the spring."

Urh-shi. Six thousand cavalry were despatched from Sze-chuen, and from the provinces they enlisted about 10,000 youths for the expedition against Wan. Li was given a fixed period to proceed to Urh-shi and capture the *shen* horses, and in consequence got the name of the Urh-shi general.

Li lost no time in making his forces effective, and for that purpose selected the Marquess of Ho and Wang-kwei to guide the army, and Li-chi his lieutenant to look after the affairs of the force. This was in the first year of the term T'ai-ch'o (37th year of Wu-ti, B.C. 104). At the same time there was a great plague of locusts in Kwan-tung, their ravages extending westward as far as Tun-hwang.

The Urh-shi general advanced with his troops to the west of Lake Lob; as he went along the road the small states were suspicious, and closed the gates of their cities, nor would they supply him with provisions. If he attacked them, he might not be successful; if he were successful, he could get a supply of provisions; should he not succeed in reducing them in a few days, what he had would be exhausted. Under the circumstances, he turned north to Yuk-ch'eng.[1] The soldiers who were with him scarcely exceeded 1000 men, all exhausted by hunger. They attacked Yûk-ch'eng, but met with a severe defeat, losing in killed and wounded the greater portion of the force.

The Urh-shi general consulted with Li-ch'e and Chao Shi-ching respecting the condition of affairs. They had got as far as Yûk-ch'eng, but could not take it; still worse would be their condition if they went on to the royal city (Urh-shi). They determined accordingly to retire to Tun-hwang. The expedition had occupied two years, and on its arrival at the frontier, not more than one or two tenths of those who had set out returned.

The general sent a despatch to the Emperor, stating that the distance to be traversed was great, and they had suffered much from hunger. The soldiers had died of hunger, not in battle, and were too few in number to reach Wan. As for

[1] *Yûk-ch'eng* 郁城. The position is doubtful. It lay north of the road to Urh-shi. The first syllable probably represents the Turkish *Ak*.

the troops, they were much exhausted; still, if a larger force were raised, they were willing to start again.

On hearing this, the Emperor was much enraged, and sent a messenger to intercept the army at Yuh-men, and inquire how it was that the army had dared to re-enter China without permission. Fearing the consequences, the Urh-shi general detained his troops at Tun-hwang.

In the summer of the same year the Chinese lost some 20,000 men of Tsok-yi's army at the hands of the Hiung-nû.[1] The chief officers of the state were unanimous in wishing to give up the war against Wan, and concentrating their forces in an attack on the Turks. The Emperor was however determined on punishing Wan. Wan, he represented, was but a small country; if they failed to reduce it, the Tochâri would think but lightly of China, and the supply of *shen* horses would cease. Wu-sun and Lun-t'ow would find it easy to annoy the Chinese caravans, and they would become the laughing-stock of foreign nations.

It was resolved to punish Wan at any cost. Prisoners in jail, and ruffians of every description were impressed, and the younger culprits were sent to join the border cavalry. In little more than a year there marched out of Tun-hwang a force of 60,000 men, not including camp followers, accompanied by 100,000 cattle and upwards of 30,000 horses, besides some 10,000 mules, asses, and camels, well supplied with fodder. The troops were well provided with cross-bows, and the whole empire was moved to provide means for the attack on Wan. More than fifty generals were appointed to the force.

The royal city of Wan had no wells within the walls, and was altogether dependent on streams outside the city for its supply of water. The Chinese took with them men well

[1] B.C. 103. The Marquess of Tsok-yi had left Suh-fang in the spring of the year with 20,000 cavalry. The left commandant-general of the Turks had offered to transfer his allegiance to China, and the Marquess retired to join his forces. The plot had been discovered before his arrival, and the commandant been put to death. The Turks fell on the Chinese, but were defeated. The latter however retired, but before their arrival at the frontier were set on by the Turks, their leader killed, and his army cut to pieces.—Wylie, in Journ. of Anthropological Inst. *l.c.*

skilled in waterworks to divert the streams, and so deprive the inhabitants of water. In addition to these preparations, 180,000 men were sent to the north of Tsiu-t'siuen and Chang-yih, and depôts of provisions were established for the protection of Tsiu-t'siuen. From China they despatched the seven classes of criminals to act as provision-carriers to the Urh-shi's army; men skilled in the management of chariots were sent to join it at Tun-hwang; and two cavalry officers, well skilled in the management of horses, were attached as instructors in horsemanship to take back the *shen* horses after the capture of Wan.

When all was ready, the Urh-shi general again set out with a numerous army. As they advanced through the smaller states they were everywhere well received and provided with supplies. On their arrival at Lûn-t'ow,[1] however, the people would not submit; the army attacked the place, and in a few days destroyed it. From thence, westward, as far as the chief town of Wan, the road was level.

On its arrival at Wan, the Chinese force numbered some 30,000 men. The Wan troops marched out to attack it, but were defeated, and forced to retire within the city for shelter. The Urh-shi's troops had wished to go and attack Yuh-ch'eng; he was apprehensive of the consequences of interrupting their march, and only succeeded in getting them to Wan by a ruse.

On their arrival, they set to divert the watercourses, so that the inhabitants shut up lost heart. The siege was pressed for forty days, when the outer city was stormed. The chief men and the officers in command were much harassed at the loss, and the people in great trepidation retired within the inner city, where the chief men had a consultation. They represented that the reason of the Chinese attack on the city was that King Mû-kwa 毋寡 had refused to give up the *shen* horses, and (had instigated)

[1] We are as yet too ignorant of the geography of Eastern Turkestan to be able to fix the position of Lûn-t'ow. It lay west of Lake Lob, and the indication that thence to Ta-wan the road was level would seem to place it at the western extremity of the mountains known to lie south-west of the lake. *Lûn-t'ow* 侖頭 possibly represents Dârsila, *i.e.* Cleft-rock; *cf.* K'wen-lûn for Gandhâra.

the murder of the envoys. If therefore they killed the king, and sent out the *shen* horses, the Chinese troops could scarcely refuse to accept their submission. If, on the other hand, they did not come to terms, the contest would be carried on to the death.

Before evening the principal inhabitants all expressed their assent; they killed their king, Mû-kwa, took his head, and sent it with their chief men to the Urh-shi general. They told him that if he would spare the lives and properties of the citizens, they would send out as many of the *shen* horses as were required, and would supply the Chinese troops with provisions. If, on the other hand, he would not agree to their proposal, they would then kill the *shen* horses, and request the people of K'ang-ku to come to their assistance. They then, with their own forces inside the city, and those of K'ang-ku without, would be well able to meet the Chinese in battle.

The Chinese generals consulted together as to what course to pursue. Meanwhile the Prince 侯 of K'ang-ku had come to reconnoitre the Chinese forces, but it being still in good condition, he had not dared to enter the city. The Urh-shi general took counsel of Chao Shi-ch'eng and Li-c'hi. They learnt that within the city they had recently obtained the services of some men from T'sin, who knew how to sink wells, while provisions were still abundant. Come what might, they had cut off the head of the obnoxious Mû-kwa, and it had arrived in camp. If they did not agree to the terms proposed, they would have to take measures for their own defence, as the Prince of K'ang-ku, as soon as the Chinese soldiers were exhausted, was ready to come to the assistance of Wan, in which case their army must be exterminated.

The various generals accordingly agreed to accept the terms proposed, and a convention was entered into with Wan that the latter should send out the *shen*[1] horses, which

[1] Shen horses 善馬. Is it possible that these are connected with the celebrated Nesæan horses of Strabo and the other Greek writers? Strabo (xi. xiii.) says: Τοὺς δε Νησαίους ἵππους, οἷς ἐχρῶντο οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀρίστους οὖσι καὶ μεγίστους.

the Chinese should have the right of selecting, and that they should fully provision the army.

The Chinese general took of the *shen* horses some ten individuals, besides of medium and inferior qualities about 10,000 horses and mares. They likewise selected from among the grandees of Wan one who had in previous times entertained in a friendly manner the Chinese envoys, by name Mui-t'sai,[1] and set him up as King of Wan.

On their side the Chinese stipulated that they would withdraw the troops without entering the inner city, and would cease hostilities and lead them back to China.

As the army was numerous, and no provisions were to be had for so many along the road from Urh-shi to the districts immediately west of the Tun-hwang, the army was divided into several sections, which followed respectively the northern and southern routes under the leadership of Wang Shen-sang. On account of (the proximity of) the districts of Hung-li 鴻 臚 and Wu-chûng 壺 充,[2] they marched in bodies of about 1000 men. On their arrival at Yuk-ch'eng, they found the city closed, and the inhabitants unwilling to provide supplies. Wang Shen-sang went on some 200 *li* in advance of the main army, with a body of light horse, in order to reconnoitre. He made a requisition on the town for provisions, but was refused. The people in the town knew through their spies that the troops with Wang were but few; at daylight they sallied out 3000 strong, and cut to pieces his escort. A few only escaped to the Urh-shi general. The general ordered the troops under the command of Sau-suk and Kih to destroy Yuk-ch'eng; the King fled to K'ang-ku, whither he was pursued by Kih. The people of K'ang-ku hearing that the Chinese had taken Wan, and had driven out the King of Yuk-ch'eng, delivered him up to Kih.

Kih ordered four cavalry officers to take him bound to the

(See also Herod. vii. 40.) Possibly, like the grapes, the race was introduced through Bactria from west of the Pamîr.

[1] 昧 蔡 *Mui-t'sai*, apparently Malsalya, *i.e.* Belophoros, *saggitarius;* so Mu-kwa is possibly Mahavîra.

[2] Apparently representing some such forms as Hari-urva, *terra gilva*, and Ugra-jara, *male dura*.

general-in-chief. The four consulted together. "This," they said, "is the King of Yuk-ch'eng, who has inflicted so much loss on our troops. So long as he lives he will be a source of trouble, let us kill him and finish the affair." They wished to kill him, but each feared to be the first to strike. The Shang-kwei cavalry officer, Chao's younger brother, was a young man; he drew his sword, killed him, and cut off his head. He was sent on by Kih to communicate the fact to the general-in-chief.

After the Urh-shi general had set out, the Emperor sent an envoy to Wu-sun, requesting it to assist him in the attack on Wan; Wu-sun, in response, sent 2000 cavalry. They were now placed in a dilemma, and did not wish to proceed, as the Urh-shi general had retired to the east. The smaller States through which the army passed, when they heard that China had conquered Wan, all sent the sons or younger brothers of their ruling chiefs, along with the army, to pay tribute to the Emperor and remain as hostages at the court.

Great merit was due to the Urh-shi general for his success at Wan, and to the Kiun-ching Chao Shi-ching for his bravery in battle, as well as to Kih for the courage he displayed in entering K'ang-ku, and on Li-ch'i for his wise counsels. The army entered the Yuh-men about 10,000 strong, with a thousand horses; the Urh-shi general bringing up the rear.

The army was now abundantly provisioned, and those who died in battle could not be many. The officers were, however, avaricious, and many of them did not care for their soldiers, who fell to plundering, and this caused some disturbance. The Emperor, as it had marched 10,000 *li* to the capture of Wan, and had returned successful, took no further notice of the irregularity. He invested Kwang-li as Marquess of Hai-si, and the younger brother of Chao, the cavalry officer who had killed the King of Yuk-ch'eng, he made Marquess of Sin-c'hi. The Kiun-ching Chao Shi-ch'eng was made Ta-foo of Kwang-luh, and the Shang-kwan-kih Siao-foo. Li-c'hi was made T'ai-show of Shang-tung, and

three of the other generals made high officers of the ninth grade.

To each of the Marquesses who had an income of 2000 shih 100 men were allotted, and a thousand were distributed amongst those with less than 1000 shih. In reward of their strenuous exertions, all were rewarded beyond their hopes, and fully contented were permitted to retire. 40,000 pieces of gold were distributed amongst the troops; those who had taken active part in the operations against Wan received four years' furlough.

After the victory at Wan, the Chinese general had set up Mui-t'sai as king, and immediately after departed. Scarcely a year had elapsed when the principal men of the city, finding that Mui-t'sai was nothing but a specious flatterer, sent an envoy to China asking permission to kill him. This being accorded, they put him to death, and raised to the vacant throne a brother of Mu-kwa, named Shen-fung (? Dar-bhar), and sent his son to China as a hostage. To preserve the good understanding an envoy was despatched in return with costly presents, and more than ten caravans were sent to the countries lying west of Wan to seek for articles of *vertu*.

In order to keep Wan under control, Fung-lan was appointed Tu-wei of Tun-hwang and T'siu-tsiuen. Westwards, as far as the Im-shui (Salt water, *i.e.* Lake Lob), rest-houses were established. At Lun-t'ow, a hundred agricultural officers were appointed for the purpose of encouraging the cultivation of millet and corn to supply the caravans on their way to or from foreign countries.

Index of Names of Localities Mentioned in the preceding Paper.

An-jen	晏 然	Ariana.
An-sik	安 息	Parthia.
Ho-si	河 西	Shensi, *etc.*
Hung-lu . . .	鴻 臚	*See* Wu-chung.
Hwan-t'sim. .	驩 潛	Kharism.
Hwan-ya . . .	渾 邪	In present province of Kansuh.
Im-shui. . . .	監 水	Lake Lob.
Im-t'sai *or* Im-t'sai-li-kan.	奄 蔡 黎 軒	Samarkand.
Joh (Yok) shui	弱 水	Lake of Hamun.
Kan-mi, *see also* Yu-mi . . .	扞 宷	A kingdom S.E. of Lake Lob.
Kang-ku . . .	康 居	Riang-kul.
Ki-lien-shan .	祁 連 山	T'ien-shan (part).
Kiao-t'sze. . .	驕 恣	Arachosia.
Kien-wei . . .	犍 爲	A town in Sze-chuen.
Kiung-pak . .	邛 僰	Do.
Kim-ch'eng. .	金 成	A town in Kansuh.
Ku-sze	姑 師	A kingdom near Lake Lob.
K'wen-lûn . .	崑 崙	Mountains of Gandhâra.
Kwai-shui. . .	嬀 水	River Oxus.
K'wen-mings.	昆 明	A tribe in Sze-chuen.
Lam-shi-ch'eng	監 市 城	Capital of Bactria.
Lu-yût	呂 越	
Lûn-t'ow . . .	侖 頭	A place S.W. of Lake Lob.
Low-lân. . . .	樓 蘭	A kingdom S.E. of Lake Lob.
Mang	駹	A locality in Sze-chuen.
Nam-shan. . .	南 山	A locality in Kansuh.
Sham-lai . . .	沈 黎	*See* Yang-ho.
Shen-tuh . . .	身 毒	Scinde.
Si-ping	西 並	A place in Kansuh.
Si-wang-mu .	西 王 母	A fabulous being.
Su-hiai	蘇 薤	A small state lying E. of Yarkand.
Sui	嶲	Now Li-kiang-fu in Yunnan.
Ta-hia.	大 夏	Tochâristan.

Ta-yik	大益	Derbices.
Tai-tsoks . . .	氏雀	A tribe in Yunnan.
T'iao-chi . . .	條枝	Sarangia.
T'în-yût . . .	滇越	Sthâneswara *or* N.E. India.
Tsiu-ts'iuen . .	酒泉	A district in Kansuh.
Tu-kwai-shui .	都嬀水	River Surkhab.
T'u	徒	A locality in Sze-chuen.
Urh-sze-ch'eng	貳師成	Yarkand.
Wan *or*	宛	The kingdom lying E. of the Pamîr, Yarkand.
Ta-wan	大宛	
Wan-shan . .	汶山	A district in Sze-chuen.
Wû-chung . .	壺充	A district near Yûk-cheng.
Wû-suns . . .	烏孫	The Asiani.
Yang-ho . . .	牂柯	A newly-founded district in Sze-chuen.
Yen	冉	A place on the borders of Sze-chuen.
Yik-chow . . .	益州	*See* Yang-ho.
Yû-mi	扜宷	The more correct form of Kanmi.
Yû-t'ien . . .	于寘	Khoten.
Yueh-ti	月氏	Ephthalîtæ.
Yuk-ch'eng . .	成郁	A city of Turkestan.
Yût-sui	越巂	*See* Yang-ho.

ART. IX.—*Suggestions on the Formation of the Semitic Tenses. A Comparative and Critical Study.* By G. BERTIN, M.R.A.S.

IN no Semitic tongue there seems not to be more than two primitive tenses, not having, however, in each dialect the same force. The form expressing the present in Hebrew is used for the subjunctive in Ethiopian, the perfect in Assyrian, etc. As for comparative purposes a common name is required for each form, we will take those adopted by the late Vicomte de Rougé in his Egyptian Grammar: *Aorist-Past* to denote the tense which appears to be formed by suffixes, as קָבַלְתִּי *qabal-ti*, and *Aorist-Present* for that which appears to be formed by prefixes, as אֶקְבֹּל *ä-qbol*.

It may be added that these two tenses had primitively connected with them no fixed idea of time, like the various Egyptian verbal forms,[1] but were localized only in the course of time, as will be seen in the following study.

I. AORIST-PAST.

This tense is formed by simply adding to the verbal root the personal pronouns more or less abbreviated, and these *personal suffixes* are often the same as the possessive: פָּקַדְנוּ *paqad-nū* is "we visited" or "our visiting."

The primitive meaning, expressing the past, attached to this aorist, is by the formation very rational, for "our visiting" is "the visiting of us," or "done by us," the pronominal suffix is therefore really the regimen of the verbal noun, and consequently the same as the possessive suffix; תּוֹרַת־נוּ *tōrat-nū* is "our law" or "the law of us, *i.e.* done by us."

[1] See de Rougé's Grammar.

This formation is the one noticed in old Egyptian.[1]

In Semitic tongues the verb is, as in Egyptian, placed first in the sentence. The third person is merely the root or theme (also as in Egyptian), which is quite rational, for being followed by the subject, the pronoun is not required to determine the person.

If we consider the third person of a verb to be a noun, its feminine must be formed according to the rule used for nouns; that is exactly what is found.

Syriac ܩܒܰܠ *qbal*, fem. ܩܒܠܬ *qeblat*.

Arabic قَبَلَ *qabala*, fem. قَبَلَتْ *qabalat*.

In Hebrew the *t*, characteristic of the feminine, is, as it is also in the nouns, weakened into *h*, so we have קָבַל *qabal*, fem. קָבְלָה *qablah*.

The formation agrees therefore exactly.

In the plural the parallel is the same. The third person of the masculine plural is *qabl-u* in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan and Ethiopian;[2] and قَبَلُوا *qablūâ* in Arabic, where the silent *alif* is only added to mark the length of the last vowel.

Here we have the theme with the mark of the plural *u* (Egyptian) for the masculine. The feminine ought to be *au* or *ua* (Egyptian) and by assimilation *ā*, but as it often happens the distinction of gender in the plural ceased at an early time to be rigorously noticed and the masculine form was exclusively used for both genders.[3] Ethiopian is the only dialect in which the characteristic *ā* has been retained, ቀበለ *qabalā*, as in Chaldee.

The formation of the plural by adding *ū* has nearly disappeared in the nouns; some examples remain in Assyrian,

[1] In this paper I limit myself to the Semitic group, and refer only occasionally to the Egyptian to make the explanations clearer.

[2] See the table A.

[3] The masculine form in *u* is the only one retained in Coptic, though in Egyptian we have the two forms *u* and *sen*, but in Egyptian they had already lost their value, and were used indifferently for both genders.

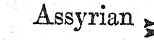
but it has left many traces in all the other dialects: as, for instance, the Arabic regular plural ون *ūn*, and the plural *ūt*, found in Assyrian, Hebrew, Arabic, etc. A trace of the feminine plural in *ā* is also found in the plural *āt*.

There seem to have been two different means by which the plural could be formed: 1st, *ū* for the masculine and *ā* (for *ua*) for the feminine, and 2nd, *n*, used for both genders. This *n*, as marking the plural, appears in the pronouns. These two characteristics have been often superadded, as is seen in the Arabic plural ون *un*, and, through phonetic changes, in Assyrian 𒀀𒈾 -*ani*, Hebrew ים -*im*, Chaldee ין *in*, etc. This double plural has been better preserved in the feminine; in Arabic we have قَبَلْنَ *qabalna*, in Syriac ܩܒܠܝܢ *qbalīn*, as well as ܩܒܠܝ *qbalī*.

For the second and first persons of the Aorist-Past etymologists appear to have been misled by the fact that the pronoun of the second person is أَنتَ *anta* in Arabic, אַתָּה *atta* in Hebrew, and 𒀀𒋫 𒀀𒋫𒀀 *at-ta* in Assyrian; from this they have assumed that *ta* was the characteristic of the second person, and have derived from it the second person of the verbs: قَبَلْتَ *qabalta* in Arabic, קָבַלְתָּ *qabalta* in Hebrew, the feminine being derived also from the feminine pronoun of the second person, أَنْتِ *anti*, אַתְּ *at*, etc. Following the same course, the first person in تُ *tu* in Arabic, and תִּי -*ti* in Hebrew, has been derived from the demonstrative pronoun אֲנִי or אֲנִת. This etymology has been generally accepted, though we have in Ethiopian: first person ቀበልኩ *qabal-ku*, second person masc. ቀበልከ *qabal-kā*, fem. ቀበልኪ *qabalki*, which appear to be the primitive forms.[1]

The suffix *ku* for the first person has been preserved in the Assyrian 𒀀𒈾𒀀 𒀀𒉡𒀀 *anaku*, Hebrew אָנֹכִי *anoki*, etc., for "I." It appears in the so-called permansive of the

[1] This is the opinion of the learned scholar Prof. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, vol. i. p. 61, though he gives no opinion as to the etymology of the suffixes of the Aorist-Past.

Assyrian  *sarra-ku* "I am king." The suffixes of the second person masc. *ka*, fem. *ki*, have been retained in all the Semitic dialects as possessive suffixes of the second person. We have, therefore, an example here of the common change of *k* into *t*, and it can only be a matter of surprise that so simple an explanation has not been given before.[1]

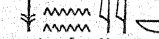
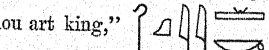
The plural of the second person is regularly formed by the second suffix of the plural *n* or *m* added to the singular, and is an exact parallel to the possessive suffixes where the *k* has not been softened into *t*.

The first person plural is formed with the pronominal suffix, which is exactly the same as the possessive suffix of the first person plural *-nū* or *-na*; sometimes a double plural is found, and the second *n* is wrongly called paragogic.

In the accompanying table (A), I have added the Egyptian and the Coptic, to show the striking parallelism.

Note on the second person.—It has been suggested to me by a philologist that the primitive form of the suffix of the second person may have been *k-t*, with a collateral softening, thus: k-t $\begin{cases} \text{h-t—} \ldots \text{t} \\ \text{k-h—k} \ldots \end{cases}$ In one case the *k* first becoming *h*, and then being dropped, and in the other the *t* becoming *h*, and also being dropped. But if this assumed form ever existed, there are no traces of it to be found in any Semitic or Hamitic dialect. Besides, though the change of *k* into *t* may appear rather violent, it has been done in historical times. In Amharic our very suffix *ki* became *š*.

In Egyptian the change is actually found for the same suffix. In few examples of the later period *ta* appears as the suffix of the second person.

[1] The pronoun of the second person *antu*, fem. *anti*, which appears in all the dialects, must have been primitively *anta-*ĸ for the masc., at least as the comparison of the Semitic pronouns with the Coptic drawn by Gesenius would seem to show. This pronoun lost at an early time the *k*, which has been the case with the pronoun of the first person in Aramæan, Arabic and Ethiopian. In Egyptian there are forms exactly similar to the above-mentioned Assyrian formation:  *sutenni-ek* "thou art king,"  *ḥaqi-ek* "thou art ruler." It will be seen further on that the particle *an* (expressed in *anaku* sometimes by a single wedge) is the verb "to be."

Note on the Assyrian Permansive.—I have purposely avoided treating of the so-called Assyrian permansive, acknowledged by some and rejected by others. That some forms are found in the texts, where the pronominal suffixes are added to the verbal root or noun, cannot be denied, but these examples are very uncommon. In all the tablets now unearthed, not more than one hundred examples can be found, and it seems to me rather rash to reconstruct the whole of the paradigm of all the voices from such comparatively few examples.

What has been called the first person of the permansive is the only one which seems to have been in common use: *sarraku*, *zikaraku*, etc. But in such instances it is straining the meaning of the word to call it a verbal form, for we have indeed no verb *sarara* (to be king) nor *zikara* (to be man). These words seem to be formed by analogy with *anaku* "it is I," *i.e.* "I," often written , where the primitive formation appears clearly. When Assurnaṣirpal says:[1] *sarraku*, he means "the king, it is I," *bilaku*, "the lord, it is I," etc. Most of the forms of the first person found are of this kind. The other persons are still more uncommon, and mostly used in the texts translated from the Akkadian in the reign of Assurbanipal, and therefore of a later date. Some evident mistakes in these transcriptions seem to indicate that the scribes were often not Assyrians (that is, Ninevites or Babylonians), but Aramæans or Phœnicians, or even non-Semitics. We have many proofs that, as artists, carvers on ivory, stone, etc., the prisoners taken in war were employed by the conquerors, and it seems rational to suppose that some were also, as was the custom in Rome, employed as scribes. The form *tarṣat*[2] (she places), 3 p. f. sing. of the Perm., is most probably the Aramæan תרות transliterated into Assyrian, and there are other examples of Aramaic forms being introduced into Assyrian.

[1] W.A.I. i. 17, 32.

[2] W.A.I. iv. 26, 47.

II. Aorist-Present.

As already mentioned, this name is used for convenience' sake, though the tense in Assyrian nearly always has the force of the perfect.

The clear derivation of the Aorist-Past has led grammarians to look into the pronouns for the origin of the prefixes of this tense. According to their theory the pronominal roots should have been cut in two, one part being prefixed and the other suffixed. I do not think this explanation will bear a serious and careful analysis; the process required in such a case is too violent and too artificial, moreover, to have been applied by uncultured people, such as the Proto-Semites. Besides, if the second person feminine, Assyrian 𒌅𒀀𒅗𒁺 *ta-aqbali*, תִּקְבְּלִי *tiqbeli*, Ethiopian ተቀብሊ *teqabeli*, giving the form *ta—i*, *ti—i*, and *te—i*, is derived from *an-ti*, such derivation does not explain the presence of the *n* in Arabic تَقْبَلِينَ *taqbulīna* and Syriac ܬܶܩܒܠܝܢ *teqblin*, unless we suppose for the pronoun the form *antin*, which has never been found in any dialect nor has ever been suggested.

If we look to the paradigm of our tense, we see that the suffixes have in great part disappeared, and were only retained where they were required to distinguish one person from another; we find *-i* to the second person feminine, to distinguish it from the masculine, in Syriac we have *-īn*, to establish a distinction with the third person feminine ܬܶܩܒܘܠܝ *teqbuli*; when the vowel is not expressed by a *vau*, this person is confounded in other dialects with the second masculine.

Arabic has *-ŭ* in all the forms of the singular, the second feminine excepted; the final *-n* re-appears in the plural of the second and third persons in Arabic, Syriac and Samaritan. No doubt such a termination existed also in Hebrew; but when this letter was used as a suffix to the singular or plural, it was called by grammarians paragogic. As these suffixed letters appear in all the persons and numbers, they must

have a common origin. I believe we have in them a remnant of the forms preserved complete in the old Assyrian verbal form: *-umma, -imma, -amma,* which have the same origin as the Assyrian mimmation, also found in Sabæan, and the Arabic nunation, which has been retained for a much longer period in the nouns.

In an Assyrian bilingual inscription [1] a very curious form is found:

ikkilman-anni.

 useman-anni.

 isiman-anni.

perhaps a remnant of the old mimmation already decayed, as in Aramæan and Arabic into a nunation.[2]

Admitting, therefore, that the suffixes have nothing to do with the prefixes, these must be treated of by themselves.

If the prefixes had the same origin as the suffixes of the Aorist-Past, we ought to have in Ethiopian this series: 1st pers. *ku-*; 2nd masc. *ka-*, fem. *-ki*; 3rd masc. *a-*, fem. *ata-* or *at-*, because the *k* could not have been preserved intact at the end of the theme in the Aorist-Past and at the same time have decayed into *t* at the beginning in the Aorist-Present.

In Hebrew we should have: *ti-*, *ta-*, *te-*, *ha-* or *hu-* and *at-*; in Arabic: *tu-*, *ta-*, *ti-*, *a-*, *at-*, etc. But this process being rather contrary to the fact, it seems more rational to examine the prefixes in themselves and see if they may not have another origin.

We have three prefixes: 1st. *a* (*u*, *i*) for the 1st pers. sing. in all the dialects; and in Assyrian, Hebrew, Arabic, Samaritan and Ethiopian, for the 3rd masc. sing. and plural; and in Assyrian, Samaritan, Aramæan and Ethiopian for the 3rd fem. plur.

2nd. *n* for the 1st pers. plur.; and in Syriac also for the 3rd masc. sing. and 3rd plur., both genders.[3]

3rd. *t* for the 2nd pers. sing. and plur. and the 3rd fem. sing., and in Hebrew also for the 3rd fem. plur.

[1] W.A.I. vol. iv. plate 10.
[2] These forms recall to mind the Energetic perfect of the Arabic.
[3] This prefix *n* appears in the Arabic dialect of Algeria for the first person sing.

Prefix A.

If there were any doubt as to the common origin of the prefixes *a*, *i* and *u*, the Assyrian would clear it up, for we find *a*, *i* or *e* and *u* all used in many instances for the first and third person.

The Semites never, it would seem, conceived a vowel-sound without an aspirate: *a*, *i*, *u* stands for *ʿa*, *ʿi*, *ʿu*. The vocalisation is, in composition, governed by the harmony, and the vowels appear more clearly in Assyrian on account of the system of writing.

Though a root so delicate as a simple aspirate might be expected to disappear, yet one has been remarkably preserved, in a clear form, in the Syriac verb ܗܘܳܐ *hô* "to be," which has been cast in the triliteral mould. In Hebrew the same root appears with another vocalisation, הָיָה *hayah*; in Arabic it is found in أَىّ "what?" interrogative, *i.e.* "is it?"

This primitive aspirated root is largely used in formation, but it little alters the primitive meaning of the word to which it is prefixed. In Hebrew we have as prefixes א, י and ה, through the influence of the vocalisation; the same happens in Assyrian, Syrian, Arabic, etc.[1]

In some words the prefixed letter simply intensifies the primitive meaning. For this reason it is used to form the imperative and the vocative.

Sometimes the verbal meaning of the prefix has been retained, and as such it is added to substantives in order to form adjectives.

It has also formed a few particles, as أَوْ, أَىّ in Arabic, etc.

Prefix N.

If the prefix *n* had only appeared in the first person of the plural, we might believe that it were really the last remnant of the personal pronoun, but it is found used in Syriac to form the third person of both genders.

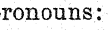
[1] Some of the forms are considered by grammarians to be derived from an *Aphel*.

This form with the prefixed *n* has puzzled all grammarians; some have supposed that the *nun* was a mistake of the scribe for a *yod*; but when we remember that Syriac was a spoken dialect, when the manuscripts were written, it seems impossible to believe that such a gross mistake could have been made; others have derived the prefix from ܗܘ *honô*, what is improbable, although less impossible, as that word is only the lengthened form of the pronoun ܗܘ *hū*. The prefixed *nun* in the third person must have another origin, and seems to be connected with the *nun* of the first person of the plural.

Does it then exist like the prefix *h* or ʿ (the aspirate) does as an independent word in Semitic tongues?

We find it indeed most extensively used in all of them.

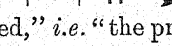
The particle أَنْ *an* has many uses in Arabic, the most common is to serve as a simple expletive before the subject or before nouns in certain conditions. In Hebrew אָן *an* is an interrogative, "where," "whither," "whence," also "how long," etc., having really no regard to time or movement.

We find this prefix used in all the dialects as a mere support to the pronouns:  *an-aku*, أَنْتَ *anta*, etc.

These uses and meanings point to the force of a primitive substantive verb *an* "to be."[1]

The nominal formation shows this value most clearly, as the nouns formed with the suffix *n* have generally a passive meaning.

In Hebrew נִשְׁכַּר *ni-skar*, "one who has been hired," נוֹשָׁב *n-usab*, "inhabited."

In Assyrian  *na-abnitu*, from *Banū*, "what has been produced," *i.e.* "the product." *na-annaru*, from *nūru* (fire) "what is inflamed," *i.e.* "bright."

We find the same formation in Arabic, Syriac, and other dialects.

[1] The Egyptian particle *an* is used exactly in the same way as a support to the pronouns and nouns, and is undoubtedly a primitive substantive verb, as has been shown by M. Maspero (Journal Asiatique, Aout-Sept. 1871) and M. Ancessi (Revue Philologique, "le theme N dans les langues de Sem et de Cham"). See Zeitschrift, 1879, p. 49. Dr. Birch had many years ago suggested it.

Prefix T.

The primitive value of the prefix *t* is even still clearer. We find it wonderfully well preserved in Syriac under the triliteral form ܐܝܬ *âit*, "to be," wrongly connected with the Hebrew אִישׁ. The verb, instead of taking the pronominal verbal suffixes, takes the pronominal possessive suffixes; therefore, when there is ܐܝܬܝ *âiti*, it clearly means "my being," ܐܝܬܟ *âituk*, "thy being," etc.; the meaning is also well preserved in the expression ܠܝܬ ܠܝ *lait li* "(it) is to me," *i.e.* "I have." It is to be noticed that the *olaf* is dropped, not being part of the root.

In Hebrew אֵת *ät* or אֵתִי *ätti* is the same root, used as a kind of demonstrative, which has also the force of an expletive, as shown by the first chapter of Genesis in the sentence בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ: *bara Elohim* ÄT *hassamaim w-*ÄT *ha-areṣ*, which must be translated "God created *what is* the sky and *what is* the earth;" in this instance it has preserved the primitive meaning of the substantive verb.

In Sabæan, Minæan dialect, the same root is used as a demonstrative pronoun, 𐩣𐩧𐩲 *hut*.

The nominal formation with the prefix *t* becomes clear if it is considered to be a fragment of a verb "to be."

In Hebrew we have: תִּ־פְּנִים *tu-pinim* (only used in the plural) "what is cooked;" תַּ־הֲלוּכָה *ta-halukah* "what is going along," *i.e.* "procession," from הָלַךְ *halak* "to go, to walk."[1]

In Assyrian 𒌷𒁍𒅗𒁺 *ti-diku* "action of striking," from *dâku* "to strike." 𒌷𒁍𒋛𒀀𒈬𒌷𒋛𒀭 *ti-nisetu* "the mankind," properly "what is," or "composes mankind."

A great many examples might be given of the compounds with this prefix and the two others in all the Semitic dialects, but those few are sufficient to illustrate the formation.

[1] The primitive meaning of the prefix appears clearly in a kind of emphatic pronoun formed by adding to it the pronominal possessive suffixes: אֲתָנוּ *atanu*, "our being," as in English "ourselves," *i.e.* "we," אֶתְכֶם *ätkem* "yourselves."

The rational conclusion of this survey is, that the suffixes of the Aorist-Present are not abbreviated forms of the pronouns, but auxiliary verbs prefixed to the verbal root or theme. The only objection is, why are particular forms used for certain persons?

If now we turn to the syntax, it will be seen that the distinction of gender, number, and person is far from being always retained.

In Assyrian, as already shown, the first person plural is the only one clearly distinct from the singular, but the distinction is illusory when the speaker uses "we" for "I," or "they" for "we," etc., as is often the case. The masculine and feminine are so often used one for the other, that Dr. Oppert said: "One might doubt of the existence of the feminine form."

I must also mention that in a great many texts the writer passes from the first to the third, or from the second to the third, person without any break in the sentence, and we are obliged in the translation either to supply the change of expression or keep to the person mentioned at the beginning of the sentence.

It has already been noticed that the suffixes of the Aorist-Present are only the remnants of the primitive mimmation and nunation. By means of the so-called paragogic letters, in Hebrew, for example, the suffixes are often made the same for all persons and numbers. We therefore have identical forms, thus: for the 2nd masc. and fem. sing. and plur. and 3rd fem. sing. in Assyrian, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopian, and also for the 3rd fem. plur. for Hebrew. In Assyrian the 1st sing. and 3rd masc. sing. and 3rd masc. and fem. plural are often the same in writing; so also the 3rd sing. and plur. In Syriac the 3rd masc. sing., the 1st and 3rd masc. and fem. plur. are the same. So when the 3rd person fem. sing. is used in Assyrian for the masc., as it often happens, we might as well say that it is the 2nd person; when the 3rd person masc. sing. is used for the 3rd fem. in Syriac, we might as well say it is the 1st or 3rd plur.; and so on.

We find, moreover, a few cases in Hebrew, Syriac, and

Arabic of forms used for the wrong persons, which have been considered as the errors of scribes; I would rather believe that in many instances the scribes have "corrected" the texts, to make them agree with their conception of the grammar. So the *linea occultans* seems to me to have often been placed under letters added by the scribes to explain their own etymology and derivations of the words, but which had no more reason than the change made by the Latin etymologists in the word *orum* into *aurum*. This is in many instances also the case for the Massoretic points.

In Hebrew, Aramæan, and Samaritan, as in Assyrian, the genders, numbers, and persons seem to be indiscriminately used, often the context only shows what we have to translate.

The Arabs, though they have, on account of the geographical position and turn of mind of the race, preserved the purest forms, have most elaborate grammar. Their grammarians have drawn numerous and complicated rules, with as many exceptions, to explain the irregular uses of persons and numbers of the verb. So we are told that the verb placed before a feminine subject is used in the masculine form, and that certain verbs even take always the masculine form with a feminine noun. The use of number is as irregular as that of gender; the plural nouns take masculine or feminine singular verbal forms. Even for the dual, the rule is to use the verb in the singular with a dual subject. A verb with several subjects is often in the singular. Frequently, also, the verb agrees with its complement.

The only conclusion and the only explanation of all these anomalies is to admit that at the earliest period of Semitic grammar the various forms of the prefixed tense were common to all genders and numbers, and that the prefixes themselves were nothing more than auxiliary or substantive verbs.

The proof that the verb did not primitively contain any mark of person and number is also found in many idiomatic sentences, where the participle or the infinitive plays the part of a verbal tense.

Nay, more, those very prefixes, which became part of the verb, have an independent use as auxiliary verbs.

The Hebrew הוה, the Syriac ܗܘܐ, the Samaritan ⱨⱥⱱⱥ, which are the triliteral forms of our first prefix *a* or *h*, are used precisely as auxiliaries with a verbal noun or infinitive. It is the same with the root היה, ⱨⱥⱶⱥ, the triliteral forms of our third prefix *t*. The subject is often inserted between the auxiliary and the verbal root or theme.

In Arabic we have a striking use of the particle أَنَّ or إِنَّ, followed by the subject in the accusative, and the verb as a nominative noun. This particle, which is our second prefix *n*, has formed many others in Arabic, where the primitive meaning of the substantive verb can still be traced.

All these so-called anomalies and irregularities disappear with the theory now advanced.

The verb was primitively invariably treated as a noun; the Aorist-Past is simply this root with the pronominal possessive suffixes; and the Aorist-Present, which is the only tense in Assyrian, was a compound of one of the substantive or auxiliary verbs and a verbal root or noun.

Though surprising as this conclusion may be to some, it seems to me to be the only satisfactory way of explaining the forms of the Semitic verb, and the anomalies of grammar and syntax of the Semitic tongues.

In the course of this paper I have referred only once or twice to the old Egyptian, but it may be noticed the same course of development was followed in it. If we knew only Coptic, and if the old Egyptian had been entirely lost, the Coptic forms would necessarily have remained unexplained, as they were still for Peyron. But the formation appears clear when Coptic is placed side by side with Egyptian. See table B.)

It must be noticed that when Coptic was derived from Egyptian, the verbal forms had already been fixed. The pronominal suffixes added to the verb had to a great extent lost their possessive value, and only served to designate in the verb the person and number; for this reason they were retained in the auxiliary, and appear therefore as having been inserted between the auxiliary prefix and the verbal root. Though we have many examples of this in Semitic

tongues, as with the Syriac verb ܗܘܐ and others, the auxiliary did not always retain the pronominal suffixes, which appear in fact quite pleonastic with a substantive verb, and had, when the Semitic tongues were formed, retained still clearly their original force.

Of course, as a race progresses, there is a tendency to precise the meaning of the words more and more, and to distribute methodically all the forms to certain fixed uses. This is evident in Coptic, where the form with ⲉⲣ prefixed has been localized to the third person. In our own modern tongues we see that when there are two or more expressions for the same idea, the careful writer tries to give to each a special meaning. "I loved, I did love, I was loving, I have loved," would, among primitive people using a primitive language, have the same force, but among cultivated Englishmen each of these expressions carries a different idea. The same has happened with the Semitic verb, the forms with uncertain meanings have been more or less distributed and localized in course of time. In modern times in vulgar Arabic the tenses are undergoing the same process of distribution, and we may even now foretell a time when the Arabic language will possess a Past, a Present, and a Future.

DECIPHERMENT OF THE LOLO WRITING

A.—EXAMPLES OF THE COMBINATIONS OF CHARACTERS

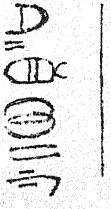
1. 十 (十) = 10
2. 中 (中) = 中, 都
3. 米 (米) = 米
4. 宝 (宝) = 对
5. 天 (天) = 天
6. 土 (土) = 对
7. 刀 (刀) = 古
8. 刃 (刃) = 谷
9. 九 (九) = 九
10. 又 (又) = 庚
11. 又 (又) = 耒
12. 乃 (乃) = 吃

B.—CHARACTERS IDENTIFIED.

ㄱ = V	ㄉ = CH	ㄹ = I
ㅏ = O	ㄴ = P	ㄱ = N
ㄱ = K	ㅁ = T	ㅗ = Y
ㄴ = T	ㅇ = B	
ㅇ = S	ㅓ = N	

C.—COMPARISON OF THE LOLO WRITING WITH THE LEGEND OF THE HARAPA SEAL.

SEAL FOUND AT HARAPA, LAHORE.



CHARACTERS OF THE LOLO M.S.

Art. X.—*On a Lolo MS. written on Satin.*[1]

This splendid MS. on red and blue satin is, in fact, the first that has reached Europe in the language and writing of the Lolos,[2] almost unknown a few months ago; before the important *Journey of Exploration in Western Sz'e chuen*, by Mr. E. Colborne Baber, now Secretary of the Chinese Legation at Peking, noticed by him in a paper addressed to the Royal Geographical Society of this country. From this paper we learn that Mr. Baber displayed a remarkable diligence in procuring materials for the study of the language and writing of the Lolo population; his paper comprising a vocabulary, copy and tracing of three documents in the Lolo writing; but, till the arrival of this wonderful MS., it must be confessed that we had no other Lolo documents.

This MS., on satin, red on one side, blue on the other, in blue rough cloth boards, is folded in eight like a screen. It is written in black, apparently with the Chinese brush, and consists of texts of a considerable length, with nearly 5750 words in all.

The writing runs in lines from top to bottom, and from right to left, as in Chinese. It is disposed in separate rows of two characters, or several aggregated together.

On the red side we have six pieces, going under a general title on the board outside, and having each a separate title of

[1] The present note was read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Dec. 19, 1881, by Col. Henry Yule, C.B., to whom the MS. had been offered from Peking by Mr. Colborne Baber, who had received it from a Lolo chief, in fulfilment of a promise made four years ago.

[2] The only documents we had previously on the Lolos, besides the short Chinese notices, were the notes from Father Crabouillet, of the Missions Etrangères of Paris (missionary for ten years in Se-chuen) in 1873. These notes have been published in the numbers of February, 1873, of a weekly paper, *Les Missions Catholiques*, published at Lyons. The Lolos cover an area of 50 leagues in length, and 30 to 40 in width, in the south-western part of the Se-chuen province of China. A branch of the same people exists in Indo-China.

four or six words, of which one or two are repeated in every title. Besides this, the first, second, and sixth are separated in two. The text is in verses of five words, separated by a circle at the right under the last word, as the Chinese do. Occasional verses of another measure occur. In the first piece we find two verses of three and one of seven words. The rhymes, which are conspicuous, do not follow or alternate with regularity; they are in some cases separated by several verses. On the red side, after the six pieces, we have two stanzas of five verses of four words, excepting the last, which has eleven words. A final phrase of nine words and two following terminates the writing on the red side, making a total of 2998 words.

The blue side numbers only 2750 words, and is not so well written as the red. The text is disposed in seven parts, each having a separate title of four, five, or six words. The first and sixth are separated in two. In contradistinction to the red side, the text runs unbroken and no traces of rhymes are visible in the first six parts. The seventh is composed of seventeen verses of five words, with rhymes and a concluding sentence.

Mr. Colborne Baber had previously received (but from the French Missionaries) a Lolo MS. not written with the brush, but yet more regularly written than that on the satin MS. This copy, which contains several texts, he had xylographed by the Chinese process and sent three copies to Europe. A list of the 450 different words of this xylographed text of 1850 words, which I compiled with great care and classified according to their graphical shape, displayed at once an extraordinary resemblance with the Rejang alphabet of Sumatra. We see in it the same system of combining the letters one with the other, and the same mode of embodying the vowel sign with the consonant; but it would have been difficult to go further without the materials Mr. Baber, with singular perseverance, secured during his journey. They consist of:

1. A bilingual or rather bi-written text, Lolo and Chinese, of 133 words (60 of which are different). It is a Lolo song, in verses of five words, in rhymes with a periodical return

of the same verses. Chinese characters, which seem hardly to have more than a phonetic value, accompany each Lolo word, so as to enable a Chinaman to read it. The two writings are much corrupted, and, in some cases, are decipherable only by comparison.

2. A small vocabulary of 19 words written in Mr. Baber's pocket book by a Lolo medicine-man, with the sense, but without the sounds.

As to the words of the language, we have in Roman characters:

a. A vocabulary of 230 words compiled by Mr. Baber.

b. A vocabulary of 72 words or articles extracted by the Rev. Dr. Edkins from Chinese sources.

c. A vocabulary of 130 words collected by the French explorer, M. Francis Garnier,[1] a list, showing that the decipherment of this remarkable writing is a matter only of attention and time, the words of the Lolo vocabulary in native writing, with the bilingual text, forming the clue to the whole.

The written words of this small vocabulary, which are found again in the bilingual document, with an approximate pronunciation in Chinese characters corresponding with the Roman transcription of the word in one or other of the three vocabularies, are decisive in this matter; we have only to take them as the starting-points of comparison with the other words of the bilingual document, to be able to deduce the phonetic value of the added characters. For example:

On the Lolo list we have a certain group for *seven*, which in the vocabulary is *shih*; on the bilingual document it is rendered by 草 *ch'o* or *tsö*; but this does not occur in any other word of the bilingual document.

On the Lolo list we have (the figures correspond to the Lolo characters on Plate A):

(1) = ten, in the vocabulary *ts'é*.

(2) = five, in the vocabulary *to*; in the bilingual document 都 *to*.

[1] These vocabularies, however, taken on different spots, exhibit only slight differences; some are only due to phonetic decay.

We find, besides, on the bilingual document:

(3)=崽 *twan.*
(4)=对 *it tui.*
(5)=天 *tien.*
(6)=对 *tui.*

From these six examples it is easy to deduce the form of the character for *t*.

In this case, as in the preceding one, we have to take into account that the spoken vocabulary belongs to a dialect more phonetically decayed than the written ones.

In the bilingual document we find (see Plate A):

(7)=古 *ku.*
(8)=谷 *kuh.*
(9)=九 *kiu.*
(10)=庚 *keng.*
(11)=耕 *keng.*
(12)=吃 *kut.*

It is not difficult to see what in these six examples the character for *k* is, and that in the last compound we find again the character for *t*.

Continuing the same process, which here would be tedious if more fully exemplified, we have already found a certain number of the characters, as those for *v, o, k, t, s, ch, p, f, b, m, l, n, y,* which are figured in the accompanying Plate (B).

The number of the whole seems to be under thirty.

The importance of the writing discovered by Mr. Baber cannot be overrated. It gives us the link which was wanting to understand the connexion between the various members of a family of writings widely disseminated.[1]

[1] A number of writings of that family may be enumerated in their geographical order, which in several cases is *not* due to their connection, derivation, and age, as follows: (*a*) *India*—Harapa seal, Indo-Pali, Vatteluttu; (*b*) *Indo-China*—Lolo, Laos; (*c*) *Sumatra*—Old Battak, Rejang, Lampung; (*d*) *Celebes*—Old Bugis, Macassar; (*e*) *Philippines*—Tagal (pre-Arabic Malay); and (*f*) *Northern*—Corean, Hifumi Japanese. The whole question is treated, with the necessary illustrations of characters, in my paper *On the Eastern Alphabet and the Indo-Chinese Origin of the Indian Writing*, which will soon appear in the Journal of the R.A.S.

Its interest is shown by four remarkable facts:

1. The intimate connexion of the Lolo characters with the legend of the stone seal found at Harapa, near Lahore,[1] in an excavation undertaken for the Archæological Survey of India by Major Clarke, which from archæological evidence General Cunningham assigns to four or five hundred years before the Christian Era.

2. Its extraordinary resemblance with the Rejang and connected writings on one side, and the Corean and Hifumi Japanese on the other.

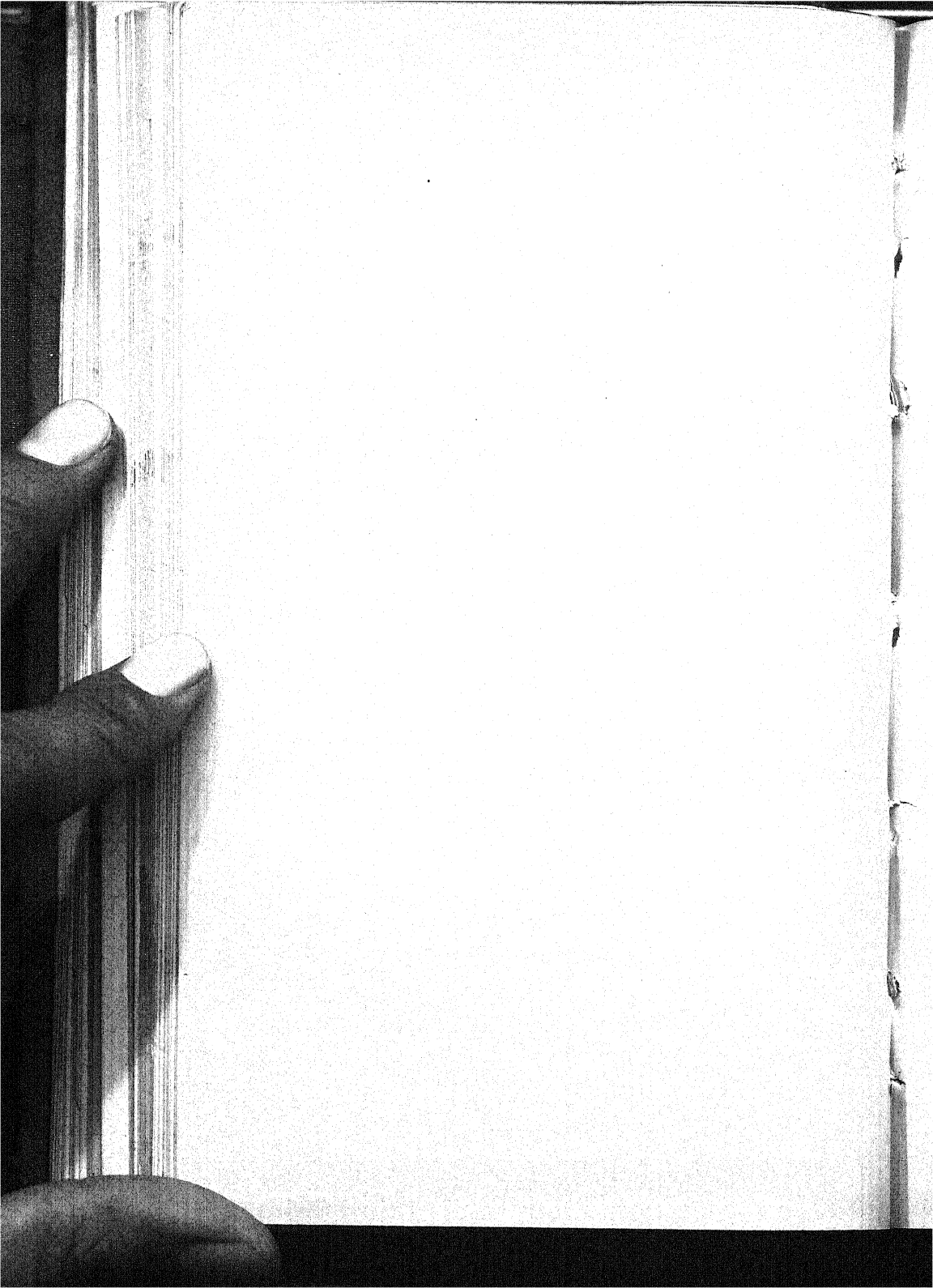
3. Its remote affinities with the Indo-Pali, the last exhibiting in some cases more corrupted shapes of characters.

4. Its many affinities with the Siao-chuen Chinese writing in use a few centuries B.C.

TERRIEN DE LA COUPERIE, M.R.A.S.

LONDON, *Dec.* 19, 1881.

[1] See the Plate C.



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ART. XI.—*On Tartar and Turk.* By S. W. KOELLE, Ph.D., Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Science in Berlin, and Missionary of the Church Missionary Society.

THERE *is* something in a name. Properly it ought to comprise all, or at least much of what is contained in the thing named. The name is therefore a very weighty and important word. In dealing with it, we may be struck as the Tartars were, when they first handled iron; for it evidently gave them the impression that it contained some mysterious substance, some kind of stuffing, concealed under its surface; and therefore they called it تيمور *timur, i.e.* 'a stuffing, a filling, or something filled, stuffed.'[1] The Turkish language is remarkably transparent in an etymological point of view, most of its names being still easily traceable to their roots and to their original signification.

The *Tartars* and *Turks* have acted such an important part in history, and imprinted their track so deeply on its pages by deeds of blood, fire and desolation, that it cannot be uninteresting to subject *their names* to a serious investigation, in order to understand their true grammatical *form* and etymological derivation; to ascertain their *import*, or of

[1] Nouns in *ur* can have an active and a passive meaning. تيمور, comes from the verb تومماك *tóm-mek* 'to stuff, to fill very full.' Compare تومماغ *tóm-aγ* the thick fur cap of the Kirghis, تومماق *tóm-aq* the wide trousers of the Ulemas, تومالاق *tóm-ā-laq* 'thick, stumpy, plump,' تومانماق *tóm-an-maq* 'to become wealthy,' تيم *tim* 'an arch, a vault.'

what special national characteristics they are the expression; to trace the origin and extent of their *use*; and also briefly to inquire how far the light of *history* in which these nations appear is in *keeping* and *harmony* with the light which *philology* casts on their names.

I.—On the name of *TARTAR*.

Every one knows that formerly all Europe was agreed in saying and writing *Tartar*, and that only in modern times people have begun extensively to substitute the form *Tatar*. The scientific men of Germany took the lead in this innovation, so that now in German literature the mutilated form *Tatar* has almost completely usurped the place of the correct and original *Tartar*. This change was considered necessary, because it had been found that the Arabs, Persians and Ottomans always used the form *Tatar*, and that even the Mohammedan Tartars of Russia and Turkey now all appear to have adopted this mutilated form of their name; and I admit that these are at first sight very plausible and apparently decisive arguments. In Russia the example set by the literary men of Germany is followed universally; but in England and France a happy conservatism in the use of words, once current in the language, has hitherto prevailed to retain the old and true 'Tartar'; and only a few learned men, satisfied with plausible but still misleading arguments, have ventured practically to adopt the German innovation. There seems danger that even in England the change, now hardly commenced, may become general, if full and true light is not brought to bear on the subject. For even so great an authority as the present Archbishop of Dublin, in his work "English, Past and Present," expresses himself thus: "Tartar is another word of which it is at least possible that a wrongly assumed derivation has modified the spelling, and indeed not the spelling only, but the very shape in which we now possess it. . . . When the terrible hordes of Middle Asia burst in upon civilized Europe in the thirteenth century, many beheld in the ravages of

their numberless cavalry a fulfilment of that prophetic word in the Revelation (Chap. IX.) concerning the opening of the bottomless pit; and from this belief ensued the change of their name from Tatars to Tartars, that thus it might be put into closer relation with 'Tartarus' in Hell, out of which their multitudes were supposed to have proceeded." Others are still more explicit than the learned Archbishop, by affirming that it was St. Louis of France, or the Pope of the day, who, on first hearing the name of this terrible foe, made the *jeu de mot* with their name and *tartarus* which caused the supposed alteration.

This view of the origin of the name Tartar is the one universally adopted by the present literary world of Europe. Considering the difficulty of arriving at unanimity on any scientific question, it is really astonishing that this singular theory should have been accepted with such general favour. Actually the wit of a King, or a Pope, or of some one else, is supposed to have succeeded in keeping all Europe for centuries from becoming acquainted with the real name of a terrible nation which spread devastation as far as Breslau, and in causing it to be known only by a false name. Tartar was the only form used not merely in the Latin, but also throughout the Greek world. It was not till quite recently that the Greeks, following the example of the Germans, Russians and Osmanlis, have begun to write Tatar for Tartar. Bearing this in mind, what amount of credulity is required to believe that the then already deeply divided and antagonistic Latin and Greek worlds suddenly agreed in viewing those murderous hordes from Central Asia as coming out of tartarus, and in designating them accordingly with a new name? But this theory is rendered still more untenable, if it is ascertained that even the Chinese are not unacquainted with the form Tartar, pronouncing it Taltal or Tata. Or is any one bold enough to affirm that they also benefited by the western wit and learned from the Europeans to name after tartarus a people with whom they had had the closest connexion for a thousand years, conquering them and being conquered by them? It would appear rather that

this whole theory of a European origin of the name Tartar and its connexion with tartarus must be relegated to the category of myths; and I could hardly have a better justification than the wide acceptation of this strange theory for coming before the public with new and, I trust, true views on the subject.

The general appellation by which those Asiatic hordes first became known to the European contemporaries of Genghizkhan was plainly a new name in Europe, arriving with the people that bore it. It is neither a Persian, nor an Arabic, nor a European word, applied to the strong hordes as a proper name, but was brought by them from their Asiatic steppes, and therefore doubtlessly belongs to their own language, and has to be explained according to the common rules of Tartar etymology and grammar. The name itself could not *originate* in the Latin tartarus; but if, on being first heard, it suggested to King Louis, the Pope and others the idea of tartarus, this could be done equally well, whether the form then used was Tartar or Tatar, in the former case even still more naturally.

I shall now undertake to demonstrate that *Tartar* is a genuine Tartar word, with a strikingly suitable signification; whereas *Ta-tar* is no Tartar word-form at all, and *Tat-ar* offers no suitable meaning. If I can prove this satisfactorily, it will be conceded, no doubt, that the philological argument is in favour of Tartar as the original and proper form of the word. But we are not restricted to the mere lingual proof, and although it originally satisfied my own mind, I am now able to support it with several additional arguments of an historical character.

The word *Tartar* is a repetition of the root *tar* (*Tar-tar*), just as in *barbarian* we have a repetition of the root *bar;* and to my lingual sense it appears no less strange to say *Tatar* for *Tartar*, than to say *babarian* for *barbarian*. Forasmuch as all primitive roots of the Tartar languages are monosyllabic and terminate in a consonant,[1] the noun *Tartar* must needs be derived from the root *tar*; and etymologically the only possible alternative is, to regard it either as a reduplication of

[1] Comp. my article in Zeitsch. der Deutsch. morgen. Gesell. vol. xxiv. pp. 125-144.

this root (*Tar-tar*), or as a verbal noun derived from a singly developed form of this root, by the addition of *t* by which causatives are formed (*Tar-t-ar*).

The reason why *Ta-tar* cannot be a genuine Tartar word, but only a corrupted form, owing to a foreign influence, is this, that, according to a well-known general law of the Tartar languages, all enlargements or developments of roots, and all additions for the indication of grammatical forms, invariably take place at the end, never at the beginning of a word. The *Ta* of *Tatar*, therefore, cannot possibly be a formative prefix. To accept *Tatar* as a genuine Tartar word, it would have to be read not *Ta-tar*, but *Tat-ar*. In a formal point of view this is quite as admissible as to derive it from the enlarged root تارتمق *tar-t-maq*; but in this case it would have to be derived from تاتمق *tat-maq* 'to taste,' and *Tat-ar* would signify 'one who tastes, a taster,'—a signification unsuited as a general appellation of all the Tartar tribes. There is indeed a Tartar Kabile which is called *Tat*, as I have learnt from Tartar refugees in Constantinople; but when the Tartars pronounce their name, they do not say *Tat-ar*, but *Ta-tar*; and Commander Telfer, in his edition of I. Schiltberger's "Bondage and Travels," p. 176, appends a note to the effect that "*Tat* is merely a *contemptuous* term, applied by the Crimean Tartars to the Tartars of the south coast, because they did not consider them of pure descent."

If, on the contrary, *Tartar* is the original and true name, it proceeds from the root *tar*, and has a signification expressive of one of the most characteristic peculiarities of the generality of Tartar tribes, thus answering to the claim justly made on the general appellation applied to a great number of different tribes. The general import of the root *tar* was that of 'drawing, moving' (in German *ziehen*), which, at the earliest formation of the language, resolved itself as follows, namely: as drawing together, contracting, collecting; as drawing asunder, separating, dispersing; as drawing out, along, away, moving, migrating (in German *ausziehen*); as drawing, or moving about, wandering, leading the life of Nomads. All these different modifications of one

and the same general meaning can still be clearly traced in the language by means of a variety of words whose common base and connecting tie is the root *tar*, as will be patent from the following instances.

The bare root is still used in these several but cognate senses :—

1. تار or طار or دار *tar, dar* 'narrow,' *i.e.* 'drawn together,' 'contracted.'

2. تار *tar* 'piece,' *i.e.* 'what is drawn away,' 'torn off,' *e.g.* تار تار *lit.* 'piece-piece,' *i.e.* 'piece by piece, in pieces, in parts, in divisions.' In Tshagatai this same root has assumed a termination : تارام *tar-am* 'piece.'

3. تار 'pate' (from the drawing asunder, parting, the hair). Also found with a termination تارك *tar-ek* 'pate' (thus often marked as Persian).

4. تار 'thread, warp' (from being drawn out long). This same word, with the same meaning, is also found in Aryan languages.

5. In تارخان or ترخان *Tar-Khan*='Draw- or move-*Khan*' :

a. "Title of a dignitary at the court of the Tartar Khans who enjoyed special privileges, as exemption from tribute, free access to the Ruler, *etc.*"—*i.e.* who was privileged freely to "move about" without being checked by the laws binding on others.

b. Proper name of a Tartar tribe (*viz.* as either themselves enjoying special privileges, or as descendants of a Tar-Khan).

The following Tartar words are off-shoots of this root, and their number could be easily increased.

طارغون *tar-γun* or طارغين *tar-γin* 'angry' (properly 'drawn together, or contracted, mentally').

تاريقمق *tár-iq-maq*, in Tshagatai : 'be narrow, contracted; be angry.'

تارلا *tar-la* 'acre, cultivated field;' in Tshagatai: تاريق *tar-iq, id.* (*viz.* either as a special piece or portion drawn off from the wide expanse of what remains uncultivated, or as drawn out in long furrows).

تاراماق *tár-ā-maq*, in Tshagatai: 'to plough' (*i.e.* draw out long furrows).

طاراق *tár-aq* 'comb, rake, harrow,' (*sc.* with which one draws out).

تارا *tár-ā*, in Yakutic: 'to comb' (*i.e.* draw out and separate the hair).

طارتمق *tár-t-maq* 'to draw, draw out, draw together, draw back' (transitive); 'to weigh' (*i.e.* make the scale 'draw'); 'to ponder' (German *erwägen*).

تارتیشمق *tár-t-iš-maq* 'draw or pull to and fro' (German *zerren*).

تارتی and طارتی *tár-t-i* 'weight' (*viz.* as making the scale 'draw').

تارتیغ and تارتیق *tár-t-iq* 'a present, gift' (*sc.* as causing a matter successfully to draw or move to its desired end; or, perhaps, as weighed).

تارغامق *tár-γā-maq* 'to disperse' (intransitive), 'to be dispersed, scattered, in disorder' (*i.e.* drawn or separated all about).

تارقامق *tár-qā-maq*, in Tshagatai: 'to scatter, disperse' (intransitive).

تارقاتمق *tár-qā-t-maq* 'to untie, unloose' (*i.e.* to let draw or move without hindrance).

تارقاق *tár-qāq* 'scattered, unloosed.'

تار مار *tār-mār* 'scattered, confused, in disorder.' This is a genuine Tartar formation (but of which the Persians have made تارومار) and is analogous, *e.g.* to طاوق ماوق *távuq-mávuq* 'poultry'; خیال میال *χáyāl máyāl* 'phantoms'; پاشاماشا *pasha-masha* 'all sorts of Pashas,' *etc.* Only one unacquainted with these characteristically Tartar-formations can attempt to connect it with the Persian مار *mār* 'serpent.'

In a formal point of view it would be quite possible, as already mentioned, to derive the name "Tartar" from the enlarged root تارتمق *tár-t-maq*, and then *Tar-t-ar* would be 'the drawing one, the drawer,' in a transitive sense, as *e.g.* 'drawing the sword,' 'drawing water from a well,' *etc.* But as the Tartar nations, at their first appearance in history and before their warlike exploits (which disposed them

rather to discard their former name), were pre-eminently known as wandering tribes, unattached to fixed localities, and since any name ought to be the expression of some prominent characteristic, it seems more reasonable to regard this word as a *repetition* of the root *tar*.

That the formation of words by means of reduplication, especially in indicating sounds and motions, is not foreign to the Tartar languages, but that such words are still in actual use, will be seen from the following examples:—

غرغرمق *γir-γir-maq* 'to rush, gnash, crash.'

غرغردی *γir-γir-di*, its substantive.

فارفاره or فرفره *far-far-a* 'babbler, boaster.'

ویزویز *viz-viz* 'a humming noise;' from ویزلامق *viz-la-maq* or ویزلدمق *viz-il-da-maq* 'to hum.'

پار پار *par-par* or پارل پارل *paril-paril* or پر پر *pir-pir*, adverbial qualifications of یانمق *yán-maq* 'to burn,' as 'burn brightly, violently, furiously.'

Inasmuch, then, as the Tartar languages, like many others, express intensity and frequency of the radical notion by means of reduplication, and having learned from the previous examples that the import of the root *tar* is that of drawing, moving in general, we shall not go wrong in determining the meaning of the name from this point of view. Tartar, accordingly, signifies 'the move-move,' that is, one whose repeated doing, whose most striking peculiarity is the moving from place to place, without fixed habitation, one who constantly wanders about, or leads a nomadic life: the Nomad, the Turkoman. Thus the enigma solves itself at once before us, why different tribes, with the same nomadic propensities, whilst each had its own distinguishing tribal name, yet at the same time shared in the common appellation of Tartar; and we can easily perceive why it must have been confusing to regard the latter appellation too soon as a *proper* name. In the sense of the original meaning of the word, a tribe could become Tartar, or, after having been, cease to be so. Already in the fifth Christian century there was a tribe which was called by the

Chinese "Ouei-Tartars," *i.e.* "house-Tartars,"—in all probability from the circumstance of their having exchanged tents for houses as their habitations, thus differing from the other Tartar tribes, and in this case their retention of the name Tartar had become as inappropriate as if we speak of southern Normans or of Bedouins of the city. The fact is that Tartar and Turk were originally mere appellatives, and only passed into proper names gradually and when the original signification of the word had become obscured or lost. The historical truth is therefore the very reverse of the general, vulgar opinion, according to which both these terms were originally the proper names of two special tribes, which, in course of time, were extended to a number of cognate tribes, just as, *e.g.* the name of "Franks" is applied by Orientals to western Europeans in general.

The Tartars, proud of their nomadic independence and unchecked liberty, and of the manliness incessantly tested and proved thereby, in all probability at first chose this name for themselves as an honourable distinction. This may be inferred from the circumstance that they also possess in their language a name for non-Nomads or settlers, namely, چومری *ǵŭm-rü*, from چومك *ǵŏm-mek*, 'to dive, to squat,' to which also the unenviable meaning of "poor, contemptible, rascal, liar," has become attached.

In course of time the name of Tartar also acquired the meaning of "fast messenger, postman;" because these Nomads, the owners of countless camels and horses, as acquainted with the roads and accustomed to travel, were the most suitable persons to be employed for distant missions and messages requiring speed. In Turkish تاتاری *Tatari*= 'the Tartarian,' is still the name for a letter-carrying or post pigeon.

The above views naturally presented themselves to me during my close examination of the Tartar roots, in the course of my study of the Turkish language for Missionary purposes, and it was not till November 24th, 1880, long after my own views had been formed and matured, that the "Geschichte der Mongolen oder Tataren, kritisch bear-

beitet von O. Wolff," Breslau, 1872, came into my hands (in the British Museum), and I learned for the first time that some one besides myself had been on the right track in ascertaining the true etymology of the word Tartar. I, with pleasure, hail this circumstance as a confirmation of the correctness of the views and principles laid down above. Professor Wolff, in explaining the Chinese *Tata* for Tartar, says on p. 25 of his work: "The same *Tata* is originally Tungusian, proceding from the radical notion 'to draw' (*trahere*); in the Mongolian *tata-chu* means 'draw, pull;' and inasmuch as *tata-ri* means 'tax, tribute,' the meaning of drawing together, collecting, must also be contained in the word, just as this is actually the case with the Manjou word *tata-me*. *Tata* seems to signify a Nomad, as inhabiting a tent or yurte in the desert; and this all the more because in Manjou *tata-boo* signifies 'tent, yurte;' and *tatan* 'tent, dwelling in the steppe.'" On this interesting passage I will only remark that if *Tata* is "originally Tungusian," this can only mean that the Tungusians pronounced 'Tartar' as 'Tata'; and if its root in Tungusian, and *tatachu* in Mongolian, or *tata-me* in Manjou, signify 'to draw, to pull,' this only shows a radical affinity between these languages and the usual Tartar. For after the examples I have produced above, there cannot remain the shadow of a doubt that *Tartar* is a Tartar word, regularly formed from the root *tar*, and that its equivalent *Ta* or *Tata* in any other language can only be a modification or mutilation of it. It is also plain that if the original and proper meaning of *Tartar* is 'wanderer, Nomad,' this is from the reason I have shown above, and not because in Manjou *tata-boo* and *tatan* signify 'tent,' as Professor Wolff suggests; because *tata-boo* means simply 'Tartar-dwelling,' from the same reason from which we call a certain bird a turkey. But that Professor Wolff, without having read my article, should have formed the idea that *Tartar* or *Tata* means Nomad, as derived from a root signifying 'to draw, move, wander,' does him great credit, and I can only wish he had furnished a fuller supply of lingual data in proof of his correct affirmation.

Thus far we have seen that *Tartar* is a regularly-formed Tartar word, and possessing a strikingly suitable meaning, whilst *Tatar* is neither; and if we now find that the *widespread existence* and *extensive use* of the word *Tartar*, since the time the Tartar nations themselves became known, are historical facts which cannot be gainsaid, this cannot certainly surprise us, but rather must confirm us in the conviction that the name in this form was brought to us by the Tartars themselves, and does not owe its origin to a jocular play on the word of tartarus in Hell.

Klaproth, in the early part of the present century, is generally supposed to have been the author of the theory that *Tatar* is the original form of the word, and that the change into *Tartar* was caused by a letter of St. Louis, King of France, which he wrote to comfort his mother Blanca in her distress at the rapid advance of the Mongolian Tartars under Batu, A.D. 1241, and in which he says, "We shall either thrust back those whom we call Tartars into their own seats in Tartarus, whence they proceeded, or else they will transmit us all up to heaven." But independently of the fact that this form of the name occurs already in a narrative of the Dominican Monk Julian in the year 1237, and in the letter of an Hungarian Bishop to the Bishop of Paris in the year 1240, St. Louis himself seems to intimate in his letter that this name was then already current, by saying, "Those whom we call Tartars."

If the form *Tartar* had been given to this name in consequence of a *jeu de mot*, used originally by St. Louis, or a Pope, or any other person of mark in Western Christendom, every one acquainted with the deep and bitter antagonism between the Greek and Latin Churches in those days, knows full well that the very fact of such a corruption of the name having taken its origin in the Latin west, would of itself have prevented its adoption by the Greek east, which besides was so much nearer to the original source of information. But I have been assured by a learned Greek author, Dr. Paspati of Constantinople, that the form of the word universally used amongst the Greek population in the east, from

the earliest down to modern times, was that of *Tartar*, not *Tatar*; and I have convinced myself of the truth of this statement by a reference to a Byzantine history in the British Museum, namely, the Corpus Scriptorum historiæ Byzantinæ, part xviii., comprising the period between 1203 and 1261, by Georgius Acropolita, where the name of *Τάρταροι* is used, as will be seen from the following passage, copied from page 58: "*Κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ καὶ τὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν γένος, τῶν Ταρτάρων καταδραμόντων αὐτῶν, ὁπόσοι τὸ ξίφος ἐκείνων ἐξέφυγον, ... τοὺς τῆς Μακεδονίας χώρους κατέλαβον.*"

Another historical fact, pointing to the existence of the name Tartar in Asia, and consequently amongst the Tartars themselves, is found in the geographical work of the celebrated Professor Ritter, where it is recorded on p. 1695 of volume xvii. 2, that there is a village in the neighbourhood of Aleppo which bears the name of "Ibn Taltal." Although Professor Ritter had adopted, like most of my German countrymen, the exclusive use of the form *Tatar*, yet he explains in parenthesis that this name stands for "Ibn Tartar." This interpretation is quite correct; for *Taltal* is not an Arabic word, but evidently the Chinese pronunciation for *Tartar*. The Chinese having no *r* in their language, cannot pronounce this letter; and if they attempt to do so, they give it the sound of *l; e.g.* an English Consul told me that they once had an English-speaking Chinaman in their family, who, when asking for rice, invariably pronounced the word as if its first letter was *l*, thus causing a frequent merriment. But if the Chinese, of whom there must have been great numbers in Genghizkhan's army, since he was the virtual Ruler of all China, were acquainted with the word *Tartar*, and in their effort at pronouncing it could only say *Taltal*, it is plain that they must have received the name from the Tartars themselves, with whom they were mixed up, and that consequently the form *Tartar* is not of European origin, but must have been indigenous to the people who bore it. The existence of this village-name in Western Asia down to so recent a date also shows that its mutilated form *Tatar*, adopted by the Arabs and other Orientals, could not

wholly supplant the original and regular *Tartar*, and that the latter affirmed its right of existence as tenaciously in Asia, as it has done in Europe.

I may here introduce a passage from the work of Professor Wolff, above referred to, which strongly bears in the same direction. On page 26 we read thus: "In the Journal Asiatique, II. 246, A. Remusat has further proved that certain provincial dialects (of China), *e.g.* that of Fukian, have the *r*, and consequently say *Tartar*, intstead of *Tata;* and from this it follows that not only the form *Tatar*, but also that of *Tartar*, was current in Persia and in China long before any tidings of the people that bore this name reached Europe." If this statement is correct, it amounts to a proof that the form of the name used in ancient times by the Tartars themselves was that of *Tartar;* for it was only from them that the Chinese and Persians could have originally received it. I referred to all the pages 246 vol. ii. of the different series of the Journal Asiatique, without finding there A. Remusat's article, so that there would seem to be a misprint in Professor Wolff's quotation; but in the "Recherches sur les langues Tartares par M. Abel Rémusat, Paris, 1820," I found the following similar passage on page 4: "It is well to observe that the Chinese character *Tha* is pronounced *Tar* in the Tchin-tcheou dialect, and perhaps in others, which by doubling gives the exact word *Tartar*."

Another historical testimony in favour of the originality and correctness of the form *Tartar* is contained in the fact that Marco Polo, in the account of his remarkable journey through Central Asia, and W. de Rubruquis whom Louis IX. of France sent to the Tartar Khan as Ambassador, as well as I. Schildberger, who grew up amongst the Tartars and lived for years in Genghizkhan's army, so as to become fully acquainted with their language, and probably more familiar with their terminology than with that of his own native country, from which he had been separated when a mere boy of thirteen,—all use the word *Tartar* in their writings, without in any way mentioning the form *Tatar*, or the least

intimating that the name they employed differed from that which they found in use amongst the Tartars themselves.

History also gives us hints which enable us to account for the gradual decrease and partial discontinuance of the use of the name *Tartar*. We learn that the different tribes who from the remotest antiquity inhabited the vast regions of Northern and Central Asia had each their separate name by which they were distinguished from each other, but that a great many of them were also comprised by general appellations, such as, *e.g.* Tartar and Turk, which designated them according to their characteristic mode of living as Nomads or wanderers, and by which they became chiefly known to the neighbouring nations. But every one knows that the nomadic mode of existence is one of the most primitive, and that the settled populations who occupied themselves with agriculture and trade were always prone to look down upon the Nomads as uncivilized and barbarous. In illustration I will merely transcribe the definition of the word *Tata* or *Tartar*, as given by an eastern and a western dictionary. According to D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale, Supplement, p. 147, the Chinese dictionaries define the word *Tata* thus: "This is a general term which comprises all the Tü (=dogs), or, as some explain it, all the barbarians of the north." In Roberti Stephani Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ the term Tartari, sivi Tattari (*Τάρταροι*), is rendered on this wise: "Gens ipsa fera, atrox, cruenta, inconditis moribus et omnium barbarorum maxime barbara." Now as the civilization and agriculture of neighbouring countries roused their cupidity and impelled them for centuries, by desperate efforts, to put themselves into possession of the fertile provinces of China, or the attractive regions of Western Asia, so also the contempt in which they were held by their neighbours naturally tended to make them dissatisfied with their own condition, to turn them to other pursuits, *e.g.* that of war and conquest, and to incline them to disuse and spurn the very name which in the eyes of their neighbours was the embodiment of their inferiority. Accordingly we find that the modern Turks have entirely dropped the name by which

we call them, using instead that of Osmanli or Ottoman, and history tells us that a tribe of black Tartars who entered the path of conquest had quite given up that name and called themselves Mongols, *i.e.* 'the brave, the bold,' considering themselves offended, when the Ambassadors from the west addressed them as Tartars; for they had conquered the white Tartars, "whose very name they had extinguished, together with the nations which bore it" (see Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 148). From the time, therefore, when Genghizkhan had extended this Mongol supremacy over the greater part of Asia, the Tartar name was no longer owned by any great Government; and though still known among the people, and travelling with them westward, yet may have been for some time chiefly used by the Chinese portion of the Mongolian army, and others, when they wished to distinguish the nationality of the Tartar tribes, with whom they were mixed up, from their own. Thus the existence of the name *Taltal* in Western Asia, mentioned by Prof. Ritter, becomes quite intelligible, and even light may be thrown on the origin of the form *Tatar*, so much in vogue amongst the Mohammedans and modern Europeans.

The advocates of *Tatar* as the original and true form are bound satisfactorily to account for the origin and extensive use of the form *Tartar*, a duty in which they have signally failed; and now it is incumbent on me, after having given the etymology and meaning of the word *Tartar*, and shown its widespread use, to explain how the mutilated, un-Tartaric, and obviously foreign form *Tatar* could arise, spread, and be adopted even by Tartars. For both words are undeniable historical facts, which must be dealt with as such, and satisfactorily accounted for on the broad basis of philology and history.

The first principle to be referred to is the physiological one, that it is easier for the organs of speech to have only one instead of several consonants between two vowels, and that in most languages changes of words have taken place from an inclination to an easier, more careless pronunciation. *Tatar*, and even *Tattar*, is pronounced with less effort than

Tartar. When talking rapidly, the pronunciation of the name by the ancient Tartars themselves may have approached this easier, simpler form, and may in some tribes, under a change of local and social circumstances, have become more or less common.

A second possibility how the original full form *Tartar* may have become changed into the mutilated *Tatar*, is the Arabic influence through which it had to pass. When the Tartars appeared in Western Asia, Mohammedanism had already made the Arabic language dominant there, so that even the Persian was written in Arabic characters, and had adopted a great many Arabic words. Therefore the Tartar name also was first written in Western Asia with Arabic characters, and by men who held Arabic in religious veneration. Now the Arabic is just one of those languages, rich in vowels, which are unfavourable to the accumulation of consonants in immediate contact, and it is quite possible that this Arabic influence deprived the first syllable of the word *Tartar* of its *r*, which was all the more easy, if this consonant was already slurred over by those from whom the Western Asiatics first heard the name pronounced. That this possibility is something more than a mere gratuitous assumption, appears from the fact that the Mohammedan nations of Western Asia under Arabic sway, namely the Persians, the Turks, and the Arabs themselves, write with equal unanimity as *Tatar* for *Tartar*, so also *Mogol* or *Mogul* (مغول and مغل) for *Mongol* or *Mongul*. The Mongols are a Tartar race, long known as Black Tartars, who in passing from the state of nomadic shepherds to that of warriors and conquerors, dropped the name of Tartar and adopted that of Mongol, *i.e.* 'the courageous, the brave.' Some time after this change of name had taken place (see Bibliothèque Orientale, Sup. p. 148), a mighty warrior, Genghizkhan,[1] arose amongst them, through whose exploits their adopted name acquired a world-wide fame. Although therefore the name Mongol was originally chosen in opposition to that of Tartar, yet it is quite allow-

[1] Lit. 'war-chief.' According to Chinese sources his proper name was Timudgin, *i.e. timurgi*, or 'the man of iron'; comp. "the iron duke."

able in an ethnographical point of view to use them synonymously. In H. Howorth's "History of the Mongols," p. 1, authorities are given for deriving the name Mongol from the root *mong* 'brave, daring, bold'; and the circumstance that the Chinese call the Mongols *Mung-ku* or *Mun-ku*, shows that they also regarded the first syllable of the word as closed and not open. In full harmony with this, all Europe always wrote, and still writes, *Mongol*. Only the Arabs, Persians, and Turks write *Mogul;* and it is no doubt owing to the circumstance that Persian was the Court language in the Mongolian empire which Sultan Babur founded in North India at the beginning of the sixteenth century that the ruler of this empire was called, and is still generally called, *Great Mogul*, instead of *Great Mongul*. Now, if it is a matter of fact that the three Mohammedan nations just mentioned did drop the final consonant of the first syllable in the name *Mongol*, it is no longer an unjustifiable assumption to suppose that they may also have done the same thing in the word *Tartar*; and if Europe does not follow their example in exchanging *Mongol* for *Mogol*, neither does their practice of writing *Tatar* for *Tartar* deserve any more to be regarded as a precedent we should follow.

But although the possibility must be conceded that the change of the word may have arisen from the Arabic influence through which it passed in making its way westward, this change, in my opinion, is rather owing to the peculiarity of the *Chinese* language, and to the influence it exercised on the Tartar, as the result of a close intercourse between the Chinese and the Tartars for many centuries.

From the most ancient times the Chinese had been conterminous with sundry Tartar tribes who occupied the vast regions to the north and west of China. The Tartar tribes generally, as all history represents them, were of nomadic habits, and possessed vast herds of horses, camels, and cattle. But there were also tribes who at different times developed a considerable amount of military prowess and power, and then manifested a decided liking for the more fertile districts and richer provinces of neighbouring China. The Chinese

emperors, for over a thousand years, contented themselves with warding off and repelling those "barbarians of the north," without ever undertaking warlike expeditions to attack or subdue them in their own country. But since the Emperor Han-vou-ti, who began to reign 140 years before the Christian era, opened the way of conquest into the heart of Tartary itself, the intercourse of the two nations became far more extensive and frequent, and their mutual influence upon each other far more important and telling. Warlike Tartar tribes, with hundreds of thousands of horsemen, made sanguinary incursions on Chinese territory, conquering large provinces; and Chinese emperors subjugated numerous Tartar tribes, and exacted tribute from them, so that a vast extent of country received the name of "Chinese Tartary." A Tartar prince, who had obtained at Chinese seats of learning the academic degree of *Linya*, and was therefore called *Tache Linya, i.e.* 'Tartar Academician,' established, by daring exploits of valour, an empire in the far west, which lasted eighty years, his followers having proclaimed him "Emperor of China" in the Persian province of Karamania, A.D. 1125; and more than one Chinese emperor received tribute from all Tartary, which reached as far west as the shores of the Caspian Sea. Genghizkhan, the chief of a Tartar tribe which had adopted the name of Mongol some generations previously, extended his conquests from the farthest east to the remotest west of Asia, his son Batu invading Europe, and penetrating into the heart of Hungary; and in the plenitude of his power he was not only the direct ruler over one-third of China, but also received tribute from the two other thirds, which were governed by a Chinese emperor as his vassal, so that the sovereignty of Ghengizkhan virtually extended over the whole of China. This close and multiform contact between the two nations for many centuries could not but have a marked effect upon both; and it was quite natural that the barbarous Tartars should look up to the more civilized Chinese, and seek to benefit by their general culture. They adopted amongst themselves Chinese ranks and distinctions, and this not unfrequently together with the Chinese

terms; and, as Abel Rémusat in his "Recherches sur les langues Tartares" affirms, they even made attempts to write their own language in the Chinese characters. Under such circumstances, it is nothing but natural to expect that the Chinese language should have acquired an influence and left traces upon the Tartar.

We have already noticed that, because the Chinese language possesses no *r*, Chinamen, when trying to pronounce it in a foreign word, generally give it the sound of *l*; and therefore, if they wish to pronounce the word *Tartar*, they say *Taltal*. If a Chinaman, in order to please the dominant Tartar race amongst which he lived, wished to call himself a Tartar, or the son of a Tartar, he naturally tried to pronounce the name as nearly as possible in its Tartar completeness, and accordingly did not, in regular Chinese fashion, simply drop the *r*, but enunciated it as well as he could, and thus uttered an *l*. This, no doubt, was the origin of the proper name "Ibn Taltal," instead of "Ibn Tartar," mentioned by Prof. Ritter, as we have already seen. But the more thorough Chinese form in which the Tartar name was used by the sons of the Celestial Empire was that of *Ta-ta*, in which the final *r* of each syllable was simply dropped. In the same manner the Chinese call the Turks *Tu-ku* for *Turku*, and the Persians *Po-su* for *Porsu* (sometimes also *Po-se* for *Pos-se*, *Pors*=*Pars*), by again merely dropping the *r*. In D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale, Sup. p. 147, it is stated that a still more ancient name of the Tartars used by the Chinese was *Ta-che*, for *Ta-chin*, *i.e.* 'the Ta people.' If this form of the name had been the later, instead of the earlier, it might have been regarded as a contraction of *Tata-che*; but as it is the more ancient name, it would seem that anciently the Tartars employed also the simple, unreduplicated form *Tar*, and therefore the Chinese would naturally call them *Ta-chin* or *Ta-che*, *i.e.* 'the Tar people.' We further read in the Bibliothèque Orientale: "Pour prononcer le mot entier, les Chinois ajoutent *eul* et lisent Tatal au lieu de Tatar. C'est ainsi entre autres que l'écrit le petit abrégé de la Geographie universelle, intitulé Fam-yu-chim-lio."

It is to this last-mentioned Chinese form *Tatal*, a mixture of *Tata* and *Taltal*, that I believe our western *Tatar* owes its origin. In fact, the latter is nothing but the correct pronunciation of the former by those to whom *r* is not an unpronounceable consonant. It evidently arose from the form *Tata*, through the wish of the Chinese to do justice to the Tartar *r*, at least in the final syllable of the word. We have already learned that many Tartars undertook to write their language with the Chinese characters. Now, if they found their name written as *Tatal* by the Chinese, this was a precedent which they were tempted to imitate, first in writing, and perhaps soon also in speaking. But as the Tartars did not share the Chinese inability to pronounce the letter *r*, they naturally said *Tatar* where the Chinese said *Tatal*. Thus it is quite possible that many Tartars, especially whilst subjected to a Chinese Government, fell into the habit of pronouncing their name as *Tatar*, partly from writing it in the Chinese characters, and still more from their daily intercourse with the Chinese. Not only great numbers of Tartars who had habituated themselves to the Chinese pronunciation of their name, but also multitudes of genuine sons of the Celestial Empire, were incorporated in the vast armies which Genghizkhan and his sons hurled against Western Asia and Europe;[1] and although at that time the Tartar name was officially repudiated, and that of Mongol put forward, yet those amongst these wild Asiatic hordes who had long been accustomed to the old name, carried it with them as a matter of course on their westward march, and thus it was brought to the western nations, both in its full and true form *Tartar*, and also in its mutilated Chinese form *Tatar*. In the former, the correct form, it found its way amongst the Armenians, Greeks, and the nations of Europe, and in its corrupted, Chinese form amongst the Persians, Arabs, and Turks.

Surprising as it is at first sight that Tartar tribes should

[1] In the great battle delivered by Kukhan to Sultan Sanjar of Persia, as early as 1141, Ibn-el-Athir already affirms that the army consisted of Turks, Chinese, Khataians, and many others.

now be found who have exchanged the original and correct form of a word of their own language, which had almost passed into a proper name, for a mutilated and foreign, though easier form,—yet as regards those Tartar tribes who have embraced Mohammedanism, this surprise will at once vanish, when we reflect on the tyranny exercised by the Arabic on all the languages spoken by nations who profess Islam; for every one knows how, *e.g.* the name of God, and a multitude of similar words, have been almost entirely superseded in those languages by the corresponding Arabic terms. Now the form of the word employed in the Arabic language to the present day for Tartar is التَّاتَارُ or التَّتَارُ or التَّتَرُ *i.e. et-Tataru*, and every one acquainted with Islam and its professors can easily imagine what effect such an example is likely to have had on the Mohammedan Tartars. If the Mohammedan Tartars now pronounce and write their name as *Tatar*, this may be owing solely to their slavish dependence on the Arabic, to them the embodiment of the highest wisdom and truth, and does not necessarily prove anything as to the original form of the word used by the ancient Tartars. Likewise with regard to the numerous Tartar tribes who had long and closely mixed with the Chinese and looked up to them as their superiors in learning and culture, it may be easily conceived how they may have gradually fallen into the Chinese way of writing and pronouncing their own name; and those who had once adopted the mutilated form *Tatal* or *Tatar* amongst the Chinese would naturally also carry it with them in those great national movements westwards. Besides, it is not impossible that the Tartars consciously preferred the mutilated Chinese form of their name, as disguising its original import, and not so plainly calling to mind their national nomadism, of which they had become tired or ashamed, just as it is notorious that the Turks of our day have discarded the appellation of Turk, which, as we shall see, is of a meaning cognate to that of Tartar, and apply to themselves the more high-sounding name of Osmanlis or Ottomans. Nor would the word *Tartar*

be the only relic brought westwards by the Tartars from the Celestial Empire; the use of *Porte*, or 'gate,' to designate the Turkish Court or Ottoman Government, is nothing but an imitation of the Chinese *Tu-men*, which serves the same purpose in China. Elsewhere, also, foreign influence makes itself felt in a language; *e.g.* many Turks and Tartars now say *Krim*, whereas, according to the laws of their own language, they ought to say *Kirim*.[1] The Turkish-speaking Greeks of the Ottoman Empire present a very similar case to that of the Tartars who have adopted the name *Tatar;* for they invariably call themselves *Room*, *i.e.* Romans, a name not originally their own, and which the Arabs and Turks applied to them from the first. We also now all speak of *Stambul*, although we may know that it is nothing but a Turkish corruption of Constantinople.[2]

[1] On the other hand, they seem to have Tartarized the German *Groschen* into *Gurush* (غروش). It is a question for the antiquary to decide whether this name, and the coin it represents, travelled from west to east, or from east to west.

[2] According to a view now very generally held, *Stambul*, or, in its full Turkish form, *Istambul*, was derived from εἰς τὴν πόλιν. But whoever may have been the author of this bold attempt at explanation, he has decidedly proved himself thereby more familiar with the Greek than with the Turkish language. From a purely Greek point of view it was tempting to recognize εις in *Is*, την in *tam*, and πολ in *bul*. But that this is altogether erroneous, there cannot be any doubt. Even if we are prepared to overlook the strange conversion of a preposition and an inflected article into a proper name, and of την into *tan*, we would naturally expect that then also the corresponding case of the *noun* would have been preserved, and that the proper name would have become *Istambulin*. But as the new proper name is Turkish, and was fabricated by Turks and not by Greeks, why seek so far-fetched and un-Turkish an explanation, when a Turkish one, and one so far more simple, natural and satisfactory, presents itself? The Greek name *Constantinopolis* was evidently too long and cumbersome for the Arabs and Turks. Therefore their great object was to shorten it; and this was effectually done by dropping the preposition *Con* and the termination *tin* of *Constantin*, and the termination *is* of πολις. In the same way they also dropped, *e.g.* the *Ale* of *Alexandria* (*Iskanderiye*) and the termination *na* of *Smyrna* (*Ismir*). Then there only remained *stan* and *pol*, or *Stanpol*, which, by known laws of euphony, became *Stambol* or *Stambul*. But as the Turkish language cannot begin a word with a double consonant, it was necessary to prefix a light vowel, *i*, which also in Arabic frequently has this function. Thus the name became *Istambul* (استانبول) for *Stambul*, just as they also say *Ismir* for *Smyrna*, and *Iskanderiye* for *Alexandria* (*ks* or *x* being utterly foreign to the Turkish, had to be changed into *sk*: *Skander* for *Ksander*). That the Turks were not unacquainted with the compound nature of the name Constantinopolis appears from the fact that they also use in its stead the simple قسطنطنيه (*kostantiniye*), *i.e.* 'the Constantinean' (viz. 'city'). But we Europeans, who without any difficulty can

Most of this article was already written, when I began to make inquiries amongst the Tartar refugees, who, in consequence of the late war, were for some time living in Constantinople, and who, of course, were all Mohammedans. Until then, my views on the etymological nature of this name had resulted merely from my exhaustive study of the Tartar roots, and therefore rested on purely philological data, whilst every historical consideration seemed to be opposed to them; and I was even still unacquainted with the important bearings of the Chinese on the question. When I now asked of the Tartars themselves after their name, they answered with one accord, "*Tatar*, or perhaps *Tattar*." But my questions so much interested them, that two from amongst them, entirely of their own accord, undertook a march of several hours to their oldest and best-informed teacher, and learned from his own mouth that their name, on the authority of the ancestors and most ancient books, was *Tartar;* but that the pronunciation *Tatar* had been adopted because in Turkey and in Russia every one said so, and it was found easier. The people with whom I spoke were quiet, intelligent men, and they assured me repeatedly that their name was properly *Tartar*, and had reference to the nomadic habits of their ancestors. It may therefore be interesting and desirable to make further careful inquiries amongst those Tartars of Asia who may have remained free from Chinese, Musulman, and Russian influences, if any such can be found, in order to ascertain which form of the word they use. But whatever the result of such an investigation may be, its value can only be of an historical nature, and the lingual elucidation above given would always retain its own merit and importance.

begin a word with *st*, say simply *Stambul*, for the more completely Turkish *Istambul;* just as also the Tartars, when adopting from the Chinese the corruption of their name *Tatal*, retained it in the form of *Tatar*, because the *r* was not unpronounceable for them, as it was for the Chinese. I may also add, that the zealous Moslims, instead of calling their capital *Istambul* or *Istambol*, take pride in giving it the ideal name of *Islambol*, *i.e. Islam* 'fulness.'

II.—On the name of *TURK*.

The word *Turk*, ترك *tŭr-ük* and *türk*, is a verbal noun, formed regularly according to the laws of the Tartar-Turkish languages, and consists of the root تر, *tur*, *tür*, *tir*, with the formative affix ك *ük* or *'k*. By this suffix participles or verbal nouns are formed, both of an active and a passive meaning, as will be seen from the following examples—three of each kind:—

قايق *qăy-iq* 'canoe, boat' (*sc.* as sliding, gliding on the water); from قايمق *qay-maq* 'to slide, to glide.'

دونك *dŏ-nük* 'deserter, renegade' (*lit.* turning, or turning back); from دونمك *dŏn-mek* 'to turn, to return.'

يوروك *yŭr-ü-k* 'walker, postman, nomad, Turkoman'; from يوريمك *yŭr-ü-mek* 'to walk, go, run.'

كورك *gür-k*, in Tshagatai *gör-ük* and *gör-k* 'beauty' (*lit.* a thing to be seen, what may be seen); from كورمك *gŏr-mek* 'to see.'

بنك *bin-ek* 'a saddle-horse' (*lit.* ridden on; from بنمك *bin-mek* 'to ride.'

صارق *săr-iq* 'the cloth of the turban' (*lit.* bound or twined round); from صارمق *săr-maq* 'to bind or twine round.'

Consequently the meaning of the root تر *tur*, *tür*, *tir*, will have to furnish us with an answer to the question why certain Asiatic tribes were called *Turks*. Every one may have noticed the fact that Tartar tribes have also been designated as Turks, and Turkish tribes as Tartars. I may therefore already in this place draw attention to the radical affinity subsisting between the words Tartar and Turk. The respective roots of these names are تار *tar* and تر *tur*, *tür*, *tir*. It appears at first sight that they are identical in their consonants and only differ in their vowels. An extensive classification and comparison of the Tartar-Turkish roots has shown me that in all probability at the formation of the language a degree of notional affinity, a more or less close relationship of meaning, subsisted between all those roots

which agree in their consonants and only differ in their vowels. In some instances this is still so patent that even a cursory observer can hardly fail to be struck with it; *e.g.* between طاشمق *tášš-maq* 'to overflow'; دوشمك *dúš-mek* 'to fall, to fall down'; and دشسك *déš-mek* 'to open in order to give egress to a pent-up fluid'; between طاكمق *dáñ-maq* 'to pause, to hesitate'; طاوكمق *dóñ-maq* 'to curdle, freeze' (properly, to change from a fluid to a 'standing,' *i.e.* solid state); طكمك *diñ-mek* 'to stand still, keep silence, to hesitate, to pause'; between صالمق *sál-maq* 'to cast, throw, fling'; صولمق *sól-maq* 'to wither, fade, to "cast" colour'; سلمق *síl-mek* 'to wipe, clear away'; and between قاچمق *qáǧ-maq* 'to flee, to run away'; كوچمك *göǧ-mek* 'to emigrate'; كچمك *géǧ-mek* 'to go away, to pass by, to pass away.' This original affinity in the import of roots formed by the same consonants is the reason why we sometimes find names of one and the same thing taken from several such roots, which at the same time differ in their vowels. Of this also I will give some examples, illustrating the primitive close affinity between *tar* and *tir*, the two roots in question, *e.g.* the name for 'thread' is both تار *tār*, تيريم *tír-im*, and تيرة *tír-e*; that for 'rake,' both طرق *tár-aq* and طرميق *tír-miq*; for 'piece,' both تارام *tár-am* and ديرتوق *dír-tuq* and *tír-tuq*. Therefore it can no longer surprise us, if we discover in the root تر *tur, tür, tir*, the very same, or, at all events, a closely cognate meaning to that of *tār*, with which we have already become acquainted in the name Tartar.

The Turks themselves sometimes pronounce their name as *Türk*, sometimes as *Turk*=*Toork*; in the latter way, if they use it in the sense of 'uneducated, uncivilized, clown, barbarian'; and the latest Tartar-Turkish dictionary observes that it is to be pronounced with the vowel *oo*, as in *good*. The Turkish mode of writing the name is uniformly تركٔ *türk*, with the soft *k* sound, never with the hard ق *q*; and consequently not a hard vowel (*a, o, u*), but a soft one (*ü, i, e*), is presupposed in the verbal root. Although this is worthy of note, yet I allow that it is not absolutely decisive;

because it sometimes happens that hard syllables and hard roots, under the effect of time or locality, become softened; and we have moreover seen already that between the roots with identical consonants (*e.g.*, *tur, tor, tar, tür, tör, tir, ter; bul, bol, bal, bül, böl, bil, bel*, etc.) there must originally have subsisted also a certain affinity of meaning. But the Turkish language in its present state possesses both a hard and a soft verb, so that, as regards the mere grammatical form of the word, its hard pronunciation (*Turk*=*Toork*) may be connected with the former, and its soft pronunciation (*Türk, Tirk*) with the latter. The hard verb is تورمق or طورمق or دورمق *túr-maq* and *dúr-maq*, which signifies 'to rise, stand, stop, last'; and Mr. Vambéry observes that amongst the Turkomans it has the signification of 'to rise up from a place or encampment, to arise.' In Tshagatai, the causative تورغوزمق *túr-γuz-maq* 'to awaken, to stir up,' is derived from it, as well as the substantive تورغالان *túr-γa-lan* 'a popular rising, an insurrection.' If the proper name *Turk* (=*Toork*) was derived from this verb, its original form must have been توروق *túr-uq, tur'q*, and it would have signified 'the rising ones, those who rise up from their encampments' (*sc.* in order to march, till they find another),—a signification closely akin to that of *Tartar*. In the present Tshagatai توروق *túr-uq* means 'clear, pure,' used of water; that is, what has been allowed to 'stand,' and become purified in consequence of the sediment thus formed.[1]

[1] I may here observe in passing that the name *Turan*, if, as its form plainly suggests, it is of Tartar-Turkish origin, can only be derived from this verb and is its regular participle present, signifying 'standing up, rising, remaining erect.' It was therefore a fitting designation of the mountainous regions and highlands of Central Asia. In English also 'rise' is used for elevation, height, mountain. In contradistinction to this, and on the supposition of its Tartar origin, *Iran* would signify 'the plain, level ground, flat expanse, what is spread evenly, like the surface of a flowing water,' being likewise the regular present participle ایران *ír-ān* 'flowing'; from ایرمق *ír-maq*, originally a regular verb, 'to flow,' but now only used as a substantive, 'river' (*fluvius, flumen*). This seems to me to have been the derivation and original signification of both these names—provided they come from a Tartar source—and at the time of their formation they, no doubt, also fully corresponded to the physical character of the respective territories to which they were applied. It must be observed that the opinion I have just expressed concerning the words *Turan* and *Iran* is wholly based on the supposition of their being of Tartar origin. Such an origin as regards *Turan* is obvious and beyond any reasonable doubt; but though *Iran*

Of *soft* verbs from which the word *Turk* can be derived, there are several. One is تورمك *tür-mek* 'to roll up, tack up, turn up, gather (properly, *draw* together) one's clothes.' From this are derived تورلامك *tür-le-mek* 'to tack or roll up one's clothes'; تركان *tür-ken* 'having one's clothes tacked up, alert, brisk, pert'; تورلاق *tór-laq* (derived from the same verb, but treating it as hard) 'a lively, brisk, pert person, a youth.' Adopting this derivation, which from a grammatical point of view is quite admissible, a *Turk* would mean 'one who has his clothes tacked up,' and thus is ready to march and migrate, or to resist and fight; alert, brisk, pert.

The remaining soft roots, having the vowel *i*, sometimes still further softened into *e*, and their derivata, seem all united in their signification by the general idea of 'drawing,' namely, as a spontaneous drawing, moving, living; or as a drawing out, lengthening; or a drawing off, peeling; or a drawing away, plucking; or a drawing back, withdrawing; or a drawing to and fro, hither and thither, wandering about, migrating, etc. This can be seen from the following examples:—

تيرماك *tir-mek* 'to move, be in motion, to live.'

ديرمك *dir-mek*, in Tshagatai تيرماك *tér-mek* 'to pluck, to gather, collect' (compare E. tear, Germ. zerren).

تيركاماك *tér-ge-mek* 'to go out of the way, to avoid' (='draw' aside).

تيركاماك *tir-ke-mek* 'to scold, reprove, call to account' (compare the German: durchziehen, durchhecheln).

ديرنمك *dir-in-mek* 'to creep, to glide' (=draw along on the ground).

ديرنشمك *dir-in-iš-mek* 'to cower, to crouch' (=draw oneself together).

تيرنامق *tir-na-maq* 'to scratch' (=draw quickly to and fro), 'to scrape together.'

is generally considered of Aryan origin, the striking similarity of its form with that of *Turan* may excuse me in hoping that men of science will not disdain to examine the name also from a Tartar point of view.

طرنق *tír-naq* 'a claw, talon' (*sc.* as scratching).

تیریک *tír-ik* or دیری *dír-i* 'alive' (=spontaneously drawing, or moving).

تیری *tír-i* or دری *dér-i* 'skin, hide, husk, shell' (*sc.* as drawn off, peeled).

تیرک *tír-ek* or دیرک *dír-ek* 'pole, pillar, mast' (as drawn out long).

تیریم *tír-im* 'stalk, ear of corn, thread' (*id.*).

تیرینک *tír-ink* or درین *dér-in* 'deep' (*id.*).

تیرساک *tír-sek* or دیرسک *dír-sek* 'elbow, knee; bent, curve; a broken off piece' (=what can be drawn to and fro, what is drawn off).

تیرا *tír-a* 'family, clan' (*sc.* as drawn together, drawn away from others, advancing, moving, wandering together).

طرقاز *tír-qaz* 'a bar, bolt' (*sc.* as drawn to and fro).

ترکتاز *tír-k-taz* 'a wandering about; robbery; robber.'

ترک *tür-k*, *tír-k*, is thus rendered in the latest Turkish dictionary, by Zenker: "A Turk from Asia; a *Turcoman*, a *Nomad* (in contradistinction to تازیک *táz-ik* or تاچیک *tá-jik* 'the settler, the tradesman'); a vagabond; a soldier of the body-guard, a satellite; an uncivilized person, a clown."

The two words, *Turcoman* and *Nomad*, which seem here to be added as a sort of illustration, are in my opinion the lingual equivalent or literal translation of the word *Turk*. So much is unquestionable and indubitably certain that the name *Turk*, or *Tirk*, or *Toork* is a verbal noun, derived from its monosyllabic root by the affix *k*, and that one of the forementioned verbs must be its base; but it is of no great moment to determine which particular verb it is, they being all cognate in matter and meaning, so that every reader can be left free to judge for himself and to draw his own conclusion. This name, like *Tartar*, was originally and properly an appellative noun, and only in course of time passed into a proper name. After its etymology and original signification had become lost, the Chinese and the Mohammedans began to

account for the name in their own ways, the former (*e.g.* the historian Ouei-tchim in the seventh century) by affirming that it is derived from a helmet-shaped mountain, near which they originally lived, called in their own language *Tou-kiue* (=*Tur-ku*) 'a helmet'; and the latter by attributing to Japhet a son named *Turk*, the ancestor of both Turks and Mongols. Thus the Arabs treated the name as if it were Arabic, and formed of it the plural *Atrak* اتراك, by which they designate the different Turkish tribes. But by the side of the above etymological elucidation of the name, this sort of interpretations can only appear in the light of groundless guesses. The Turks, as is well known, are now ashamed of this name and call themselves Osmanlis or Ottomans, after their renowned ancestor Othman or Osman, whilst they apply the word *Toork* to an uncivilized person of their own race.

III.—The Tartars and Turks in the light of their name.

It results, then, from what precedes that in *Tartar* and *Turk* we have two names, kindred in origin and of essentially the same signification, which in a general way answer to the terms: Nomad, Turcoman, Bedouin;—only with perhaps this distinction, that *Tartar*, as a reduplication, expresses more particularly the repeated, ceaseless moving to and fro, the restless wandering about from place to place; and *Turk*, the verbal noun, the energetic readiness to start, the untiring migratory disposition, the independent, bold and enterprising wanderer. Hence, as *Tartar*, so also *Turk* is used for courier, swift messenger; and in poetical language the sun, *e.g.* is called 'the Turk of China' (because for the Tartars he begins his course in China), 'the Turk of the sky,' 'the Turk of noon,' etc.

It is by no means astonishing, but quite explicable, that the exact nature of the grammatical form and the true etymological import of these names should have become obscure and lost to the later generations, and now unfold itself only to

penetrating research; for the words themselves most probably do not date from the age in which Tartars and Turks first entered into known history, but from a much remoter time, when the occasion first arose to distinguish the roving Nomads from the agricultural settlers, or from the commercial citizens. Hence these names met with the same fate as other national names whose etymology had become lost, and which then passed into the domain of myths, and were regarded as patronymics. The ancient Mohammedan historians of the Arabs and Persians, seeking to imitate the records in the Book of Genesis, have recourse to mythical ancestors, in order to explain national names the origin and meaning of which they did not know. According to them, Japhet had two sons, Turk and Tchin, the respective ancestors of the Turks and Chinese; and they are only not quite agreed as to which of the two brothers was the senior and which the junior. Again, Alindsha or Ilindsha Khan, a descendant of Turk in the fifth generation, and Ruler of Turkestan, had likewise two sons, Tartar and Mongol, from whom the Tartars and Mongols are descended. But that all this is nothing more than gratuitous attempts of Mussulman scholars to explain what they did not understand, is so self-evident that it can only be wondered how Christian writers could be found credulous enough to record such fictions as facts; for this fabrication of history was even carried so far that they ascribed to Noah a son named Andalus, in order to invest the Spanish Andalusia with a proper Mohammedan halo.

On account both of the generality and affinity of the meaning of the words *Tartar* and *Turk*, it was not easy to keep the nations and tribes thus named ethnologically quite distinct; and we cannot be surprised that the very same tribes appear sometimes as Tartars and sometimes as Turks and Turcomans. Only after these nations had settled down in definite localities, and their primitive general appellations had passed into proper names, their promiscuous use could cease. But then the appellation had become as unsuitable as that of 'Normans' for those who settled in southern countries; and

therefore it was really natural and reasonable for the Turks, when they began to settle down in Asia Minor and other parts, to drop their original name and adopt a new one from their distinguished chief and ancestor Othman.

The etymological derivation and lingual import of the names *Tartar* and *Turk*, as they have now been set forth, derive a powerful confirmation from the fact that authors who had not the remotest idea thereof, yet described the main characteristics and distinguishing peculiarities of the tribes and nations which bear these names in a manner for which Nomad, Bedouin, wandering shepherd, is the concisest and fittest term. History presents these nations to us, from their first appearance, as roving hordes, confirmed wanderers, Nomads, Bedouins, Turcomans. Personal inclination and prevailing custom, inherited by the successive generations from their earliest ancestors, must, under the favourable influences of nature and soil, have gradually produced in these tribes a marked national character, a sort of national instinct, which dominated all their ideas and movements, shaped their entire history, and was expressed in the peculiarities of their whole national existence. Nomadic life, with its independence of the restrictive laws of civilization and culture, and with its unlimited domination over the vast extent of countries through which it roams and which it has to guard against hostile encroachments, is especially adapted to produce an ardent love of liberty, an exaggerated appreciation of independence, an enterprising, indomitable courage, a manly, hardy fortitude, those useful and necessary attributes of the warrior,—and this is its *noble* feature. But, on the other hand, Nomadism, with its incessant depasturation, its perpetual draining of the land, which it does not make a real home, and from which it will always only take, without giving it anything in return,—is also a perfect school of *greediness* and *selfishness*, where they learn to regard the whole world as one vast pasturage for flocks, and the flocks as mere means for the gratification and enjoyment of the roaming Turcoman. The famous geographer, C. Ritter, has in this respect most strikingly and truly

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characterized the Bedouins, by saying of them, that if they could, they would transform the entire habitable earth into one vast wilderness and therein find their Paradise.

Now whether it be owing to a certain natural compatibility, to a kind of mutual adaptation and attraction, or whether it be merely accidental: a matter of *fact* it is that the Nomad races of the Tartars and Turks have adopted a religion which took its origin and has its spiritual centre, its holy temple, in the land of the Bedouins,—the religion of Islam. Mohammedanism entirely corresponds to the fundamental traits of the national character of these races, just as if it had been expressly made for them. According to its ruling principle, the whole earth, with all it contains, exists only for Islamism and the Mussulmans, in order to be subjugated by them, and this not with the rightful weapons of the spirit, by doctrine and example, but with the carnal weapons of violence and war, and in order to be afterwards selfishly used and drained by them, just as the Bedouin thinks of nothing else, but how he may always find sufficient pasture. These fundamental principles and leading views of Islam are not something unintended and accidental, but belong to it essentially and from the first. Already its founder, the Prophet-Emir Mohammed, seized and subjugated in this spirit all Arabia. After his conquest of the Jewish tribes of Khaibar, it was first intended to force them to emigrate and to leave all their possessions in the hands of the victors; but afterwards, apparently on their own proposal, a formal agreement was entered into—(which, however, was annulled by the Caliph Omar, because thenceforth none except Moslems were to live on the sacred soil of Arabia)—according to which they were allowed to remain and to cultivate the land, on the condition that half the produce should be handed over to the conquerors, and the other half serve for their own sustenance. Thus it was a rule from the very first, sanctioned by the highest authority in Islam, that all the conquered lands should become the property of the Moslems, to which the former owners had lost all their claims and on which they could thenceforth be only tolerated for the advantage and utilization of the professors of the new faith.

It can be easily imagined what a result the ingrafting of such a religion on hardy, greedy Nomad races must have produced. Their national peculiarity, their natural instinct and inbred habit, received the sanction of religion, the mighty impulse of a direct mission from heaven; and as by magic the leaders of flocks became commanders of armies, the independent hordes of Nomads irresistible hosts of warriors, who found in the subjugated nations, as it were, new pasturage of a richer and a more enjoyable kind. Not flocks of sheep and cattle, but families and tribes of men furnished now meat and milk and wool for these warrior shepherds. As a proof that the subjugated nations were really regarded in this light and systematically treated from a Nomadic stand-point, the one fact may suffice, that in Mohammedan states the non-Mussulman subjects are called Rayas to the present day. For *Raya* رَعَايَا is the plural of رَعِيَّةٌ whose import is thus rendered in Lane's Arabic Dictionary: "Cattle pasturing, cattle kept, tended or pastured; especially cattle kept or pastured for the Sultan, and upon which are his brands and marks." It is true that theoretically it would be possible to attribute to the word *Raya* the meaning of 'subject' in general, as educated Turks frequently do in their conversation with Europeans, because in ancient times kings and rulers were often called shepherds; but practically this is not the case, and the actual division of the population of Turkey is that into Moslems and Rayas, so that a Mohammedan naturally says: "I am a Moslem and not a Raya."[1]

History tells us what terrible commotions and violent changes were produced in the world by the union of a religion like the Mohammedan with the Nomad spirit of Asiatic nations. Besides its victorious advance eastward, where it completely swept away Christianity, then already professed by whole Tartar tribes, Mohammedanism made two supreme thrusts, two mighty onslaughts westward, for the purpose of transforming Christian Europe into another grazing ground for Mussulmans. These were, so to speak, two inverse Crusades,

[1] The Arabic plural *Raya*, like that of *Ulema* 'the learned,' and many others, is by the Turks also constantly used as a singular.

with opposite ends. As the proper Crusades aimed at keeping the Cross (that sublime symbol of Christianity as a triumphant power, by purely spiritual means, notwithstanding apparent defeats) erect in the countries of the east where it had first been planted, so these Mussulman Crusades purposed to pull it down wherever it was found established throughout all the west. The first of these formidable onslaughts, proceeding from the Mohammedan Bedouinism of Arabia, passed over Northern Africa, overwhelmed the Pyrenean Peninsula, and was only successfully parried by the overmatching vigour and manhood of the Franco-Germanic races, who, by those sanguinary battles in the heart of France, prevented the progress of the hot-blooded Asiatic hordes through Central Europe, and sent them back across the Pyrenees completely defeated. The second determined onset of Mohammedanism against the heart of Europe, sustained by Tartar-Turkish force, proceeded from the shores of the Bosphorus and spread death and desolation over the lands of the Danube as far as Vienna, where it also was stemmed by the superior national strength of Central Europe.

If these well-planned, determined attempts of conquest had succeeded, and if, as the east, so also the west had been forced under the yoke of this *politico-religious Nomadism of Islam*, then the industrious Christian nations of Europe would have offered a new pasturage of sufficient richness to keep the Mussulman shepherds in ease and plenty for generations to come. But inasmuch as the truly human and truly divine spirit of Christianity, coupled with the love of liberty and the physical vigour of the nations of Europe, would not be trampled in the dust by mere rude force, and victoriously maintained itself against the Mussulman onslaught, both of an Arabian Bedouinism and an Ottoman Turcomanism : nothing remained for the Islamic system of domination, but *nolens volens* to rest content with its former grazing grounds, which in consequence it had now afresh and with increasing thoroughness to depasture, so that more and more every pushing sapling, every sprouting blade of grass had to be razed, as soon as it appeared ; and what those in power had at first

learned and practised with regard to the *Rayas*, was at last extended also to the subject *Moslem* population. The certain and unavoidable result of all this could be nothing else than that complete general exhaustion of the entire world of Islam, which now lies patent before the eyes of all. But where, according to the laws of nature, *Nomadism* brings about its own end and renders itself impossible, there the place seems to be prepared for advantageously superseding it by the higher and more profitable state of *agriculture*.

ART. XII.—*Notice of the Scholars who have Contributed to the Extension of our Knowledge of the Languages of Africa.* By R. N. CUST, Honorary Secretary R.A.S.

IN the JOURNAL for 1879 I was permitted to insert a notice of the scholars who have contributed to the extension of our knowledge of the Languages of British India during the last thirty years; and upon the occasion of its being read at one of the Society's meetings, considerable interest was shown in the subject. I venture now to intrude upon the Society with a kindred notice upon those great scholars who have devoted their talents, and in many cases their lives, to enlarging our knowledge of the Languages of Africa.

To the Botanist the wild flower is of greater interest than the more beautiful development which is the result of culture. So to the Linguist, the unwritten forms of speech, caught alive as it were from the lips of uneducated savages, who are totally unaware of the wonderful organism which they are handling, supply deeper lessons than can be found in those languages whose spontaneous development has been restricted by becoming the vehicle of a written literature. The continent of Africa, year by year, supplies new and wondrous forms, the examination of which will upset many favourite theories, based upon the very limited phenomena supplied by the Arian and Semitic families. I trust to be able in a few months to publish such an account of our existing knowledge of the Languages of Africa, accompanied by a Language-Map, specially prepared from the latest data, and a Bibliographical Appendix showing where the language is spoken with reference to the Language-Map, to what group or family it may provisionally be assigned, and in what separate work, serial, or general treatise, information may at once be obtained, which will enable an inquirer to know

what his predecessors have done, and start off rejoicing upon a course of further investigation. This generation will pass away long before we are in possession of anything approaching to a sufficient knowledge of the Languages of Africa.

My present object is to pass lightly over the whole subject, and to record with a loving hand names, which ought to be more known and honoured. It is very well for a University Professor to sit in his arm-chair, and talk wisely about languages, not one of which he has ever heard pronounced. The individuals whose names I propose to record have undergone perils and discomforts, and in many cases sacrificed their lives, in the attainment at first hand of the knowledge, which they have communicated to the learned world. The feeling of astonishment, which welcomed the earlier revelations of unknown tongues, may have passed away, because it has been replaced by a conviction of the boundless stores of language-variety, which exists, and has existed for countless ages, indicating how utterly hopeless and visionary is the speculation as to the origin of Language, and how unfounded is the favourite theory of a Language altering that organic structure, the germs of which were, as it were, born with it. And two or three great Scholars have already been led by a consideration of the revealed phenomena to question the axiom of the impossibility of the existence of a Mixed Language, and to propound a new system of Classification based on the existence or non-existence of Gender.

There are four classes of contributors to our knowledge.

I. In the first order as regards time, and in the lowest order as regards value, are those travellers, often unscientific, and always untrained, who have recorded Vocabularies. We gratefully accepted half a century ago such crumbs of knowledge, and in many cases a language is still only represented by a Vocabulary; but care has been taken to indicate to modern explorers the particular classes of words which should be selected, and the proper mode of uniformly expressing the sounds. Many books of Vocabularies and short sentences, prepared in this way, are of the highest value.

II. In the second order come those who undertake to write a Grammar, a Dictionary, or a lengthy Grammatical Notice on one or more languages; such are not always trained scholars, and many have not the genius for that particular work. Others have come to the work with excellent training; or have found themselves possessed intuitively of the faculty of grasping the real elements of the particular organism. We have two or three scores of such Grammars and Dictionaries, some of the highest merit, others which make the path ready for a skilled grammarian to follow. In all cases the work is honest, and done upon the spot, to be used at once in schools, and by fellow-labourers, who will immediately bring the work to the test. This is a formidable check on any imposture, which might have passed current in Europe undetected, when the grammatical treatise is written to pass under the eyes of those only who are even more ignorant than the compiler.

III. In the third order come two or three great scholars, masters of the principles of Comparative Philology, under whose eyes these Grammars and Dictionaries, as well as the less valuable Vocabularies, pass. Here begins the process of inter-comparison of forms and methods, as well as of words, and the isolated work of many becomes a part of the great scheme of classification. In this category must be included the compiler of such Vocabularies as the Polyglotta Africana.

IV. In the fourth order come the popularizers, or dishers up of the knowledge acquired by others in a palateable form suited to the taste of an unlearned public. In the form of Lectures and Essays the raw materials of hard-working and unknown scholars are boiled down and served out, and pass current as the result of original inquiry, instead of being mere assimilations of the work of others. This renders necessary an occasional reminder of the names of such original inquirers, which I now propose to make.

My attention has been more particularly called to this subject in the course of the preparation of my Sketch of the Languages of Africa. Such a book could not have been compiled thirty years ago, simply because the material had not

been worked out by many scores of workmen, acting without any communication with each other. I drew attention to the amount of good work done by Continental, chiefly German, scholars, and recorded their names, in the African Section of the Oriental Congress at Berlin last September, remarking how little would have been known had not German industry and acumen been available, to carry out the work commenced by English energy and resources.

English, French, Germans, Swiss, Norwegians, Swedes, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, citizens of the United States of North America, and African negroes, have contributed to this great work. Some have been servants of the English or French Colonial Governments, but by far the greater portion have been Christian Missionaries, for no other earthly consideration could have induced men to live among the people, and acquire their language, but the highest motives of Benevolence. Many have visited Africa for purposes of general science, or explory, and have made contributions to knowledge, more or less perfect, but such have rarely attained to an accurate knowledge of any language themselves, still less have they been able to prepare scientific treatises. Lepsius, Almqvist, Munzinger, Reinisch, and Fred. Muller are splendid exceptions. The Dutch, in spite of their long settlement in South Africa, have not contributed one line to Linguistic Science, and their uncouth language, still further debased, has trodden out some of the primeval vehicles of speech of the indigenous inhabitants.

Of the one ancient language of Africa, which has died leaving no lineal living descendant—the old Egyptian and Coptic—it would be impertinent in a paper like this to attempt a proper notice, and yet it would be incomplete not to notice that it is designedly omitted. The same remark applies to modern Arabic, which, with more or less purity, is spoken over such wide regions in Africa. Its elder sister, Phœnician, represented in Africa by numerous Inscriptions, is passed over. English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese, are sometimes an additional, sometimes the sole, vehicle of speech of large native communities, but require no notice

here. Our remarks are restricted to the work done in indigenous modern Vernaculars; and as an instance of the slight appreciation hitherto extended to this work, it may be mentioned, that in two celebrated series of Lectures on Language, and the Science of Language, in its widest sense, by a learned German and American Professor, a few lines are deemed sufficient to illustrate the marvellous phenomena of African languages, and the praiseworthy labours of African scholars.

It may be convenient for our purpose to divide Africa north of the Equator into two regions, stretching one north of the other east to west nearly across the continent; the territory south of the Equator forms a third region; and in each region there are two entirely distinct groups of language, making six in all for the whole of Africa.

The most northerly region comprises the Semitic and Hamitic groups. In the Ethiopic subdivision of the Semitic we must note the grammar and dictionary of Ludolf, dating as far back as 1698 A.D.; Dillmann's grammar and dictionary, dated 1857–62, of the old Ethiopic or Geez; Prætorius's grammar; Massaia's grammar; Isenburgh's grammar of the Amharic. Abbadie and Isenburgh have contributed dictionaries. There exist also learned contributions by Beke, Munzinger, Gesenius, Renan, Sapeto, Schrader, and Krapf. Of the sister-language, the Tigre, we have a grammar by Prætorius, vocabularies by Beurmann and Munzinger. Of the less well-known Harári, we have grammatical notices by F. Muller, Mallet, Burton, and Prætorius.

Passing to the Hamitic group, and the Libyan subgroup, we come in contact with the work of the French scholars, to whom the conquest of Algeria gave great opportunities. The Berber language is the representative of the old Mauritanian and Numidian in its numerous dialects. To Du Ponceau, Faidherbe, Halevy, Venture de Paradis, F. W. Newman, W. Hodgson, De Slane, and Delaporte, we are indebted for grammars, vocabularies, and grammatical notices.

The well-known dialect of the Kabyle, with its subdialects of Showiah and Zowaiah, is illustrated by the grammar of Hanoteau, the dictionary of Brosselard and

Jaubert; of Creúsat, and the grammatical notices of F. Newman, Sierakowsky, and W. Hodgson. Of the dialect of the Towarik Nomads, known as the Tamáshek, we have grammars by Hanoteau and Freeman Stanhope. Of the dialect spoken in Morocco, known as the Shelluh, we have grammatical notices, vocabularies, and texts by some of the above-mentioned scholars, as well as by Ball, Jackson, and Basset. Of the Zenága dialect, south of the Sahára, on the Senegal frontier, we have a grammatical notice by Faidherbe. Far away to the east, on the confines of Egypt, the kindred language of Siwah, in the Oasis of Ammon, is revealed to us by Minutoli.

On turning to the Ethiopic subgroup of the Hamitic group, I can point with satisfaction to a grammar of the Somáli language by Hunter, a great advance upon the grammatical notice by Rigby. Of the Galla language Tutschek has published a grammar and dictionary, and another is attributed to Massaia; Lottner, Krapf, Schmidt, and F. Newman have also contributed vocabularies or grammatical notices. Of the Beja-Bishári language, this year has produced a most complete grammar by Almqvist, of Upsála, supplementing the grammatical notices by Lepsius, Munzinger, Fred. Muller, and Halevy, and the vocabularies collected by Seetzen and other travellers. Of the Falasha, or language of the Abyssinian Jews, we have a grammatical notice by Halevy; and of the Bogos Reinisch has published a grammatical notice and a text, and promises a grammar and a translation of a gospel. Of the Dankali, Reinisch promises a grammar and a collection of texts; Isenburgh, many years ago, published a vocabulary. Of the Agau, Waldmeir has published a vocabulary, and Halevy a grammatical notice. Of the Barea language Reinisch has published a grammar. Reinisch has also published a grammatical notice of the Saho, Irob Saho, and Kunáma languages in the German language; and Englund, a Swedish missionary, has published one of the last-named in the Swedish language. Krapf, Munzinger, Halevy, Abbadie, and Beke, have also contributed to our knowledge of the other less well-known languages, or dialects of lan-

guages, of this group, towards which a great deal more labour must be devoted.

The second, or central region of Africa, is occupied by two groups of languages, totally distinct from each other, and only associated for geographical convenience: the Nuba-Fulah and the Negro.

In the Nuba-Fulah there are two well-defined subgroups, the Nubian and the Fulah. In the Nubian subgroup Lepsius has illustrated the Nubian or Barabra language with his Monumental Grammar, a vocabulary, translation of a gospel, and a disquisition on the languages of Africa generally. Reinisch has also published a grammar. Nerucci, an Italian, has published a dictionary by a Roman Catholic missionary of the seventeenth century, found in manuscript. In the case of an unwritten language, such peeps at the word-store used two centuries ago are most valuable, as marking the degree of fluctuation in the ordinary terms of daily life. Brugsch Bey has carried the language back, and worked out a comparison with the old Egyptian. Of the Tumale, one of the languages of Kordofan, Tutschek has supplied a grammatical notice. Of the Masai, Erhardt has contributed a vocabulary, and Krapf has done the same for the Kwafi. To Schweinfurth we are indebted for our scant knowledge of the Monbutto, Niam-Niam, Kredi, Golo; and Petherick, Wilson, Long, Marno, and Ruppell have contributed to the still fainter idea that we can form of other languages indistinctly heard of. Of the Shangalla we know more from the writings of the Italian Beltrame, Beke, Marno, and Halevy.

In the Fulah subgroup Reichhardt and Faidherbe have supplied grammars of the only language, of which there are several marked dialects.

The Negro group, on the other hand, comprises scores of languages, perhaps hundreds, thrown together merely for the purpose of convenience of treatment, all other attempts at classification in the present state of knowledge being hopeless. This may be roughly divided into three geographical subgroups:

I. Western Negroland along the Atlantic shore, viz. Senegambia and the Guinea Coast.

II. Central Negroland, viz. the Basin of the Niger and Lake Tchad.

III. Upper basin of the Nile.

In the first subgroup, under the influence of missionary zeal, many great scholars have contributed philological works of the highest interest, and the most solid value.

Mandingo	Macbriar	Grammar.
Serawale	Faidherbe	(French) Grammatical Notice.
Vei	Koelle	Grammar.
,,	Norris	Grammatical Notice.
Susu	Duport	Grammatical Notice.
Mende	Schön	Grammar, in the press.
Wolof	Kobez	(French) Grammar.
Sereres	La Moise	(do.) Grammar.
Bullom	Nylander	Grammar.
Temne	Schlenker	Grammar.
Sherbro-Bullom	Schön	Vocabulary and Text.
Hausa	Schön	Grammar, Dictionary, Text.
Sourhai (or Timbukhtu)	Barth	Grammatical Notice.
Kru	Usera y Alancon	(Spanish) Grammar.
Grebo	Wilson	Grammatical Notice.
,,	Payne	Grammar.
Basa	Crocker	Grammar.
Ewe	Schlegel	(German) Grammar.
Yoruba	Crowther	Grammar.
,,	Wood	Grammar.
Ashanti and Fanti	Christaller	Grammar and Dictionary.
Akra or Gá	Zimmermann	Grammar.
Affetu	Muller	(German) Grammatical Notice.

Vocabularies exist of other languages.

In the second subgroup, we are indebted to scholars, who either are themselves natives, or have gleaned their knowledge from natives, or have made use of materials collected by others, or to great travellers, who have found time in the midst of their great enterprizes to increase our knowledge.

Ibo	Schön	Grammar.
,,	Crowther	Vocabulary, in the press.
Efik	Goldie	Grammar and Dictionary.
Nupe	Crowther	Grammar.

Crowther, in his Diaries of Voyages up the Niger, has given us vocabularies and grammatical notices of a dozen additional languages, the existence of which cannot be doubted, but the illustration of which will be the work of the next generation. Passing on to Lake Tchad, we have

Kanúri or Bornu	Koelle		Grammar.
,,	Norris		Grammatical Notice.
Baghirmi	Nachtigall	(German)	do.
Tibbu	Nachtigall	(do.)	do.
,,	Barth		do.
Budduma	Nachtigall	(German)	do.
,,	Barth		do.
Logone	Barth		do.
Wandala	Barth		do.
Maba	Barth		do.
Sara	Nachtigall	(German)	do.
Badi Bacle	Nachtigall	(do.)	do.
Kuka Lisi	Nachtigall	(do.)	do.

In the third subgroup we know little.

Dinka	Mitterreutzner	(German)	Grammar.
,,	Beltrame	(Italian)	Grammar.
,,	Schweinfurth	(German)	Grammatical Notice.
Shilluk	Schweinfurth	(do.)	Grammatical Notice.
Bari	Mitterreutzner	(do.)	Grammar.
,,	F. Muller	(do.)	Grammar.
Bongo	Schweinfurth	(do.)	Grammatical Notice.

Other first-hand investigators, Long, Marno, Von Heughlin, and Ruppell, have contributed to our scant knowledge of the languages of this region.

The long roll-call of names may to some minds suggest no thoughts, but to me it suggests many. Many of the gallant soldiers of science fell in the conflict with the pestilential climate; more than once painfully collected stores of linguistic knowledge have perished utterly in the burning of a camp, the sinking of a boat, the loss of a trunk or box. Many of these languages have been spoken by generations of men for centuries, but until the present century they have left as little trace as the humming of the insects, and the chirping of the birds. If we are to believe credible evidence, languages

have died out, or been crowded out, and new languages, new dialects, have come into existence. Some of these wild languages evidence a most intricate and elaborate organism, which, if they prove nothing else, at least point to the existence in the brains of the speaker of a logical power of reasoning. In some idioms, spoken by apparently similar people, and in fact in cases of bilingual individuals, spoken by the same people, there exists a totally distinct and opposite order of conceptions. What a priceless service have these honest and intelligent collectors rendered to science? One remarkable feature is admitted by all, that, though Agglutination may be the prevailing type, any notion of affinity between particular groups of languages spoken by negroes, ethnically identical, may be set aside.

South of the Equator we enter into a world of totally distinct phenomena. There are two groups, the Bantu and Hottentot-Bushman. The latter occupies a comparatively small inclosure; the former are the offshoots of one common stock, the children of one common mother. Year by year new tribes have come into view, and new languages into the region of hearing, and as yet but half the field has been explored. For convenience of description, I have devised the following geographical distribution, so as to meet present requirements, and provide for future expansion.

Southern Branch, below the tropic of Capricorn.
Eastern Branch, the East Coast from the Victoria Nyanza to the same tropic.
Western Branch, from the Cameroon Mountains to the same tropic.

In each branch there are three sub-branches, crowded with languages.

The scholars of the Southern Branch are numerous, and have pretty well exhausted their subject. There are three great dominant languages: Kafir, or Xósa, Zulu, and Chuána. It must be remembered that this region is in the Temperate Zone, and without derogating from the merit of the scholars, it must be admitted that their reputation has not been purchased at the tremendous sacrifices

to which their contemporaries have been exposed in the Equatorial regions.

Zulu	Schreuder	(Norwegian) Grammar.
,,	Grout	Grammar.
,,	Colenso	Grammar and Dictionary.
,,	Perrin	Dictionary.
,,	Dohne	Dictionary.
,,	Roberts	Dictionary.
,,	Boyce	Grammar.
Kafir or Xósa	Davis	Dictionary.
,,	Boyce	Grammar.
,,	Appleyard	Grammar.
,,	Roberts	Grammatical Notice.
Chuána	Archbell	Grammar.
Suto	Casalis	(French) Grammar.
,,	Endemann	(German) Grammar.

Many of these are philological works, which future generations may improve, but scarcely surpass.

The circumstances of the Eastern Branch of the Bantu family are very different. Within this region there have been no great missionary Protestant settlements; a heavy shame lies upon the Portuguese Government, that for more than three centuries they had settlements, and Roman Catholic missions, from Cape Delgado to Lorenzo Marques, and far up the Zambesi basin to Tete and Zumbo; that they should have been able to send at rare intervals expeditions across the Continent to their settlements on the Western Coast; that on the Western Coast they have left linguistic monuments, of a certain amount of value, and yet on the Eastern Coast from the Equator downwards they have contributed nothing towards the knowledge of the people of the interior. Within the last twenty years this field has been thrown open by the enterprize of Livingstone, Burton, Speke and Stanley to Protestant missions, and the result is a crop of small linguistic efforts; in only one language do such efforts reach the dignity of a grammar and dictionary.

Swahíli	Steere	Grammar.
,,	Krapf	Dictionary, in the press.
,,	Krapf	Grammar.

Manganga	Procter	Grammatical Notice.
Makúa	Maples	Grammatical Notice.
Yao	Steere	Grammatical Notice.
Nyassa	Rebmann	Dictionary.
,,	Riddell	Grammatical Notice.
Makonde	Steere	Grammatical Notice.
Nyamwézi	Steere	Grammatical Notice.
Shambála	Steere	Grammatical Notice.
Gindo	Steere	Vocabulary.
Zarámo	Steere	Vocabulary.
Angazidja (Comoro I.)	Steere	Vocabulary.
Gogo	Clark	Vocabulary.
Boondei	Woodward	Grammatical Notice, in the press.
Ruganda	Wilson	Grammatical Notice, in the press.
Pokomo	Krapf	Vocabulary.
Nika	Krapf	Vocabulary.
Kamba	Krapf	Vocabulary.
Chaga	New	Vocabulary.
Teita	New	Vocabulary.
Nyoro	Emin Bey.	Vocabulary.
Tete.	Bleek and Peters	Vocabulary.
Sena.	Bleek and Peters	Vocabulary.
Quilimane	Bleek and Peters	Vocabulary.
Maravi	Bleek and Peters	Vocabulary.
Inhanbane	Bleek and Peters	Vocabulary.

All these are but the budding promises of a future harvest, as from every quarter the report reaches me of translations of the Scriptures preparing, and grammatical notices being compiled.

In the Western Branch we come face to face with a totally distinct state of affairs. Three hundred years ago the Portuguese authority and the Roman Catholic religion were established in the great kingdom of Kongo and the province of Angola, which last remains as a Portuguese province to this day. Brusciottus di Vetralla published at Rome a grammar of the Kongoese in the Latin language in 1699 A.D. I was able to examine a copy of this work at the

Angelica Library at Rome last October; most probably no one had asked for it for a century. My inspection led to my friend, Mr. Grattan Guinness, looking for it in the British Museum Library, finding it, having a copy taken of it, translating it, and publishing it. Thus Brusciottus has obtained a new life, and will become the seed-plot of new grammars. Desirous of leaving no stone unturned to discover the works of the Jesuit missionaries, I called on Mr. Desborough Cooley, a veteran author on African subjects, who had closely examined the Portuguese authors. I found him at the age of 87, stone deaf, but ready to help me: he produced a box full of manuscripts, written by himself with wonderful clearness, which represented the materials for works which he once intended to publish. Among them was a voluminous dictionary of Kongo and French, copied as far as letter E; upon inquiry where the original was, I was referred to the Grenville Library of the British Museum, and there Mr. Grattan Guinness found a manuscript volume containing ten thousand words, which is being at once copied, and printed.

In the neighbouring province of Angola, the language spoken is called Bunda; in the year 1697, Pedro de Dias published a grammar in this language, copies of which are in existence. In 1804 the Capuchin Cannecuttim published a grammar and dictionary in the Portuguese language. This is the extent to which science has to thank the Portuguese lay and clerical authorities during the many centuries of their jealous occupation of the West Coast. Within the last forty years, since English Protestant and French Catholic missionaries have established themselves, the following books have appeared :—

Herero (Damaraland)	Hahn	(German) Grammar.
,,	Kolbe	(do.) Dictionary, in the press.
Loango	Bastian	(German) Grammatical Notice.
Kongo	Craven	Dictionary, in the press.
Kongo	Grattan Guinness	Grammar, in the press.

Mpongwe . .	American Protestant Board of Missions	Grammar, 2nd edition.
Mpongwe	French Roman Catholic Mission	Grammar and Dictionary.
,, ...	Delaporte. . .	Vocabulary.
Bakĕle	American Board of Missions	Grammar.
Benga	Mackey . . .	Grammar.
Dualla	Saker	Grammatical Notice.
,, ...	Saker	Vocabulary.
Isubu	Merrick . . .	Grammatical Notice.
,, ...	Merrick . . .	Vocabulary.
Fernandian (Fernando Po)	Clarke	Grammar.

In this Region also each year will bring additional languages to our knowledge from the exploration of the German African Society and the labours of the Livingstone, English Baptist and American Missionary Societies.

In the region south of the Equator there is a second group of languages, the Hottentot-Bushman, comprising two languages, totally distinct from each other, that spoken by the Hottentots, and that spoken by the Bushmen. Of the four Hottentot dialects, that of the Namáqua is the only survivor; the others seem to have succumbed to Dutch. In the Namáqua or Nama we have a grammar by Hahn (German), Tindall and Wallman (German), a grammatical notice by Charency (French), besides vocabularies and notices included in other works. The Bushman language is still only imperfectly illustrated by grammatical notices by Hahn and others. In this group must be included the Dwarf or Pigmy tribes found in different parts of Equatorial Africa, of one description of which only we have certain grammatical notices in the study by Beltrame of the Akka language in Italian.

Independently of the particular works devoted to one language, many most valuable works have been published in a collective form, containing information sometimes at second-hand, sometimes at first-hand; or at least written by persons who have sojourned a certain time in Africa. Such authors are Bleek, Beke, Munzinger, Halevy, Koelle, Abbadie, Lepsius, Fredk. Muller, Lottner, Reinisch, Barth,

Steinthal, Schweinfurth, Nachtigall, Bastian, Baikie, and many others. Thanks are also due to those who have conscientiously worked at second-hand, with an entire ignorance of any one of the languages spoken; such as Latham, Hovelacque, Julg, Balbi, and the authors of Mithridates, and the Dictionary of Languages. In most cases one author has repeated the other, oftentimes without notice of the original source of information, forgetting that the entry in such compilations depends upon the authority quoted for its value. The real motive power has been supplied by the Missionary Societies, or the British and Foreign Bible Society. Nothing but Christian zeal would have induced scholars to spend long periods, at the risk of their lives, among a most uncongenial people in a detestable climate. When the utility of Foreign Christian Missions is questioned, let scholars say a good word in their favour. The majority of the languages alluded to have no literature, and had never been reduced to writing. There was therefore no question of learning an existing form of script. At the request of some of the Missionary Societies, Lepsius devised a Standard Alphabet; but in dealing with German scholars (and the majority of Bible translators are German) the maxim applies—Quot hominum, tot sententiarum; the consequence is, that there is a plurality of the adaptation of the Roman alphabets, and the use of a common alphabet is as distant as ever.

It remains to notice that in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society is a promising collection of African philological works, the nucleus of which was supplied by Sir Bartle Frere, when Governor of the Cape, through the kind offices of Miss Lloyd, sister-in-law of the lamented Dr. Bleek. In the Library of the Royal Geographical Society are some very choice African philological books. In the Library of the India Office are some African books relating to the East Coast. The Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Christian Knowledge Society, in their libraries or depôts, possess works which are to be obtained nowhere else. Those who require

more than the above libraries supply, must purchase, as I have had to do. From the stores of Trübner, Quaritch, and Williams & Norgate, in London; of Maisonneuve at Paris, and of Kohler at Leipzig; by applications to friends in Portugal, Spain, France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria, the United States, and every part of Africa, the books required have gradually come in, and many a kind present has to be thankfully acknowledged. Where a printed copy could not be obtained, I have received copy of the whole work in manuscript. The same trouble will not occur again in hunting out existing works, as new books, or omitted books, will drop into their right places in the Bibliographical Appendix which will accompany the forthcoming "Languages of Africa."

Only a small portion of the work that has to be done has as yet been accomplished. Another generation must die out before our knowledge of the languages of Africa reaches the level of our knowledge of the languages of Asia, and it is notorious that even that is far from complete. However, till we have approached nearer to an idea of the number and nature of languages actually spoken at this moment, it is mere waste of time to speculate on the origin of Language, or to spin idle cobwebs about the existence of a primeval form of speech. Let that rest, until we have more reliable data.

It may be objected that Africa is not part of Asia, and that this subject lies outside the orbit of the Royal Asiatic Society; but papers relating to African languages have been from time to time admitted into our Journal, the earliest being in Vol. III. Old Series, in the year 1835. When a Royal African Society comes into existence, the duty, now undertaken in the interests of the neglected and trodden-down Continent, will be readily surrendered to its proper representatives. At any rate, I am only treading in the steps of my distinguished predecessor, Edwin Norris, of whom it may be said:

> —— hic est, quem non capit Africa, Mauro
> Percussa Oceano, Niloque admota tepenti:—
> Rursus ad Æthiopum populos, aliosque elephantos.
>
> JUVENAL, Sat. X. 148.

ART. XIII.—*Grammatical Sketch of the Haûsa Language.* By the Rev. J. F. SCHÖN, F.R.G.S.; of the Church Missionary Society, and Chaplain of Melville Hospital, Chatham.

THE word consists of three syllables, and must not be tortured into Housa as is frequently done. *Ha-ou-sa* conveys the correct pronunciation. The meaning of the word itself is not quite certain. From two expressions in the writer's collection it may be inferred that it means 'language.' The first is, "He speaks another *ha-u-sa*," that is, another language; and the second, in answer to the question, "Do many people speak Haúsa?" The reply given was, "How can they be Haúsa unless they speak Haúsa?" Barth also admits that it means 'language,' although it is not confined to that meaning. The word itself was probably unknown to Leo Africanus, who says that Zāria Kano and Katsena speak the language of Gober, instead of Haúsa, Gober being at Leo's time the most prominent and noble among the provinces of the North. Whether the name Âúsa given to the northern side of "the great river" in contrast to Gurma on the southern side, has anything to do with Haúsa, is left undecided by Barth. Sultan Bello derives the Haúsa from a Bornu slave, named Bāwu. This Bāwu has a real historical existence in the traditions of the Haúsa people, though not as a slave, the Haúsa word for 'slave' being *Bāwa* not *Bāwu*, a fact of which Sultan Bello could not have been ignorant; and besides this, it must be argued that, if the Haúsa derived their origin from the Bornu or Kanúri, there would exist a greater similarity between these two languages than is found to be the case. Both languages have a few words in common, but the grammars are most distinct.

The nation speaking Haúsa may be said in a general

way to inhabit the regions between the Niger and Lake Tshad. The River Bénuwé, uniting with the Niger at Lokojah, is there called Tshāda by the Haúsa. Barth questions the correctness of this; but the writer has heard the word *Tshāda*, and *rūa baki*, *i.e.* 'black water,' applied to the Bénuwé at the confluence of that river, and the Niger there called *Kwōra*, as also *fari rūa*, 'white water.' Dr. Barth's discovery of the Bénuwé has set aside the conjecture that it issued from Lake Tshad. From the great extent of country it must be inferred that the Haúsa language is spoken by a great number of persons. The Haúsa themselves speak of seven provinces "Haúsa bokoi." The above-mentioned Bāwu who figures in Haúsa traditions is regarded as the founder of most of these states; and is said to have been the son of Karbágarí. Karbágarí, signifying the taking of a town, would indicate a person of character and power, and not that of a slave. The town referred to as being taken may have been Biram, situated between Kano and Khadega, often called *Biram "ta ghabbes," i.e.* 'of the east,' to distinguish it from another town of the same name more to the west. Bāwu, the son of Karbágarí, is said to have married a woman of the Berber nation, by whom he had seven sons, who are regarded as the founders and rulers of the Haúsa bokoi, *i.e.* the seven Haúsa provinces. Among the Haúsa themselves disputes are heard on this subject, as to which constitute the real seven provinces, and another seven states set up a counter-claim to the name, but are called by others *bánza bokoi*, which means 'bastard or illegitimate bokoí,' 'seven.' The legitimate seven are—

1. Biram.
2. Daúra.
3. Gober, also pronounced Gobir.
4. Kano. The inhabitants of the town 30,000, evidently under the mark; the whole population of the province Rano, south-west from Kano, still a considerable town. From other provinces we have no statistics.
5. Rano.
6. Zegzeg.

7. Katsena. The town had once a population of at least 100,000; at present about 8,000; the whole population of the province may be said to be about 300,000. At Katsena the Haúsa language has attained the greatest richness in form and the most refined pronunciation, and has been selected by us as the standard, notwithstanding Barth's assertion to the contrary.

The seven other provinces which are called *bānza bokoi*, *i.e.* 'bastard or illegitimate,' are—Zanfara, Kebbi (a province between the two empires of Gōndo and Sokotu), Nupe or Nuffi, Gwari and Yauri, Yoriba or Yoruba, and Korōrofo.

To these we must add the province of Mosi, to the north of the kingdom of Ashanti, and tributary to the same, where Haúsa is likewise spoken. The capital of the province is called Gonsha. An extensive trade of the favourite Gōro, that is, Kola-nut, is carried on with the Haúsa country and Gonsha. There are many Haúsa slaves in Ashanti, who are to this day exposed for sale at Salaga. Haúsa fought in the last war with Ashanti on both sides; on our side such as were enlisted by Sir John Glover at Lagos, and on the Ashanti side Haúsa slaves, chiefly Mosi.

In all these provinces it is a fact that Haúsa is extensively spoken, though it is not the language of the original inhabitants of those countries. The mention of all these names shows how widely the language has spread. The slave trade has been the means of bringing Haúsa people to Tunis, as Barth speaks of meeting with Haúsa slaves in that place; and in Tripoli there is a colony of 2,500 or 3,000 Haúsa from every province of the interior, and Mr. Krause is prosecuting his Haúsa, besides other languages, under most favourable circumstances there; and from the description of Dorogu, one of the late Dr. Barth's servants, I learned that Haúsa seamen, whether slaves or freemen, served on the steamer in which he embarked at Tripoli for Malta, who also informed him that there were many Haúsa at Constantinople and in Egypt. It is, moreover, not merely owing to the dispersion of Haúsa people

into so many parts of Africa that the language is known; another circumstance of no small importance must be mentioned, namely, the adoption and acquisition of it by individuals of other nations. I myself have met in Africa Fulani, Bornu, Yoriba, Nupe, and others, who spoke Haúsa fluently; and from Mr. Krause at Tripoli I learn that he has frequent opportunities of conversing with learned Fulani and other pilgrims coming from Mekka, in Haúsa. This circumstance may in a great measure be attributed to the beauty, simplicity, and easy pronunciation of the language itself, as well as the, as it were, ubiquity of Haúsa people. Hence also Barth, on being asked in my presence, as to which of the various languages spoken in the regions in which he travelled he considered the most useful for travellers to acquire, replied, "The Haúsa." The Haúsa is not a written language; though I have often heard the Haúsa assert that they had books in the interior, I have never been able to obtain a sight of any. Some papers were shown me, but they were in Arabic, not in the Haúsa; and the late Dr. Barth has been unsuccessful in his endeavours to discover any writings. But notwithstanding our failures, it is not impossible that discoveries may still be made. And this hope is encouraged by a statement of Mr. Krause, who was informed by African travellers that they possessed books in the Haúsa language, as well as in the Fulde, and that a son of King Bello, at Sokotu, had written a grammar of the latter. It is very desirable that Mr. Krause should be enabled and assisted to make every inquiry, and to obtain, if possible, copies of such manuscripts, if really in existence. Attempts have been made by Europeans to write Fulde and Haúsa, who either copied in Arabic characters, or dictated to Africans, as portions of the Gospels, or of some stories and proverbs, but of any independent effort by natives I have no personal knowledge.

When the writer commenced the study and reduction of the Haúsa language, he had to begin at the very beginning. A small, but notwithstanding valuable Vocabulary by Oldfield, a few words in Clapperton's Travels,

were all he met with as then in existence. Since that he has had the satisfaction of consulting the labours of the late Drs. Barth and Baikie. The former had the great advantage of travelling the length and breadth of the Haúsa country, and of being surrounded with Haúsa servants and others speaking the language, and has given us the results of his inquiries in his travels and linguistic works. Dr. Baikie, for several years British Consul at Lokojah, has written translations of portions of the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer in Haúsa. His contribution to our Haúsa literature consists of no less than about 1,400 closely-written 4to. pages. I am indebted to him for many new words, for which I give him credit in the Dictionary. Nothing has been published of all Baikie's labours, except the Psalms, by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The language, as far as published, is published in the Roman, or rather in the Italian character, and the orthography adopted is that of Professor Lepsius's Standard Alphabet, and only about seven chapters of the Gospel of St. John are accompanied by a transcription in the Arabic character, kindly prepared by Archdeacon Henry Johnson. It was not considered desirable to print more in that form at present, but to wait until an alphabet can be furnished which meets all the difficulties of the case. Our translations, and other books in the European dress, are now used in the Niger at Lokojah and Kippo Hill or Egán, and are taught in schools, and the Gospel is preached in the Haúsa language in those places, and it is gratifying to know that European and African mercantile agents make good use of those books. In stations where the Arabic character is but little known this may be done, still there can be no doubt that the language ought also to be in the Arabic character, with some modification of the alphabet, especially in the vowels, to adapt it to the Haúsa. If all these things were done, I am confident that we should best consult and promote the interest of the Haúsa nation in the interior of Africa, as well as the progress of science and the introduction of art.

The Haúsa, it is true, have to some extent adopted Mahomedanism, the religion of their conquerors, but are neither attached to the one nor to the other, and would gladly shake off the yoke of both.

Coming now to speak of the character and nature of the Haúsa language itself, we would first of all observe that the question, as to whether it belonged to the class of Hamitic or the purely "Negro" class of languages, is not yet decided. Professor Lepsius (Nubische Grammatik) seems inclined to number it among the latter, not considering the fact that it is a gender language, in perfect harmony in that respect with Semitic languages, of sufficient importance to assign it another position than that of the Negro languages by which it is surrounded. Dr. Frederic Müller, on the other hand, is still in favour of classifying it among the Hamitic languages. And he argues from the identity of the pronominal stems, from the suffixes and affixes (which will soon come under consideration) employed in the derivation of words, and the passive form in *u*, etc., *o*. No notice is taken of the numerous coincidences which the Lexicon supplies, and which cannot fail to refer to previous intercourse with Semitic nations, wheresoever and whensoever that intercourse may have taken place. The Arabic element is very prominently manifested in the importation of words. I would especially refer to such as are embodied in the language with the *al* or *el* Arabic article, unconsciously, as though it formed but one word, as *alkama*, *alkorana*, *alkaúeli*, *almāžiri*, *alkāmura*, *aldžāna*, and many more. We will now mention certain words and expressions in the Haúsa and Hebrew languages, and then leave it to others to account for their existence in the language. They are—

asabe, *asabu*, *azuba* and *asaba* עָצָם and עִצָּבוֹן 'pain, trouble, snare, danger.'

azumi צוֹם 'fasting.'

amantše מִנְשֶׁה 'forget.'

atīša עֲטִישָׁה 'sneezing.'

alfadara פִּרְדָה 'mule.'

annabi נָבִיא 'prophet.'
annabia נְבִיאָה 'prophetess.'
alfin אַלַף,אֶלֶף 'thousand.'
arbain עַרְבִים 'forty.'
baria פֶּרָה 'mouse.'
burumta בָּרַם 'to spin, to twine.'
batta בָּטָא 'talk, conversation.'
būga פָּגַע 'to strike upon.'
bérka בָּרַךְ 'blessing.'
buše יָבֵשׁ 'dry.'
da Egyptian=*dā* Haúsa 'son.'
daffa אָפָה 'to cook.'
dakka דָּקַק 'tread, trample, thrash.'
dalma בְּדִיל 'lead.'
dāši שְׂדֵה 'desert, field.'
doppa, pl. *dopobi* דֹּב pl. דְּבִים 'bear.'
dubbara and *dabbara* דִּבֵּר 'to plot against.'
gafĕra כָּפַר 'forgive, excuse.'
gawa גָּוַע 'corpse, expire.'
gona גָּן 'farm, garden.'
guzu גֵּוַע 'loins, trunk.'
halal חָלַל 'ceremoniously clean, lawful.'
haram חָרַם 'ceremoniously unclean, unlawful.'
hakumtši and *hakumta* חָקַק,חֹק and *hanna* מָנַע and הֵנִיא 'hinder, restrain.'
hamsin חֲמִשִּׁים 'fifty.'
iširin עֶשְׂרִים 'twenty.'
iko כּוֹחַ 'strength, power.'
kabri קֶבֶר 'grave.'
kadán and *katān* קָטַן 'little, few.'
kafada, pl. *kafadu* כָּתֵף pl. כְּתֵפוֹת 'shoulder.'

kaza da kaza כְּזָה וְכָזָה 'so and so, thus and thus.'
karatu קָרָא 'to read.'
káma כְּמוֹ 'like, like as.'
kamani כָּמוֹנִי 'as I, like me.'
kamaka כָּמוֹךְ 'as thou, like thou.'
kamanu כָּמוֹנוּ 'like us, as we.'
kirā קָרָא 'to call.'
ta kirāni תַּקְרָאנִי 'she called me.'
kōra and *kwōra* קֶרֶם 'baldness.'
like לָקַק 'to lick.'
madse מָצָה 'to squeeze.'
makaranta מִקְרָא 'school, assembly, conversation.'
makogoro גָּרוֹן 'throat.'
malaiki מַלְאָךְ 'angel.'
malaka מָלַךְ 'reign, rule, govern.'
maraki מָרֵנֵק 'calf.'
metin מָאתַיִן 'two hundred.'
mi מִי 'who, what.'
mutum מָת and מַת : מֵת and מוּת pl. *mutane* מָתִים 'man,' *i.e.* mortal.
mutu מוּת 'to die.'
nade עָטָה 'to roll up, wrap up.'
oba and *uba* אַב 'father.'
rage, ragewa, ragua גָּרַע 'take away, diminish.'
rami מְעָרָה 'hole.'
rana, ra in Egyptian, 'sun.'
rimoni רִמּוֹן 'pomegranate.'
ruqba רָקַב 'decay, rot.'
settin שִׁשִּׁים سيتين 'sixty.'
sainye צַנַן and צָנָה 'cool, cold.'
sarĭki and *serki* שַׂר 'king, chief.'

su, Ancient Egyptian, also Haúsa, 'they.'
šaida שָׂהֵד 'witness.'
sebbain שִׁבְעִים 'seventy.'
tamánin ثمانين 'eighty.'
tissain תִּשְׁעִים تسعين 'ninety.'
ya יְ 'he.'
yao יוֹם 'to-day.'
yama יָם 'sea, west.'
yahude and *yafude* יְהוּדִי 'Jew.'
zuba זוּב 'issue, flow, flowing.'
žefa שָׁפַךְ 'cast out, throw out, at.

We come now to the language itself.

The general character of the Haúsa language.—We may be permitted to quote the estimate formed as to the sounds of the Haúsa by Dr. Frederic Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, I. Band, II. Abtheilung; Vienna, 1877: "In reference to sound, the Haúsa shows a rare symmetry of sound, and consequently a great harmony of the forms of words. There are few languages which could compare with it, much less surpass it." We exhibit the sounds in the following Table, and in the form generally adopted by Prof. R. Lepsius in the Standard Alphabet. The dialect chosen as the Standard is that of Katsena.

Vowels.

I. Simple vowels: *a, ā; e, ĕ, ē; i, ĭ, ī; o, ō, ǫ; u, ŭ, ū.*
II. Compound vowels (diphthongs): *ai, ei, au, oi.*
III. Consonants, simple and compound: *kw, g, gb, ṅ; tš, ds, dz, š, ž; ts, dz, y; t, d, s, z, r, l, n; p, b, f, w; m.*

The Noun.

Nouns are divided into Proper and Common, and Primitive and Derivative nouns. Proper nouns are the names of persons or countries, rivers, etc.: *Adam, Yaruba, Kwāra.*

Common nouns denote a class of objects, as *mutum, dōki, duši;* and Primitive nouns, or such whose origin cannot be traced any further, as *rūa, sināria, zámna.* Derivative nouns are such as are formed by prefixes or suffixes to the root or stem, and can be traced to their original source or primary parts, as *mai-gōna,* compounded of *mai* and *gōna; ma-zámni,* compound of *ma* and *zámni.*

1. Abstract substantives are derived from concrete nouns by means of the suffix *tši* m. and *ta* f., which are frequently preceded by *n,* as *n-tši, n-ta,* and the final vowel of the noun is changed or ejected.

Examples.

annabá-n-tši 'prophecy,' from *annabi* 'prophet'; *bāra-n-tši* and *bāra-n-ta,* from *bāra* 'serve' and 'servant'; *bāwo-n-tši* 'slavery,' from *bāwa* 'slave'; so likewise *baú-tši, baú-ta*; *makóf-tši* m. and *makóf-tá* 'blindness'; *makáfta ba awórike-ta ba da māgani saí da īko-n* 'Alla'; *bāko-n-tši, yi-n bāko-n-tši* 'alienship, to be in the condition of an alien'; *bambám-tši* m. *bambam-ta* f. 'difference, distinction'; *bārīkó-n-tši* 'jesting, gesticulation'; *yara-n-tši* 'boyhood'; *yari-n-ta* 'girlhood'; *yāwa-n-tši,* m. *yáwa-n-ta* 'multitudinous.' Add to these words framed with *ka,* as: *bārantá-ka* 'servitude, service'; *bākontá-ka* 'an entertainment given to strangers'; *yābontá-ka* 'witchery, sorcery'; *bāwantá-ka* 'servitude, service'; *šēgantá-ka* 'idleness'; *makafanta-ka* 'blindness'; *māzafantá-ka* 'bravery'; *mallaman-tši* 'priesthood,' from *mallam* 'priest'; *hausá-n-tši* 'what belongs to the Haúsa nation'; *fula-n-tši* 'what belongs to the Fulde nation'; *arewá-tši* 'northward, northern'; *gabá-tši* 'eastward, eastern'; *kusú-tši* 'southward, southern'; *yamá-tši* 'westward, western.'

2. Words ending in *a* and *wa* form also abstracts with other changes, as: *diaú-tši* or *diyaútši* 'liberty,' from *dā* m. and *dia* f. 'free-born, free'; *baútši* and *baú-ta* 'slavery,' from *bāwa* 'slave.'

3. The prefix *ma* (מ) forms nomina loci and instrumenti, as well as nomina agentis. *a*) The suffix *tši* being retained: *mahauká-tši* m. *mahaúkašia* f. 'lunatic, foolish person, simple-

ton'; *makóf-tši* m. *makofta* f. 'neighbour, neighbourhood'; *makāri* m. *makāra* f. 'end,' from *kāre* 'to finish'; *mafarikatši* m. *mafarikatšia* f. 'hypocrisy'; *magudáutši* 'slave' (?); *makēri* m. *makēria* f. 'blacksmith'; *mafaú-tši* 'slaughtering' and 'place of slaughtering,' from *fāwa* 'to slaughter.' *b*) The suffix *tši* is dropped: *madūbi* 'glass, looking-glass,' from *dūba* 'to behold'; *makāmi* and *marīki* 'handle, holder,' from *kāma* 'to lay hold on' and *rike* 'to hold'; *mazámni* 'seat,' from *zámna* 'to sit down'; *mafūdi* 'borer, gimlet,' from *fūda* 'to bore'; *masártši* m. *masartšia* f. 'comb'; *marūfi* 'cover,' from *rūfe* 'to cover'; *mabūdi* 'key,' from *būde* 'to open'; *matūki* 'rudder, oar,' from *tūka* 'to steer, pull'; *mašīdi* 'inn,' from *šīda* 'to encamp, sojourn, alight at a place'; *masōyi* m. *masoya* f. 'beloved'; *mašigi* 'entrance,' from *šīga* 'to enter'; *madáffi wūri enda a ke dáffa* 'the place where cooking is done =kitchen'; *mahāyi* 'something to mount on=steps, ladder,' from *hāwa* 'to mount'; *makīaži* or *makiyaži* 'one who refuses to hear,' from *kī* 'refuse' and *ži* 'hear'='disobedient'; *masōyi* m. *masōya* f. *masōyu* pl. 'lover.'

4. Abstract nouns are formed by the suffix *ta* (ת), from nouns and adjectives, as: *baú-ta* 'slavery,' from *bāwa* 'slave'; *gašér-ta* 'shortness,' from *gašēre* 'short'; *karia-ta* 'falsehood,' from *karia* 'false'; *makáf-tā* 'blindness,' from *makāfo* 'blind person'; *tšīwu-ta* 'sickness,' from *tšīwo* 'sick.' One word must be added: *bārua* 'dienerschaft = staff of attendants.'

5. Substantives are formed *a*) by combining the word *abi-n*, *abú*, pl. *abúbua* 'thing' with the Infinitive of verbs, as: *abi-n-tsōro* 'something inspiring with fear'; *abi-n-ša* 'something to drink, drink'; *abi-n-tši* 'something to eat, food'; *abi-n-wórigi* 'something to play with, plaything'; *abi-n-sāra* 'some cause of accusation, accusation.' *b*) *wūri* 'place,' with the Infinitive, as: *wūri-n-kwāna* 'place to sleep=bedroom'; *wūri-n-kīwo* 'place where cattle are feeding=pasture, field.' *c*) By means of the prefix *mai*, pl. *māsu*, of common gender. Most intimately connected with an action, so that a word thus formed may be always resolved, at least as to its origin, into a relative preposition, as: *mai-gōna* 'one who possesses

or cultivates a farm=farmer,' from *gōna* 'farm'; *mai-hálbi* 'marksman,' from *hálbi* 'to shoot'; *mai-dōki* 'one who owns or attends to a horse'; *mai-kī-wūya* 'molestation,' from *kī* 'to hate' and *wūya* 'trouble.' *d*) By the noun *dā* 'child, offspring, breed, native of a place,' as: *da-n-birni* 'native of a town,'; *da-n-dawura* 'native of Dawura'; *dōki da-n-asbon* 'a horse of Asbon breed.' *e*) To form Diminutives, both of human beings, animals, and things, as: *da-n-ákuya* 'child of the goat=kid'; *da-n-dúmkia* 'child of the sheep=lamb'; *da-n-zāki* 'child of the lion=lion's whelp'; *da-n-zúnzua* 'child of the bird=young bird'; *da-n-uwana* 'child of my mother,' an expression of endearment and affection; *da-n-kuble* 'son of the lock=key'; *da-n-gáram-kōfa* 'the threshhold of the door'; *da-n-garúnfa* 'trader'; *da-n-tšatša* 'gambler,' and *dā-n-gūtsia* 'child of the nut,' because gambling is carried on by means of nuts; *da-m-bāria* 'the child of the crevice=mouse'; *da-n-yāki* 'child of war=soldier'; *da-n-itše* 'child of the tree=fruit.' *f*) By the prefix *ga*, as: *garīkwa* 'that which holds the arrow=quiver'; *garīke-n-šānu* 'a place where cows are kept=cow-house,' from *rīke* 'to hold'; *garīka* 'inclosed place, inclosure, garden.' *g*) Nomina partrimonia are formed by the prefix *ba*, as: *ba-haúše* 'a man of the Hausa nation'; *ba-haúšia* 'a woman of the Hausa nation,' pl. *hausāwa*; *ba-barībāri* m. *ba-barbara* f. *barībāri* pl. 'of the Bornu nation'; *ba-gobiri* m. *ba-gobira* f. *gobirāwa* pl.; *ba-nufi* m. *banufa* f. *nufawa* pl.; *ba-yahude* m. *ba-yahudia* f. *yahudāwa* pl.; *ba-tūri* m. *baturia* f. *turāwa* pl. 'European' or 'Arab.' *h*) The affix *ka* forms another class of substantives, as: *barantá-ka* 'service,' from *bara* 'to serve'; *nagertá-ka* 'goodness,' from *nāgari* 'good': *sabonta-ka* 'newness,' from *sābo* 'new'; and many more, chiefly supplied by my friend Krause.

Gender.

The Haúsa language differs from most of the Negro languages as regards the distinction of gender. Almost all of them know of no distinction except a physical one, that is, where it exists in nature, and then it is expressed by different

words; the same method also exists in the Haúsa, as will be seen by the following examples. There are but two genders, the masculine and the feminine. They are indicated by—

1. Different words, as: *oba* and *uba* 'father'; *uwa* 'mother'; *wa* 'elder brother'; *yā* and *iya* 'elder sister' and 'female'; *kāne* 'younger brother'; *kānua* 'younger sister'; *mútum* 'man,' 'homo'; *mátše* and *mutúmnia* 'woman'; *rākumi* 'camel'; *tāgua* 'female camel'; *búnsuru* 'he-goat'; *akuya* and *ákwia* 'she-goat'; *dōki* 'horse'; *gōdia* 'mare'; *zakāra* 'cock'; *kāza* 'hen'; *sā* and *bižimi* 'bull'; *sania* 'cow'; *bingi* 'male ass'; *žāki* 'ass'; *tōro* 'male elephant'; *gīwa* 'female elephant'; *da* 'son'; *dīa* 'daughter.'

2. Gender is distinguished by explanatory words, as *mīži* and *nā-mīži* 'male,' and *mátše* 'female'; as: *dā-nāmīži* 'male child'; *yā mátše* 'female' (*ta haïfi dā-nā-mīži; ta haïfi yā mátše; yāya-n-ta fúdu, biú māza biú māta*); *dīa mátše* 'female child=girl'; *da-n zāki* m. *da-n zakainya* f. 'lion's whelp'; *nā-mīžin gādo* m. *mátšen-gādo* 'sow'; *da-n-ūwa* 'mother's child=brother.'

3. Gender is distinguished by different terminations; the masculine may end in any vowel, while the characteristic termination of the feminine is *a*, which, influenced by euphonical laws, may be *ia, ania, ina,* or *unia,* as: *bābe* m. *babānia* f. 'locust'; *mútum* and *mútumé* 'man,' *mutúmnia* 'woman'; *sárīki* and *sérki* 'king,' *saraūnia* 'queen'; *yāro* 'boy,' *yarīnia* 'girl'; *dā* 'son,' *dīa* 'daughter'; *kāne* 'younger brother,' *kānua* 'younger sister'; *marāki* m. *maraka* f. 'calf'; *barāo* m. *baraūnia* f. 'thief'; *karé* m. *kāria* and *kāriya* f. 'dog, bitch'; *bāra* m. *barānia* f. 'servant'; *šarīri* m. *šarīra* f. 'infant'; *māyi* m. 'wizard,' *māyia* f. 'witch'; *zōfo* m. *zōfua* f. 'old'; *gādo* m. 'pig,' *gadōnia* f. 'sow'; *alfādari* m. *alfādara* f. 'mule'; *maizūnúfi* m. *maizūnúfia* f. 'sinner'; *súnsu* m. *súnsua* f. 'bird.'

Number.

The Haúsa has developed a plural form, of a dual no traces are found. The plural is formed in various ways, of which we give here but the most essential, and would refer to the

Grammar (1862), where extensive lists are given of nouns and adjectives. The principal means employed are the suffixes *una, anu, ane*, and their abbreviated form *u*; besides, *ye* shortened into *i*, and the suffixes *ši* and *ki*; and lastly, the reduplication of the final syllable.

Formation of the plural by *a*) *una anu ane*: *rúmbu*, pl. *rumbŭna* 'store-house'; *sanfo*, pl. *sanfŭna* 'basket'; *súrdi*, pl. *surdŭna* 'saddle'; *gánga*, pl. *gangŭna* 'drum'; *ido*, pl. *idānu* 'eye'; *oba*, pl. *obāne* and *ubāne* 'father.' *b*) By *u*: *alžžfa*, pl. *alžžfu* 'sack'; *šiekāra* and *šekāra*, pl. *šekāru* 'year, age'; *tandābĕra*, pl. *tandābĕru* 'dove.' *c*) By *ye*: *kūra*, pl. *kurāye* 'hyæna'; *giwa*, pl. *giwāye* 'elephant'; *kịfi*, pl. *kịfāye* 'fish'; *bérdo* pl. *berdāye* 'pigeon.' *d*) By *i*: *dōrina*, pl. *dōrinai* 'elephant'; *fákara*, pl. *fákarai* 'partridge'; *tāgua* f., pl. *tāguai* 'camel.' *e*) By *še*: *gída*, pl. *gidáše* 'house'; *bisa*, pl. *bisáše* 'creature'; *kūda*, pl. *kudáše* 'fly'; *gadó*, pl. *gadóše* 'bed.' *f*) By *ki*: *kwāna*, pl. *kwānaki* 'day'; *gōna*, pl. *gōnaki* 'farm.' *g*) By means of the reduplication, chiefly of the last syllable: *yāsa*, pl. *yasōsi* 'finger'; *albāda*, pl. *albadōdi*, and *algāba*, pl. *algabōbi* 'seam'; *dáńga*, pl. *dańgōgi* 'garden'; *hiska*, pl. *hiskōki* 'wind'; *tūfa*, pl. *tufōfi* 'cloth.' (Comp. Haúsa Grammar, § 21.) NOTE.—It is hardly necessary to observe that the same word can take two, three, and even more pl. forms; we will give an instance in the word *albása* 'onion,' which can take nearly every form possible: *albása*, sing., pl. *albásai, albásŭna, albásu, albasāye, albāši, albasāše.*

CASES.

The Haúsa has not developed cases, either by terminations or otherwise, in the noun itself; the latter remains unaltered. Cases are known by the position the word occupies in the sentence.

The Genitive is expressed by *na*, demonstrative pronoun; but the *a* is *invariably* dropped, so that *n* only remains; and whenever *na* m. and *ta* f. appear, they retain their original demonstrative meaning of 'that of,' 'those of.' For instance: *rīya-n-Abega* 'Abega's coat'; but *rīga ta Abega* is 'that

which belongs to him, and to no one else,' standing, as it were, in apposition.

The other cases are indicated by prepositions or postpositions. The following paradigm may serve to show the use of them:

Nom. *gída.*
Gen. *gída-n-ubā* 'father's house.'
Dat. *da, ga, ma gída; táfi ga gída.*
Acc. *gída; nī gáni gída-n-sa dagá nēsa.*
Voc. *O* and *ke gída! ke mátše!*

Pronouns.

The Haúsa language has developed six classes of pronouns, viz. Personal, Reflective (Relative), Interrogative, Demonstrative, Indefinite, and Reflexive Pronouns.

	Independent Form.		Compound Form.	
m.	*nā-wa* f.	*tā-wa* 'my, my own'	*má-ni*	*garē-ni* 'to me,' etc.
	nā-ka	*tā-ka* 'thy,' etc.	*mā-ka*	*garē-ka*
	nā-ki	*tā-ki*	*mā-ki*	*garē-ki*
	nā-sa	*nā-ta*	*mā-sa*	*garē-sa* or *garā-sa*
			mā-ta	*garē-ta* or *garā-ta*
pl.	*nā-mu*		*mā-mu*	*garē-mu*
	nā-ku		*mā-ku*	*garē-ku*
	nā-su		*mā-su*	*garē-su*

		Subjective.	Objective.	Adjective.	Possessive.
sing.	1st per.	*na, i-na*	*ni*	*na*	*-na, ta*
	2nd ,, m.	*ka, kai*	*ka*	*ka*	*-n-ka*
	,, ,, f.	*ki, ke*	*ki*	*ki*	*-n-ki*
	3rd ,, m.	*ši (ya)*	*ši (sa)*	*sa*	*-n-sa*
	,, ,, f.	*ta, ita*	*ta*	*ta*	*-n-ta*
pl.	1st ,,	*mu*	*mu*	*mu*	*-n-mu*
	2nd ,,	*ku*	*ku*	*ku*	*-n-ku*
	3rd ,,	*su*	*su*	*su*	*-n-su*

Adjective and Possessive Pronouns, being abbreviated forms of the Absolute or Independent Pronouns, are treated

as suffixes to nouns, and hence we receive the following declension of nouns: *dōki* 'horse'; *dāwaki* 'horses'; *wūzia-n-dōki-na* 'the tail of my horse.'

	Adjective Declension.	Possessive Declension.
sing.	*dōki-na*	*dōki-na*
	dōki-ka	*dōki-n-ka*
	dōki-ki	*dōki-n-ki*
	dōki-sa	*dōki-n-sa*
	dōki-ta	*dōki-n-ta*
pl.	*dōki-mu*	*dōki-n-mu*
	dōki-ku	*dōki-n-ku*
	dōki-su	*dōki-n-su*
	dāwaki 'horses'	
	dāwaki-na	*dāwaki-na*
	dāwaki-ka	*dāwaki-n-ka*
	dāwaki-ki	*dāwaki-n-ki*
	dāwaki-sa	*dāwaki-n-sa*
	dāwaki-ta	*dāwaki-n-ta*
	dāwaki-mu	*dāwaki-n-mu*
	dāwaki-ku	*dāwaki-n-ku*
	dāwaki-su	*dāwaki-n-su*

In the same way are nouns declined with the Independent or Separable Pronouns *nā-wa* m. *tā-wa* f., as: *nāma nā-wa* 'my, *i.e.* my own meat,' and *tāgia tā-wa* 'my, *i.e.* my own cap.'

nāma nā-wa	*tāgia tā-wa*
nāma nā-ka	*tāgia tā-ka*
nāma nā-ki	*tāgia tā-ki*
nāma nā-sa	*tāgia tā-sa*
nāma nā-ta	*tāgia tā-ta*
nāma nā-mu	*tāgia tā-mu*
nāma nā-ku	*tāgia tā-ku*
nāma nā-su	*tāgia tā-su*

Among Personal Pronouns we must mention the word 'self.' It is expressed in Haúsa by the word *kaí* 'head,' accompanied by Personal Pronouns; 'myself' is therefore

'my head'; and when more emphatically pronounced, it takes the verb *da* 'to have,' and *ni da kaí-na* 'I myself' literally means 'I have my head.' The *i* is frequently dropped.

kaí-na	*ni da kaí-na* 'I myself'
kā'-n-ka	*kaí da kā'-n-ka*
kā'-n-ki	*ki da kā'n-ki*
kā'-n-sa	*ši da kā'-n-sa*
kā'-n-ta	*ita* and *ta da kā'-n-ta*
kaí-mu and *kā'-mu*	*mu da kaí-mu* and *kā'-mu*
kā'-n-ku	*ku da kā'-n-ku*
kā'-n-su	*su da kā'-n-su*

Demonstrative Pronouns.

These are numerous, some occurring in one, some in another dialect. *ńga*, com. gend. without a pl. form, 'this, that': *dōki ńga* m. 'this horse'; *mūria ńga* f. 'this voice.' *na* and *nan* 'this, that,' neither distinguishing gender nor number: *yāki nan ba na-béri ba* 'I did not give up that war'; *mútané-n-garí nan* 'the people of that country.' *wó-nan*, referring to persons and things, 'this, that': *wó-nan dā-n-sárŭki ne, ba dā-n-bāwa ne* 'this one is the son of a king, he is not the son of a slave'; *wó-nan rūa bābu kĕāo* 'this *or* that water is not good'; *wó-nan dā-n-kí ne?* 'is this thy son?'; *wó-nan ba wó-nan ba* 'this, not that'; *gīda wó-nan kĕaúta-tše ga tālakāwa* 'this house is a gift to the poor.' *wó-nga* m. *wó-ga* f. *wo-dá-ńga* pl. 'this, that, these, those': *wó-ńga yāro* 'this boy'; *wó-ga yarīnia* 'this girl'; *wó-ga mátše mayīa-tše* 'this woman is a witch.'

NOTE.—The *ena* (*nā-wa*, *nā-ka*, etc.) of Barth, is not as rendered by him, 'this (is) mine,' but 'where is mine?' His *a-wónan* is unintelligible. The *ko-me* (*kōmi*) of Barth is not the "the relative pronoun of *kō-wá*."[1] The difference between the two is, that one refers to persons, the other to things.

[1] Collection of Central African Languages, Compiled and Analysed by Henry Barth, C.B., D.C.L. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1862.

Interrogative Pronouns.

Referring to persons: *wā?* 'who?'; *n-wā?* 'whose?'; *wā ši ne?* 'who is he?'; *tūmaki-n-wa su ke?* 'whose sheep are they?'; *a gída-n-wā ya zám-na?* 'at whose house did he stay?'; *wā ya fadá mā-ka?* 'who told thee?'; *wā-ne*, m., *wá-tše*, f., combined with the substantive verb *ne* and *tše* to be=who is, or who was it that; *wā-ne ya daúka dūkia-mu?* 'who took our goods?'; *wá-tše-tše máťše tā-fārī?* 'who was the first woman?'; *wā-tše ga tšiki-n-mu tā ke da kĕāo?* 'which of us is beautiful?'; *wānē-ne*, m., *wāťše-tše*, f., 'who? who is it?'; *wānē-ne ya fadá mā-su?* 'who, or who was it that told them?'; *wānē-ne sūna-n-ka?* 'what is thy name?'; *wóne*, m., *wótše*, f. 'what? which? what sort or kind?'; *wóne abú mamāki ya-gáni?* 'what wonderful thing did he see?'; *wótše diā-ki ta-na-kíddi?* 'which of thy daughters is playing?' *wóni*, m., *wóta*, f. 'something, a certain'; *wóni-wóni* 'the one, the other'; *wóni mútum šina da māta biú, wóni mútum ši-na da dūkia da yāwa* 'the one had two wives, the other had much property'; *wóta yarīnia ta-táfo na-ná, wóta yarīnia ta-táfi tšan* 'the one girl came here, the other girl went yonder'; *wóta kāsa* 'another country'; *Dīa ta wóni mátše (?)* 'the daughter of the other woman.' *mi?* 'what?'; *mi ya-sāmē-ka?* 'what has happened to thee?'; *mi ka-bā-ni?* 'what do you give me?'; *mi zā-ni yī?* 'what shall I do?'; *wā sūna-n-ka? sūna* 'name, being masculine.'

Relative Pronoun.

There is, in fact, no word in Haúsa which, strictly speaking, answers to qui, quæ, quod; demonstratives supply its place, as in the following sentence: *ba ši sáni ba wónda ya daúki kúrdi-n-sa* 'he did not know who had taken his money.' Compare also the words compounded with the prefix *mai* pl. *māsu-* as: *mai-aiki, māsu-aiki* 'he who works,' they who are working=working man.

Indefinite Pronouns.

Gender is for the most part distinguished in these pro-

nouns; *kō* we regard as an *intensive* particle connected with other pronouns; as a conjunction it will be mentioned below. *kō-wa* see: *nā-wa* and *tā-wa* (remains unaltered) 'any one, every one, all'; *kō-wa ya-tšika bindiga-n-sa* 'every one loaded his gun'; *ba ta-gáni ba kō-wa.* *Kō-wa-ne* 'every one, every person, each, whosoever he is or was'; *kō-wa-ne ya-záka, ya-gáni, ya-tše: ba ni ne ba* 'every one (without any exception) came, looked on, and said: it was not I'; *kō-wa-tše* f. 'the same meaning'; *kō-wo-ne* m. *kō-wo-tše* f. 'every'; *kō-wo-ne dā ši-na-da nā-sa sūna* 'every child had its own name'; *kō-wo-tše sāfia ši-na-yī má-ni-háka* 'every morning he did the same to me'; *kō-wo-da-ne* 'any sort or kind it may be'; *doṅ kō-wo-da-ne māsu-fataú-tši su-na-šīda dagá nan* 'for all sorts of merchants alight at that place'; *kō-yaúše* 'whenever, whensoever, always'; *kō-yaúše i-na-fadá-mā-ka* 'I am constantly telling thee'; *bābu kō-wa* 'no one, no body'; *wó-su* in the dialect of Sokotu, in that of Katsina, *wodá-nsu* 'some,' correlative—some—some; *wodá-n-su su-na-kīwo rākuma, wodá-n-su su-na-nōmo* 'some attended to the camels, some to the field.' So likewise: *wóda-nan, mu wóda-nan úkua n-haïfē-mu ga garí daía* 'we all three were born in one (=the same) country'; *háka* 'so, thus,' is also used for 'the same'; *yāro ya-ši haka magúna-n-zakāra* 'the boy heard the same word of the cock.' It is used like such, such a one; *doṅ dā-daí ba-n-gáni ba háka gúlbi da gírima* 'because I had never before seen a sea of such size.'

Reciprocal Pronoun.

There is but one Reciprocal Pronoun as: *žūna* and *džūna* (*einander*) 'each other'; *su-na-rába kúrdi ga žūna-n-su* 'they divide the money amongst each other'; *su-na fáda da džūna-n-su* 'they fight amongst each other' (Barth).

Adjective.

Adjectives are either simple, that is, such as are derived from no other part of speech, as, *garí* 'good'; *kabri* 'thick'; *taūri* 'hard'; *dōgo* 'tall'; *zōfo* 'old'; or such as are derived

from verbs, and generally of a passive or medio-neutral signification. Of the latter kind there are two classes. The *first* is formed by the prefix *a* before the Infinitive of the verb, as: *a-sāge* 'drawn,' from *sāge* 'to draw'; *a-kwántše* 'laid down,' from *kwántše* 'to lie'; *a-yénke* 'cut,' from *yénke* 'to cut'; *a-šāre* 'swept,' from *šāre* 'to sweep'; *a-wánke* 'washed, cleaned,' from *wánke* 'to wash.'

The *second* class, corresponding in signification to our Perfect Participle Passive, is formed by some kind of irregular reduplication of the last syllable of the verb, and indicates by the terminations the grammatical gender and number; the former, of course, applies to the singular only, because the pl. knows of no distinction of gender. Of such are: *dafáfe* m. *dafáfa* f., pl. *dafáfu* 'cooked,' from *dáfa* 'to cook'; *haïfáfe* m. *haïfáfa* f., pl. *haïfáfu* 'born,' from *haïfi* 'to bear'; *matátše, matáta*, pl. *matátu* 'getödtet' 'dead,' from *mútu* 'to die'; *taušéše, taušáša*, and *tausása*, pl. *taušášu* 'squeezed, pressed, from *taúše*; *wankáke, wankáka*, pl. *wankáku* 'washed, cleansed'; *mu-ka-túbe-rīgŭna mu mā-su-daúda, muka-sa wodá-n-su wankáku* 'we took off our dirty garments, we put on others (gewaschene) clean ones'; *nāma dafáfe da rūa ko gasáše da wūta* 'meat (cooked) boiled in water or roasted by fire'; *masōyi* m. *masōya* f., pl. *masóyu* 'beloved.'

The adjective, both as predicate and attribute, can precede or follow the noun, but the former more generally follows the noun, as: *babá sárĭki* 'a great king,' but *sárĭki babá-ne*. In the pl. *sarākŭna* 'great kings,' and *babábu sarākŭna babábu su-ke* 'the kings are great'; *mútum nā-gari* 'man (the) good,' pl. *mútané nāgarigarú* 'good people'; *mutané farúfarú mutané nā-gari ne* 'white people are good people'; *mátše tā-gari* 'woman (the) good,' pl. *māta nā-garigarú; mátše tā fāri, tā biú* 'the first, the second'; *nā-lēle* m. *tā-lēle* f. 'the beloved.'

The gender is expressed by the termination of the adjective. *zōfo* m. *zōfua* f. pl. *zōfi* 'old'; *sābo* m. *sābua* f. pl. *sābi* 'new'; *fari* m. *fará* f. pl. *farúfarú* 'white'; *gaštēre* m. *gaštēra* f. pl. *gaštēru* 'short'; *rīga-fará*, pl. *rīgŭna faráyu* 'white garment'; *kudūnia kāramá* 'little mountain'; *bindiga gašiēria*, pl. *bindigōgi gaštēru* 'short gun'; *dōgo dūši*, pl. *dogāye duāsu*,

'high rock'; *dōgua-báka tágia* pl. *dōguáye tágiaí* 'high black cap'; *zōfo-n-garí ke nan, mun-šíga ga sábua-dúnia* 'we have entered upon a new world'; *abúbua dúka sábi su ke garē-ni* 'all things were new (ones) to me.'

The adjective is used substantively, and is placed before or after the noun, to denote the attributive relation; always in the genitive. *Yáwa-n-raí* 'length of=long life'; *dōgo-n-dúsi* 'height of=high rock'; *tsáwo-n-kafōni* 'long horns'; *wúzia-n-gášíēria* 'short tail'; *dáki-n-dúfu* 'dark room'; *rúa-n-záfi* 'hot water'; *gída-doguáye* (?) pl. *gidáše dógoyēyu; kúka-n-yáro* 'boy's cry'; *kásа-n-bīko* 'tributary country'; *náma-n-dáši* 'bush-meat.'

The verb *da* 'to have, to possess, be possessed of, to be, to exist, to be inherent in,' and as conjunction 'with,' forms adjectives denoting the possession or existence of the thing the word implies to which it is prefixed; as, *da aṅfáni* 'having use, being of use, with profit, benefit, advantage, advantageous'; *ba-ši-da-aṅfáni* 'it is of no use or profit'; *da yúṅwa* 'having hunger, being hungry'; *su-na mútua da yúṅwa* 'they are dying of hunger'; *da rúa* 'with water=watery'; *da raí* 'alive'; *da háṅkali* 'having sense, sensible'; *da wáyo* 'being cunning'; *ši-na-da wáyo kama-n-kurēge*, 'he is as cunning as a fox'; *da gáši* 'having hair=hairy'; *ná-míši da mátše* 'a man having a wife=married man'; *dúnia ta-na-da sábo-n-wáta* 'the sky having a new moon, *i.e.* there is a new moon'; *mai*, pl. *másu* (in some dialects *mi*), forms adjectives denoting the occupation or doing of the thing which is implied in the noun or verb; *maí-aíki*, pl. *má-su-aíki* 'one who labours=working man'; *maí má-su-kiwo* 'one who leads cattle=herdsman'; *dóki maí-gúdu maítsáwa* 'a swift high horse.'

The negative is expressed by *ba-* (which is repeated as *ba-ba*, whenever it negatives an indicative), *ba ka sáni ba* 'you do not know'; *bábu*, and *máras*, pl. *marásа* 'indicating absence'; *ba ta-da-kěáo ba* 'she is not beautiful'; *bábu úwa da bábu uba* 'without mother and without father=mother and fatherless'; *bábu mai-táfia ga rížia da dére* 'no one goes =there is no going to the well when it is night'; *máras-*

háñkali, pl. *marāsa-háñkali* 'senseless'; *māras-lafia* 'without health.'

NOTE.—The brief exposition of Dr. Müller (in the work above quoted) of the adjective seems to us to be calculated to mislead. He writes, "The adjective remains as a rule unchanged, and only when used substantively it follows the analogy of the noun; it is but in a few cases that the grammatical gender of the substantive to which it belongs is indicated." Against this we must maintain that the adjective invariably agrees with the substantive in gender and number, and that consequently his rule forms the exception, and his exception the rule. It may be that we have to blame ourselves for this misapprehension, as the rule laid down in § 38 of the Haúsa Grammar may not be definite enough. There we say: The characteristic *termination* of the feminine gender is *a*, but influenced by euphonical laws it may be *ia*, *ua*, *una*, *unia*. *Nā-garí ta-garí*, etc., indicating the gender at the *beginning* of the word by *na* and *ta* seem to be the only exceptions of this rule, others however have since been added. In fact all adjectives used substantively, and requiring in English the definite article, or in other words stand in apposition, as *nā-bisa*, *tā-bisa* 'the one above'; *na-fāri*, *na-biú* 'the first, the second,' come under this rule.

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

There being no distinguishing forms to indicate gradation of adjectives, the language endeavours to make up for the deficiency in several ways.

1. By the mere positive, as: *kāri*, from *kāra* 'to add to = addition = more'; *ba na-sō kāri ya ísa* 'I do not want more, it is enough.'

2. *goúma* in the sense of 'rather, it is better, more advisable,' as: *kadán ku-bā-ši, ši-yāro-ne, ši-na-gbatásua, goúma ku-báširēta ga Tebíb* 'if you give it to him, he being but a boy, he may lose it, it is better to give it to Tebib.'

3. *dāma*, signifying (with or without *hānu*) 'the right hand' we may perhaps think of strength = stronger and re-

ferring to health=better; *ka-ši dāma kādán* 'dost thou feel strength=better?' *na-ši dāma ya-fi ši̇a* 'I feel strong, it surpasses yesterday=better than.'

4. *róṅgomi* is used in the same sense, as: *na-ši róṅgomi yāo* 'I feel better to-day.'

5. The comparative is expressed by the verb *fi* 'to surpass, to excel,' with or without *da*, with that in which it takes place, as: *ya-fi-ni da kárĭfi* 'he surpasses me as regards strength=stronger'; *ya fi kurēge da wāyo* 'he is more cunning than a fox'; *mōsi-n-háske ya-fi kāra-n-bindiga da zámri* 'the motion of light surpasses the sound of a gun in swiftness=is swifter'; *mu-na-da abi-n-tši ya-issa ya fi* 'we have bread enough and to spare, *i.e.* more than enough.'

Superlative.

The superlative is expressed by *fi* with *dúka* 'all'; *sárĭki ya-fi su dúka* 'the king is the greatest of all'; *wānē-ne tšíki-n-su ya fi su dúka?* compare Haúsa Grammar, §§ 124–125.

NUMERALS.

The Cardinal Numbers are as follows:

1 *daia.*
2 *biú.*
3 *úku.*
4 *fúdu*, or *húdu.*
5 *biál*, or *biár*, or *biat.*
6 *šida.*
7 *bokoi.*
8 *tokos.*
9 *tāra.*
10 *gōma*, pl. *gōmia.*
11 *goma ša daia, or ša daia.*
12 *goma šabiu*, or *ša biú.*
13 *goma ša úku*, or *ša úku.*
14 *goma ša fudu*, or *ša fudu.*
15 *goma ša bial*, or *ša biál, biar, biat.*
16 *goma ša šida*, or *ša šida.*
17 *goma ša bokoi*, or *ša bokoi.*
18 *goma ša tókos*, or *ša tókos.*
19 *goma ša tara*, or *ša tara.*
20 *ĕširin;* or *āširin;* עֶשְׂרִים; عشرين
21 *ĕširin da daia.*
22 *ĕširin da biú.*
23 *ĕširin da úku.*
24 *ĕširin da fudu.*
25 *ĕširin da bial, biar, biat.*
26 *ĕširin da šida.*
27 *ĕširin da bokoi.*
28 *ĕširin da tókos.*
29 *ĕširin da tāra.*
30 *talátin* ثلاثين

31 *talátin da daía.*
32 *talatin da biu.*
33 *talátin da úku.*
34 *talatin da fúdu.*
35 *talatin da bial, biar, biat.*
36 *talatin du šída.*
37 *talatin da bokoí.*
38 *talatin da tókos.*
39 *talatin da tāra.*
40 *arbaïn* אַרְבָּעִים ; اَرْبَعين
41 *arbaïn da daía.*
42 *arbaïn da biú.*
43 *arbaïn da úku.*
44 *arbaïn da fúdu.*
45 *arbaïn da biál, biar, biát.*
46 *arbaïn da šida.*
47 *arbaïn da bokoí.*
48 *arbaïn da tókos.*
49 *arbaïn da tāra.*
50 *hamsin* חֲמִשִּׁים ; خَمْسين
51 *hamsin da daía.*
52 *hamsin da biú.*
53 *hamsin da úku.*
54 *hamsin da fúdu.*
55 *hamsin da bial, biar, biat.*
56 *hamsin da šída.*
57 *hamsin da bokoí.*
58 *hamsin da tókos.*
59 *hamsin da tókos.*
60 *setin* שִׁשִּׁים ; سيتين
61 *setin da daía.*
62 *setin da biú.*
63 *setin da úku.*
64 *setin da fúdu.*
65 *setin da bial, biar, biat.*
66 *setin da šída.*
67 *setin da bokoí.*
68 *setin da tókos.*
69 *setin da tāra.*
70 *sebaïn*, or *sabaïn* שִׁבְעִים ; سَبعين
71 *sebaïn da daía.*
72 *sebaïn da biú.*
73 *sebaïn da úku.*
74 *sebaïn da fúdu.*
75 *sebaïn da bial, biar, biat.*
76 *sebaïn da šida.*
77 *sebaïn da bokoí.*
78 *sebaïn da tókos.*
79 *sebaïn da tāra.*
80 *tamānin* تَمانين
81 *tamānin da daīa.*
82 *tamānin da biu.*
83 *tamānin da úku.*
84 *tamānin da fúdu.*
85 *tamānin da bial, biar, biat.*
86 *tamānin da šída.*
87 *tamānin da bokoí.*
88 *tamānin da tókos.*
89 *tamānin da tara.*
90 *tisaïn* תִּשְׁעִים ; تسعين
91 *tisaïn da daía.*
92 *tisaïn da biú.*
93 *tisaïn da úku.*
94 *tisaïn da fúdu.*
95 *tisaïn da bial, biar, biat.*
96 *tisaïn da šída.*
97 *tísaïn da bokoí.*
98 *tisaïn da tókos.*
99 *tisaïn da tāra.*
100 *darí.*
101 *darí da daía.*
110 *darí da gōma.*
111 *darí da gōmā ša daía.*

120 *darí da ĩširin.*
121 *darí da ĩširin da daía.*
130 *darí da talātin.*
131 *darí da talātin da daía.*
140 *darí da arbaïn.*
141 *darí da arbain da daía.*
150 *darí da hámsin.*
151 *darí da hamsin da daía.*
152 *darí da hamsin da biú.*
160 *darí da setin.*
161 *darí da setin da daía.*
170 *darí da sebain.*
171 *darí da sebain da daía.*
180 *darí da tamānin.*
181 *darí da tamānin da daía.*
190 *darí da tísaïn.*
191 *darí da tísaïn da daía.*
200 *mētin* מֵאתַיִם ; ميتين (also, *dšaugu biú* and *darí biú*).
201 *mētin da daía* (*dšaugu biu da daía*) *darí biú da daía.*
210 *mētin da gōma.*
220 *mētin da ĩširin*, or *ãširin.*
230 *metin da talatin.*
240 *metin da arbaïn.*
250 *metin da hamsin.*
260 *metin da setin.*
270 *metin da sebaïn*, or *sabaïn.*
280 *metin da tamānin.*
290 *metin da tísaïn.*
300 *darí úku.*
301 *darí úku da daía.*
310 *darí úku da gōma.*
311 *darí úku da gōma ša daía.*
312 *darí úku da goma ša biú.*
319 *darí úkú da gōmo ša tāra.*
400 *darī fúdu ; arba minya.*
401 *darí fúdu da daía.*
410 *darí fuda da goma.*
500 *darí bial*, and *hamsinonīa;* خَمْسَمية *hamsa minya.*
600 *darí šída.*
700 *darí bokoí.*
800 *darí tókos.*
900 *darí tāra.*
1000 *dúbu*, or *samber*, or *zamber.*
1001 *dubu da daía*, or *samber da daía.*
1010 *dubu da goma, or samber da goma.*
1110 *dubu darí da goma.*
1111 *dubu daía da gōma ša daía.*
1999 *duba darí da tísaïn da tāra.*
2000 *dubu biú*, or *ālfin*, אַלְפַּיִם ; الفَرين
2001 *dubu biú da daía*, or *alfin da daía.*
2010 *dubu biú da goma*, or *alfin da gōma.*
3000 *dubu ūku*, or *zamber úku*, or *talāta.*
3001 *dubu úku da daía*, or *zamber úku da daía.* or *talāta da daía.*
3010 *dubu úku da goma*, or *samber úku da goma*, or *talāta da goma.*
4000 *dubu fúdu*, or *samber fúdu.*
4001 *dubu fudu da daía.*

4010 *dubu fudu da goma*, or *zamber fudu da goma.*
5000 *dubu bial* (*biar, biat*), or *zamber bial.*
5001 *dubu bial da daia*, or *zamber bial da daia.*
5010 *dubu bial da goma*, or *zamber bial da gōma.*
6000 *dubu šida*, or *zamber šida.*
7000 *dubu bokoi*, or *zamber bokoi.*
8000 *dubu tókos*, or *zamber tókos.*
9000 *dubu tāra*, or *zamber tāra.*
10000 *dubu goma*, or *zamber goma.*
20000 *dubu iširin*, or *zamber iširin.*
30000 *dubu talátin*, or *zamber talátin.*
40000 *dubu arbain*, or *zamber arbain.*
50000 *dubu hámsin*, or *zamber hamsin.*
60000 *dubu setin*, or *zamber setin.*
70000 *dubu sebain*, or *zamber sebain.*
80000 *dubu tamānin*, or *zamber tamānin.*
90000 *dubu tisaïn*, or *zāmber tisaïn.*
200000 *dubu darí biú*, or *zamber darí biú.*
300000 *dubu darí úku*, or *zamber darí úku.*
400000 *dubu darí fúdu*, or *zamber darí fúdu.*
500000 *dubu dari bial*, or *zamber darí bial.*
600000 *dubu darí šida*, or *zamber darí šida.*
700000 *dubu darí bokoi, or zamber darí bokoi.*
800000 *dubu darí tókos*, or *zamber darí tókos.*
900000 *dubu darí tāra*, or *zamber darí tāra.*
1000000 *dubu darí goma.*
2000000 *dubu darí goma biú.*
3000000 *dubu darí goma úku.*
4000000 *dubu darí goma fúdu.*
5000000 *dubu dari goma bial* (*biar, biat*).
6000000 *dubu darí goma šida.*
7000000 *dubu darí goma kokoi.*
9000000 *dubu darí goma tāra.*

NOTE 1.—In the common way of counting, the numerals from 11 to 19 appear in a contracted form; as, instead of *goma ša daia*, merely *ša daóa*, 11, *ša biú* 12, *ša úku* 13, etc.

NOTE 2.—18 and 19; 28 and 29, and in the same way all decades up to 98 and 99, are also expressed in a different manner; as, *iširin biú bābu* 'twenty less two,' and *iširin daia bābu*, or *bābu daia* 'twenty less one'; *talatin biu bābu* 'thirty less two,' etc.

For the tenths from 20 to 90, some use a plural form of *gōma*, 10; as, *gōmia*, with the units to 9, and say: *gōmiā biú* 20; *gomia úku* 30; *gomia fúdu* 40; *gomia bial* 50; *gomia šida* 60; *gomia bokói* 70; *gomia tókos* 80; *gomia tāra* 90. There can be no doubt but that this method is the *original* Haúsa way of counting, as it is still used among slaves and the lower classes; and that the other method has been adopted by the higher classes, and especially by merchants, from the Arabs.

Ordinal Numbers.

The *Ordinals* are formed from the Cardinals by means of the prefixes *na* and *ta*, which combine two offices, viz. the formation of the Ordinals, and the distinction of Gender. 'The *first*' has no connexion with the Cardinal '*daía*,' but is irregular, as, *nafāri* m., *tafari* f., and is probably derived from the verb *fāra* 'to begin,' hence, as it were, the beginning=the first. In this sense *nafāri* is 'the first-born son,' and *tafāri* the 'first-born daughter.' When it signifies superiority in rank and position, 'the second,' unless followed by other Ordinals, is not *nabiú*, but *nabāya*, derived from *bāya* 'back,' 'behind,' that is, the one that comes after another, or is below in rank or position, as it were, 'the one behind,' and hence, also, 'the last.'

The 1st m.	*na fāri*,	f. *ta fāri*.
2nd m.	*na biu*,	f. *ta biu*, and *na bāya, ta bāya*.
3rd m.	*na úku*,	f. *ta úku*.
4th m.	*na fudu*,	f. *ta fúdu*.
5th m.	*na bial*,	f. *ta bial*.
6th m.	*na šida*,	f. *ta šida*.
7th m.	*na bokoi*,	f. *ta bókoi*.
8th m.	*na tókos*,	f. *ta tókos*.
9th m.	*na tāra*,	f. *ta tāra*.
10th m.	*na gōma*,	f. *ta gōma*.
11th m.	*na gōma ša daía*,	f. *ta gōma ša daía*.
12th m.	*na gōma ša biú*,	f. *ta gōma ša biú*.

NOTE.—In the numbers above ten, a preference is manifested in the language for the use of the Cardinals instead of the Ordinals, though the latter do also occur; it is very likely, however, merely from inattention.

ADVERBIAL NUMBERS.

The Adverbial Numbers, in answer to the question, How often? are formed from the Cardinals by means of the word *sāa* or *sā* 'time,' prefixed. The second *a* is changed into *o* or *u*, as *saadaīa*, or *saudaīa*:

sau daīa or *sao daia*, 'once.'
sau biú, 'twice.'
sau úku, 'three times.'
saú fudu, 'four times.'
saú bīál, biár, biat, 'five times.'
sau šida, 'six times.'
sau bokoí, 'seven times.'
sau tokos, 'eight times.'
sau tāra 'nine times.'
sau gōma, 'ten times.'
sau gōma ša daīa, 'eleven times.'
sau gōma ša biú, 'twelve times.'
sau šširin, 'twenty times.'
sau talátin, 'thirty times.'
sau arbaïn, 'forty times.'
sau hamsin, 'fifty times.'
sau sētin, 'sixty times.'
sau sebaïn, 'seventy times.'
sau tamānin, 'eighty times.'
sau tisaïn, 'ninety times.'
sau darí, 'hundred times.'

DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERALS.

The Distributive Numerals in answer to the question 'how many to each?' are expressed by a repetition of the Cardinals, as, *ya-aikēsu biu biu* 'he sent them two and two'; *ya-bada daīa daīa ga kōwanēnsu* 'he gave one to each of them.'

FRACTIONAL NUMBERS.

No other Fractional Numbers have been discovered by the writer than such as may be formed by the word *šāše* 'half,' more properly, 'part or portion'; as, *ya-bāni šāše* 'he gave me half'; and *sun-bāni šāše-n-úku* 'they gave me (the third part) three parts.'

VERB.

There are in Haúsa, like in every other language, Primitive verbs, as: *tšī* 'to eat'; *šā* 'to drink'; *žī* (*džī*) 'to feel,' and Derivatives. We might also divide them into mono- and polysyllabic verbs, as, *róko, nōma, dāwoyo, fáskare, etc.*, etc. The nature of their different component parts has not as yet been ascertained by us; we therefore refrain from offering any conjecture; of so much, however, we are satisfied that polysyllabic verbs will never be found consisting of two or more verbs, like in the Yoruba, Ewe, and Mende languages; if such were the case, it would have been discovered long since. We shall never find a sentence in Haúsa like in Mende, where we say: 'go lay hand pipe on come with it me to,' for 'fetch me the pipe.'

Substantive Verbs.

The substantive verbs are *ne, ke,* and *tše;* they appear in no other form, that is, there is no *eram* and *fui* connected with them. *Ne* is masc. *tše* fem. and *ke* is com. gender, and, besides this, is always preceded by the Subjective Pronouns, like the verb in general. It is necessary to mention (it being of importance in the formation of the Tenses) that the same verbs also appear, as *na, ka,* and *ta,* in the dialect of Sokotu, Gobir, and probably in others.[1] It will be observed that these verbs only figure in the 3rd person, *ke* only making an exception. Some examples: *ubā-n-ka sárīki ne?* 'as to thy father, is he a king?'; *aa, tālaka ne, ba sárīki ši-ke* 'No, No, he is a poor man, he is not a king'; *ni ne ba kaí ka-ke* 'it is I, it is not thou'; *Kaí mūgu maí-māgani ka ke* 'O thou art a bad doctor!'; *Yāro nan kārami ne; yarīnia nan kārama tše. Ní ba kūra ba tše ni uwā-n-ki tše. Ba-hauše ne? ī ba-haúše ši ke. Yánzu kaí dā ka-ke, ba bāwa ba.* See Dr. Müller, p. 229, in the work above quoted.

[1] This difference in the use of *na, ka, ta,* instead of *ne, ke, tše,* is a fruitful source of confusion in fixing the Tenses, because in writing *ka* for *ke* you form a perfect instead of a present tense. You must always remember on reading your manuscript from whose lips you copied; had I remembered that a ba-Gobir spoke the sentence: *da bāki-suka zákka* (Haúsa Gram. p. 139), I should have written *su-ke,* and the sentence would be correct.

Formation of Verbal Stems.

The formation of verbal stems may be said to take place in several ways: 1) by changes taking place in the form of the verb itself, and 2) by the use of separate verbs, and 3) by the addition to, or combination of particles, with the verb in its primary form.

I. *Internal* changes.

1. This sort of change takes place by changing the final vowel of the *transitive* verb into *u*, *o*, to form stems of an *intransitive* medio-passive or reflective signification, as: *búda* 'open'; *búdu* 'to be open'; *dāde* 'increase'; *dádu* 'to be increased, enlarged'; *góda* 'to show'; *gódu* 'to be seen, to appear'; *gáma* 'to join'; *gámu* 'be joined, join oneself'; *gbōye* 'to hide'; *gbōyu* 'be hidden, hide oneself'; *mátse* 'to squeeze'; *mátsu* 'to be squeezed'; *rássa* 'to lose, miss'; *rassu* 'be lost, etc.'; *nāde* 'to roll or fold up'; *nadu, ya nādu tšiki-n-tabérma* 'he rolled himself up in a mat.'

2. Changes into *o* point to different meanings in the verb, for instance, as regards motion to or from a place, etc., etc. *aíke* 'to send *to*'; *aíko* 'to send *from*'; *daúka* 'to take'; *daúko* 'take up'; *dāwoya* 'return *to*'; *dāwoyo* 'return *from*'; *kōma* 'to *go* back'; *kōmo* 'to *come* back'; *fíta* 'to *go* out'; *fíto* 'to *come* out'; *šíga* 'to enter, go in'; *šígo* 'to come in'; *šída* 'to ascend'; *šīdo* 'to descend'; *kōya* 'to teach'; *kōyo* 'to learn'; German lehren and lernen; *kōya-n-magána kanuri da wūya* 'to teach the Kánuri language is difficult'; *kōyo-n-magána Eńliš da wūya* 'to learn the English language is difficult.'

3. Another class of verbs, varying more or less the meaning of the simple form, may be mentioned at this place. The examples will best explain the nature of them. *kaí* 'to carry, to take to, up'; *kāo* and *kạ̄wo* 'to bring, bring back'; *kirā* 'to call, to name'; *kirāwo* and *kirāye* 'to call for one, to summon'; *žā* 'to draw,' and *žīāye*; *šā* 'to drink,' German 'drinken'; *šaínye* 'drink greedily, swallow eagerly,' German 'saufen'; *tši* 'to eat,' German essen; *tšaínye* 'to eat greedily, to destroy completely,' German 'fressen'; *ba su-ka-beri ba har*

su-ka tšaínya garí nan dúka 'they did not leave until they had destroyed the whole town'; *tāya* (*taíya*) *taínye* 'to help.'

4. *Kāwa, sáma, saúya* and *rikída*, form verbal stems of an intransitive signification. *I-na kāwa tālaka* 'I am becoming poor'; *kāwa-gōni* 'become clever'; *ta-na-kāwa zúnsua* 'she transformed herself into a bird'; *ī-na-sō-n-kāwo mállami, doń ina sō-n-kōya ga mútané-n-kāsa-mu* 'I wish to become a priest, that I may teach the people of our country.'

II. Composition of words, verbs with nouns and adjectives to form verbal stems of a transitive meaning; as well as intransitives.

1. *yī* 'to do, to make'; *yī-magána* 'to speak'; *yī-tāya* 'to help'; *yī-kūka* 'to cry'; *yī-gírma* 'to make or to become great, intr. to grow'; *yī-máza* and *yī-zámri* 'to make haste, be quick'; *yī-yāwa* 'to multiply.'

2. The verb *ží* (*dží* 'to feel, to hear, to obey'), combined with nouns and adjectives, forms verbal stems of a passive and reflexive signification. *ží-magána* 'to hear, understand, listen to, *i. e.* obey (the word)'; *ží-tsōro* 'to fear'; *ží-kūmia* 'to be ashamed'; *ží-taúsāyi* 'to be compassionate'; *ží-lāfia* 'to be well, in health.'

3. *Sā*, 'causative, to make or cause to do'; *Ní sa ši ši táfi tšíki-n-žírĭgi* 'I will make him go in the boat.'

III. From Simple or Primitive verbs others are derived by adding certain particles to the root; in this way some modification and extension of meaning is expressed, in the same way as in the Hiphil, Piel, etc., in the Hebrew. These suffixes or particles are: *da, šie* (*še*), *yes, yésda* and *asda, sā*, and *ta*. By these means we obtain the following seven forms of the verb: 1st *bā*, 2nd *bāda*, 3rd *bāšie*, 4th *bāyés* and *báyēsua*, 5th *basa*, 6th *bayesda*, 7th *tsōrāta*. The number of forms produced depends upon the nature of the primitive verb; in some verbs special forms are altogether wanting, in others only a few forms are in use, and others again appear in every form the verb is capable of producing. The same difference prevails with regard to the signification of the verb in the separate forms. In our Grammar of 1862, in the Dictionary of 1876, and in the Reading-

Book of 1877, we have fully explained these forms; and although more have since been collected, no *new* forms have been brought to light; we will therefore not dwell upon them now any longer, but content ourselves by giving the signification of one verb through every form.

I. *tsaí* or *tsaye* (intransitive) 'to stay, stop, remain at a place.'

II. *tsaída* (reflexive) 'to place oneself, to make a stand against.'

III. *tsaíšiē* (causative) 'to cause to stand, to detain, to restrain.'

IV. *tsāyés, tsayēsua* 'to stop on one's own accord'; also (transitive) 'to hinder, to prevent.'

V. *tsaísa* (transitive), *ya-tsaísa-sa* 'he stopped him.'

VI. *tsāyésda* 'to detain by force, to hinder, to oppose': *kō-wone zāši tsāyésda wónan mútum zā-ā-kášše-ši* 'any one that shall detain this man by force shall be put to death.'

VII. The seventh form is made from nouns and adjectives by the suffix *ta*, as: *tsōrāta* 'to frighten,' from *tsōro* 'fear'; *taúrāta* 'to harden,' from *taūri* 'hard'; *šāwōrāta* 'to hold a consultation,' from *šāwōra* 'consultation, deliberation'; *bārata* 'to serve, do service,' from *bāra* 'servant' (Barth); *gáskiāta* 'to assure, persuade,' from *gáskia* 'truth'; *dāriāta* 'to ridicule,' from *dāria* 'laugh, laughter'; *kūrúmta* (intransitive) 'to become dumb'; *makáfta* 'to be or become blind' (it is doubtful as to whether this verb ought to be inserted at this place; it has no connexion as regards derivation with preceding forms, neither with the same class of verbs).

Frequentative and Intensive verbs. They are formed by a repetition of the whole word, and by a reduplication of the first syllable, as: *ši-na táfia ši-na táfia* 'he is going on, going on=always walking and walking=walking very far'; *ya-šā ya-ša har ya-sáma māras-háńkali* 'he was drinking, drinking, till he lost his senses'; *búgebúge* 'to strike often, repeatedly, severely'; *tšínia tšínie=yawa-n-tši* 'eating very much'; *lālabe* and *fáfage* 'feeling much about with the hand in the dark, in search of something'; *tšátšage* 'to break to pieces'; *tátara* 'to pick up, out, much, gather together'; the rapid

action of a bird picking up seeds; *sósoke* 'to pierce much, fiercely,' etc.

Moods.

Moods are expressed by particles or conjunctions which produce no change in the *form* of the verb. These particles are: *en* 'that, in order that,' embracing the 1st pers. sing. 'that I,' etc.: *en kōya mútané* 'that I may teach . . .'; *kadán nī-sā-háńkali-na* 'if I set my mind on it.' *saí* 'I must needs go': *saí nī tafi, nī kirā maí-māgani.* All these are forms of the Future tense. We may say that the Subjunctive is expressed by the Future. So also in the Negative, *káda* 'lest, that not': *káda sū-mutu* 'that they should not die.'

Permissive or Concessive are implied in the verbs *kan can*, 'be used to, in the habit of,' and *īya* 'be able': *ki kan táfi, ki kan tši* 'thou canst go, thou canst eat.' The Negative is expressed by the verb *kī* 'to refuse': *ta-kī zákua* 'she refused=would not come.'

Infinitive.

The Infinitive is, as said above, the mere stem of the verb. *ní táfi kwāna* 'I go to sleep'; *su-n-tafi tši-n-tuo-n-su* 'they go to eat their food.' It invariably follows verbs that do not express a complete predicate, as: *fāra gúdu* 'begin to run'; *ba ya kāra ba kūka* 'he did not continue to cry=he cried no more'; *sū-táfo su tāya-mu* 'they come, they help us=to help us.'

Imperative.

The Imperative is declined in person, number, and gender by means of the subjective pronouns *ka, ki, ku táfi.* It is only when person, number, and gender are otherwise expressed that they can be omitted before the verbal form: *ya tše máni, táfi* 'he said *to me*, go,' but *ya tše, ka táfi* 'go thou.' The language is very distinct on this point, in exhibiting gender and number; so much so, that traces of it are found even in interjections, as: *kái yāro!* 'O thou boy!'; *ke mátše!* 'O thou woman!'; *ku táfo mu kāmu kīfi* 'come (ye), let us catch fish.'

Tenses.

The Haúsa has developed five tenses—the Aorist, Present, Imperfect, Perfect, and Future. The Present, Perfect, and Future tenses appear in a finite and a participial form, and the latter is inflected in person, number, and gender, and governs an object, and expresses all the relations of the finite verb.

I. The Aorist is the simplest form of the verb, consisting of the personal pronoun and the verb; it exhibits a momentary event, without regard to present, past, or future time. The passive is formed by the prefix *a*:

Active.

sing. 1st per.		*na-ba* 'I give.'	pl. *mu-ba* 'we give.'
2nd ,,	m.	*ka-ba*	*ku-ba*
,, ,,	f.	*ki-ba*	*su-ba*
3rd ,,	m.	*ya-ba*	
,, ,,	f.	*ta-ba*	

Passive.

a-ba-ni 'mir ist gegeben, I am given.'	
a-ba-ka	
a-ba-ki	*a-ba-mu*
a-ba-sa	*a-ba-ku*
a-ba-ta	*a-ba-su*

II. The Imperfect and the Future Perfect are expressed by the same form. The characteristic sign of this tense consists in the letter *n*, an abbreviation of the *na* of the Present tense, affixed to the subjective pronouns; but it is only to the 2nd person, in the singular, and all the persons of the plural that can take the *n* in the Active, the other persons are the same as in the Aorist. This *n* appears again in the Passive form, combined with the *a*, characteristic of the Passive, in the form of a prefix *an* (likewise also *aṅ*, *am*):

	Active.	Passive.
sing.	*na-ba-*	*an-aíkē-ni* 'I was sent.'
	ka-ba-	*an-aíkē-ka* m. 'thou,' etc.
	ki-n-	*aṅ-aíkē-ki* f. ,,
	ya-	*an-aíkē-ši* 'he was,' etc.
	ta-	*an-aíkē-ta* 'she,' etc.
pl.	*mu-n-*	*an-aíkē-mu*
	ku-n-	*an-aíkē-ku*
	su-n-	*an-aíkē-su*

Present.

III.—The Present tense is formed in two ways: both substantive-verbs *na* (=*ne*) and *ke* (=*ka*) are used in the Active voice, combined with the subjective pronouns; and in the Passive voice, combined with *a*, they form the prefixes *a-na* and *a-ke*. In the Participial form the verb undergoes some changes, that is, the Finite form is changed into the Participial; hence, *táfi* becomes *táfia*, and *tafia-wa*, *zámna* becomes *zámne*; *fita—fítawa*; *bāyes—báyēsua*, etc.

	Active.	
	Finite Form.	Participial Form.
sing.	*i-na-tafi*	*i-na-tafia* or *tafia-wa*
	ni-ke-táfi	*ni-ke-tšéwa*
	ka-na-táfi	*ka-na-táfowa*
	ka-ke-táfi	*ka-ke-fítowa*
	ki-na-táfi	*ki-na-žī-n kūmia*
	ki-ke-táfi	*ki-ke-da háṅkali*
	ši-na (ya-na) táfi	*ši-na-zámne*
	ši-ke-táfi	*ši-ke-yī*
	ta-na-táfi	*ta-na-táyēsua*
	ta-ke-táfi	*ta-ke-yī-n-kūka*
pl.	*mu-na-táfi*	*mu-na-zāmne*
	mu-ke-táfi	*ku-ke-kāmawa*
	ku-na-táfi	*ku-na-fārawa*
	ku-ke-táfi	*ku-ke-kwāna*
	su-na-táfi	*su-na-da-abin da su ke so*
	su-ke-táfi	*ku-ke-da kúrdi*

PASSIVE.

a-na-bā-ni	*a-ke-bā-ni* 'I am given.'
a-na-bā-ka	*a-ke-bā-ka*
a-na-bā-ki	*a-ke-bā-ki*
a-na-bā-sa	*a-ke-bā-ši* or *sa*
a-na-bā-ta	*a-ke-bā-ta*
a-na-bā-mu	*a-ke-bā-mu*
a-na-bá-su	*a-ke-bā-su*
a-na-bā-ku	*a-ke-bā-ku*

Perfect.

IV. The Perfect Tense is formed by combining the particle *ka* (=*ke*, also *ka* in some dialects) with the Subjective Pronouns. The first person forms an exception, being *ni-na* instead of *ni-ka*, as in the expression *ni-na-kášší ē Dodo!* 'I have killed Dodo!'; *Kai! mi ni-na-yi?* 'O! what have I done?' The Passive is formed by the prefix *a-ka* in analogy with *a-na* of the Present Tense.

ACTIVE VOICE.

Sing.	1st Pers.	*ni-na-bāda* 'I have given up.'
	2nd Pers. m.	*ka-ka-tšé háka* 'thou hast said so.'
	2nd Pers. f.	*ki-ka-mäida* 'thou hast turned.'
	3rd Pers. m.	*ši-ka-tsaísa-sa* 'he has detained him.'
	3rd Pers. f.	*ta-ka-kāwásda* 'she has removed.'
Pl.		*mu-ka-taršiē-ši* 'we have overtaken him.'
		ku-ka-kaúda dōka 'ye have taken away the law.'
		su-ka-tsāyésda-su 'they have detained them.'

PASSIVE.

a-ka-bāda má-ni	*a-ka-bāyés da-ni*
a-ka-bāsiē-ši	*aka-bā-mu*
a-ka-bāyés garē-sa	*a-ka-bā-ku*
a-ka-bāsa-sa	*a-ka-bā-su*

Participial Form.

V. This form might probably bear another name, as Pluperfect or Indefinite Past Tense. We will not quarrel about the name. It is formed by a combination of the characteristic form of the Imperfect and Perfect Tenses, together with the ever-necessary Subjective Pronouns, and is in the Active *n-ka*, and in the Passive, where the same combination will be observed, *an-ka*, *aṅ-ka*, *am-ka*, and presents the following form:

ACTIVE VOICE.

Sing. *ni-ka, da ni-ka yī háka* 'when I had done so.'
ka-nka yī wónan 'thou having done this.'
ki-nka, mi-ki-nka tše? 'what hast thou been saying?'
ši-nka-aikē-ni 'he having sent me.'
ta-nka-bāda-má-sa 'when she had given him.'
mu-nka-zámna nan 'having resided there.'
ku-nka, mi ku-nka tše? 'what have ye been saying?'
su-nka-bāši bāyi biú ya táfi 'when they had given him two slaves he departed.'

PASSIVE.

aṅ-ka-zūba-ni
aṅ-ka-zūba-ka
aṅ-ka-káššē-ši
aṅ-ka-sāyés-ta
aṅ-ka-kirā-mu
aṅ-ka-kirā-ku
aṅ-ka-sāyésda-su

Future.

VI. The Future Tense is formed in two ways, 1) The verbal stem has the final vowel of the Subjective Pronoun prefixed (not always distinctly perceptible) which we express by the lengthening of the final vowel, regarding it as a contracted form; we thus obtain the scheme for the future, *nī, kā, kī, šī, tā, mū, kū, sū.*

2. The verb *zā* (from *zūa* 'to go'), *followed* by the Pronouns, is used, as: *zā-ni, zā-ka, zā-ki, zā-ši, zā-ta; zā-mu, zā-*

ku, *zā-su*, and in the Passive form *zā* is followed by *ā* combined with the verb, as: *zā-a-bā-ni* 'I shall be given,' 'man wird mir geben.'

	Active.	Passive.
Sing.	*nī-bā*	*zā-ā-bā-ni*
	kā-bā	*zā-ā-bā-ka*
	kī-bā	*zā-ā-bā-ki*
	šī-bā	*zā-ā-bā-ši*
	tā-bā	*zā-ā-bā-ta*
Pl.	*mū-bā*	*zā-ā-bā-mu*
	kū-bā	*zā-ā-bā-ku*
	sū-bā	*zā-ā-bā-su*

Participial Form.

The verb undergoes the same changes as in the Present Tense Participial form; we obtain hence the following inflection: *zā-ni-táfia, dawoyowa, kāma* or *kāmawa, zā-ka-táfia*, etc., etc.

Prepositions and Postpositions.

The Prepositions in the Haúsa language are like the Prepositions in the Semitic languages of nominal origin; they take (with the exception of a few, as: *a* (=*ga*) *da, ga, ma* 'to, with, at, by, for,' etc., etc.) the substantive to which they belong in the genitive, and can throughout be combined with the Possessive Suffixes and the Objective Pronouns.

1. *a*, 'in, at.' In the Katsina dialect it occurs but rarely, *ga* being used for it, *da* 'with,' instrumental; *da wūka* 'with a knife'; *da sáńfo* 'with a basket.' For, *yayī-ši da-ni* 'he did it for me'; *ya mútu da-mu* 'he died for us'; *ga* 'to'; *ya yī má-su nāgarí* 'he treated them well'; *ya tše ga abōki-nsa* 'he said to his friend'; *ya záka ga nā-sa* 'he came to his own'; *ma* 'to, for'; *ga wūri nan* 'to this place'; *ya yī roko má-sa* 'he prayed for him'; *dagá* is a combined preposition, but

used as a simple one, *from* and *to* depending on the kind of motion from or to or rest at a place; *garē*, originally a substantive, meaning 'place, side, part, etc., etc.,' always or mostly accompanied by other Prepositions; *dagá garē-ni* 'from me'; *ya hāwa bisa ga, ya šīdo dagá bisa* 'he went up, he come down'; *su táfi nēsa dagá garē-mu* 'they went far away from us'; *su táfo kúsa garē-mu.*

2. Substantives are employed as Prepositions, but they generally maintain their original character, taking one of the original Prepositions or Postpositions with them. The principal of these nouns are (members of the human body), *bāya* 'back=behind,' after adv. *ya-táfi gába ina bī-nsa dagá bāya* 'he went before, I went behind him'; *bisa* 'top, summit=on, upon, above'; *ya-hāwa bisa, na šīda kāsa* 'he went up, I down'; *tsáka* and *tsakāni* 'midst, middle=between'; *ba ya-sā-bambámta ba tsakāni-mu da su* 'he made no difference between us and them'; *fúska* 'face, front=before'; *ya-táfi gába-ga fúska-nsa* 'he went before him'; *gába* 'front, chest=before'; *ya ažīē-sa gába garē-sa* 'he laid it before him'; *kāsa* 'ground, earth=down'; *ya kwāna kāsa* 'he laid himself down'; *tšíki* 'belly, inside=in, into'; *wanē-ne-ši-na šíga tšíki-n-rīžia* 'who is it that is going into the well?'; *ni, na šíga ga tšíki-n-gída* 'I, I am entering in the house'; *kalkáši* 'bottom, lower part=under, down'; *su yī-gína ga kalkáši-n-kāsa káma-n-kurēge* 'they are digging under ground like foxes.'

Adverbs.

What we said of Prepositions may be said of Adverbs; the same word appears sometimes as an Adverb, sometimes as a Preposition, and sometimes as a Conjunction. There are pure Adverbs, and, on the other hand, the adverbial notion is expressed by nouns, exactly as is the case with Prepositions. We will follow the usual division of Adverbs of place, of time, and of manner, and give examples of a few, for the rest we must refer to the Grammar.

Pure Adverbs are: *baí* and *baíbaí* 'backwards, back';

kumá 'again'; *bánza* 'in vain, foolishly'; *máza* and *máza-máza* 'quickly'; *dabám* 'separately, by itself'; *háka* 'thus, in this way and manner.'

1. Of place: *nan* 'here'; *tšán* 'there, yonder'; *dagánan, dagá tšan* 'here, at this place, there at that place'; so also, *wūri nan-tšan, kúsa* 'near;' *nēsa* 'far'; *wōše* 'outside'; *tāre da* 'together with'; *énna* and *énda* 'where and whence.'

2. Of time:—*ábadá* 'for ever'; *dādaí* 'heretofore, never before'; *har*, or *hal* 'until'; *kāna* 'before, than'; *tun* 'since'; *tunda* 'while, while as yet'; *yánzu* 'now'; *yaúše* 'when.'

(*a*) Compounds with *da*:—*da-fāri* 'at first'; *da-bāya* 'afterwards'; *da sāfe* 'in the morning'; and, *da sāfia ta yī* 'when morning came.'

(*b*) Compounded with Nouns:—*lōtu nan* 'that time, then'; *sāa nan* 'then'; *sao-daia* 'once'; etc.

3. Adverbs of *manner*:—*aí* and *aínin* 'verily, truly, really'; *ašté* 'verily, truly'; *dabám* 'differently'; *káma* 'as, like as'; *sanú* and *sanú-sanú* 'softly, quickly.'

(*a*) Compounds with substantives:—*by da, da dādi* 'with peace = peaceably'; *da háńkali* 'with sense, wisely'; *da háńkuri* 'patiently.'

(*b*) With *kō*:—*ko-háka* 'any how'; *kō-yánzu* 'even now.'

Interrogative Adverbs have been mentioned above.

Conjunctions.

Conjunctions may be divided into as many classes as there are connexions and relations affected by them; as, Copulative, Adversative, Causative, Concessive, Exclusive, Comparative, Conclusive, etc.

1. Copulative Conjunctions. These are, *da* 'and'; *kuá* 'also'; *kō* 'even'; *ko-ko* 'neither, nor'; *da yánzu ba ni da ūwa ko ūba* 'and now I have neither mother nor father.' *Da* connects two propositions when each proposition has its own subject; as, *ni zāni tāfia ga kāsua, da kaí kua ka-na táfia;* but *ina tši, ina ša* 'I eat, I drink, not I . . . and . . . *ni táfi, da ni tše* 'I go and I say.' Two or more predicates

of the same subject are not connected by Copulative Conjunctions. *Mutum ya-tāši, ya-daúki, ya-gúdu, ya-táfi, ya-kaššiē matšiži.* *Da* is used correlatively, as *da ni da kai, da šanu, da āwaki, da tumaki.* *Da* at the beginning of a sentence is merely a connective particle, like 'but, now'; *kua* 'also, likewise'; *i-na so-nsa, da ši kuá šina so-na.* *Kó* 'even'; *ko ni da kai-na ina táfia da káfa; kó-kó* 'whether, or, neither—nor.'

2. Adversative Conjunctions:—*áma* or *ámma* 'but, yet, however, nevertheless'; *ima duba-wa, áma ban ganē-sa ba.*

3. Conjunctions expressing cause, ground, purpose, and motives:—*Doṅ* or *don* 'for, because, in order to, that, to'; and, *kadá* negative 'that not, lest'; *doṅ hálši-nka ba káma na-mu ne* 'because thy speech is not like ours'; *doṅ ya sáni* 'because he knew'; *kadá en táfi har* 'that I should not go until . . .'; *doṅ-wónan fa* 'for this reason therefore'; *sábadá wónan* 'on that account, for the sake of'; *ya ba-ni dúka doṅ wónan fa na yī murna nayī kūka sábadá gāšia* 'I cried because of fatigue.

4. Concessive:—*kōda* 'although, though'; *kōda ta ke kĕāo-kĕāwa ba ta-da dūkia* 'although she is very beautiful she is not rich'; *kōda na-sáni ba ši-bāda má-ni kúrdi-na, na-yi má-sa aíki.*

5. Exceptive and exclusive Conjunctions:—*bámda* 'besides, except, and'; *sai, saidai.* *Mi ka-na so en sāwo mā-ka bámda wónan? sai saidai* 'except,' but it has a great many meanings besides; *bābu bāwa ko daia sai ni.* *Sai* (but) *ubā-na ya-tše má-ni.* *Mu-n-kirā-ka saidai ba ka džī-mu ba.* *Sānia ta-na-bā-ka nōno da mai saidai* (provided) *ka-bā-ta tšiāwa da yāwa.* *Mútané sai* (will be sure) *su tāsi.* *Ni ba na so zūa gida-nki sai* (all I want is) *na-kāma yāro nan,* etc.

6. Comparative Conjunctions:—*káma, kámada* 'as, like, like as'; *háka* and *hákana* or *hákanan.* *Háka ši ke* 'so it is'; *ba háka ba.* *Ki fadi háka.* *Ina fadá mā-ka kamada ake-yī-n-tuó.* *Fúska-nta fāra káma-n-alli.*

7. Temporal or Consecutive Conjunctions: *har* 'till, until'; *ka-šīra-ni har en záka;* 'while,' *ka-rīke wāka-ta har en táfi en tšī tuo-na, har en dawoya.* *Túnda* 'while'; *ámma túnda*

su-na tšíka bindiga-nsu dorina ya táfi. Túnda mu-na nan naží a-ka-tše, kadá kōwa ya táfi ga bāki-n-rūa gōbē da sāfe; natámbayē-su, dómi, mútané kadá sū-táfi? su-ka-tše, en ka-gáni yāya-n-rūa nan kā mútu. Túnda-dewa 'long since.'

8. Conditional:—*kadán*, (if) *kadán ban- tše ba kāria* 'if I am not telling a story.'

ART. XIV.—*Buddhist Saint Worship.* By ARTHUR LILLIE, M.R.A.S.

A STUDENT of Buddhism cannot proceed very far in his inquiry without being confronted with a tremendous contradiction. Perhaps I may be allowed here to speak from personal experience. I read Le Bouddha et sa Religion, by M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire, and one or two well-known works; and soon learnt that annihilation (sûnyatâ) was the lot of the Saint when he had reached the Bodhi or Highest Wisdom, and freed himself from the cycle of new births. I then came across Schlagintweit's Buddhism in Tibet, which contains a sort of litany called The Buddhas of Confession. In it is the following passage:—

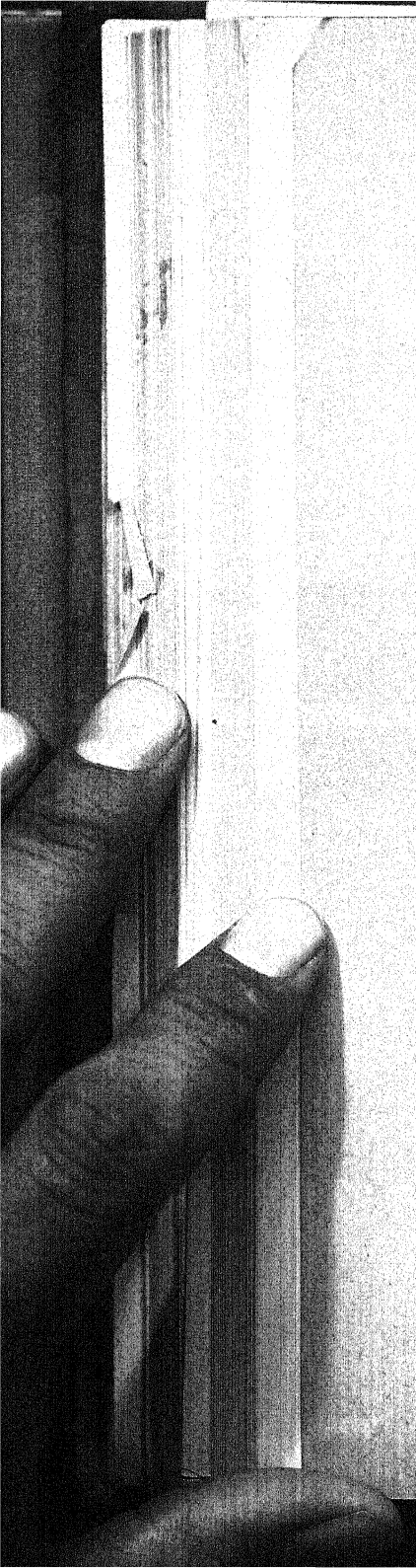
"I adore the Buddha Sâ-la'i-rgyal-po. Once uttering this name shall purify from all sins of theft, robbery, and the like." This puzzled me. This being was a Buddha. In consequence he had suffered, or enjoyed, complete annihilation. Why then should the pronouncing the name Sâ-la'i-rgyal-po purify from all sins of "theft, robbery, and the like?" Then I remembered that in old religions very holy names like I.A.O., A.U.M., etc., had often got to be thought more potent than the God himself. I mention all this to show that I am not at all surprised at people clinging to the idea that the Bodhi in the earliest Buddhism meant annihilation in spite of the strong evidence that can be brought against it. I myself for some time did the same.

But a further study of Buddhist litanies convinced me that my theory about holy names by no means met all the facts of the case. I will write down a few extracts from their litanies:

"I worship continually
The Buddhas of the ages that are past,
I worship the Buddhas, the all-pitiful,
I worship with bowed head."—*Ancient Ritual of Ceylon.*[1]

[1] Pâtimokkha (Dickson), p. 5.

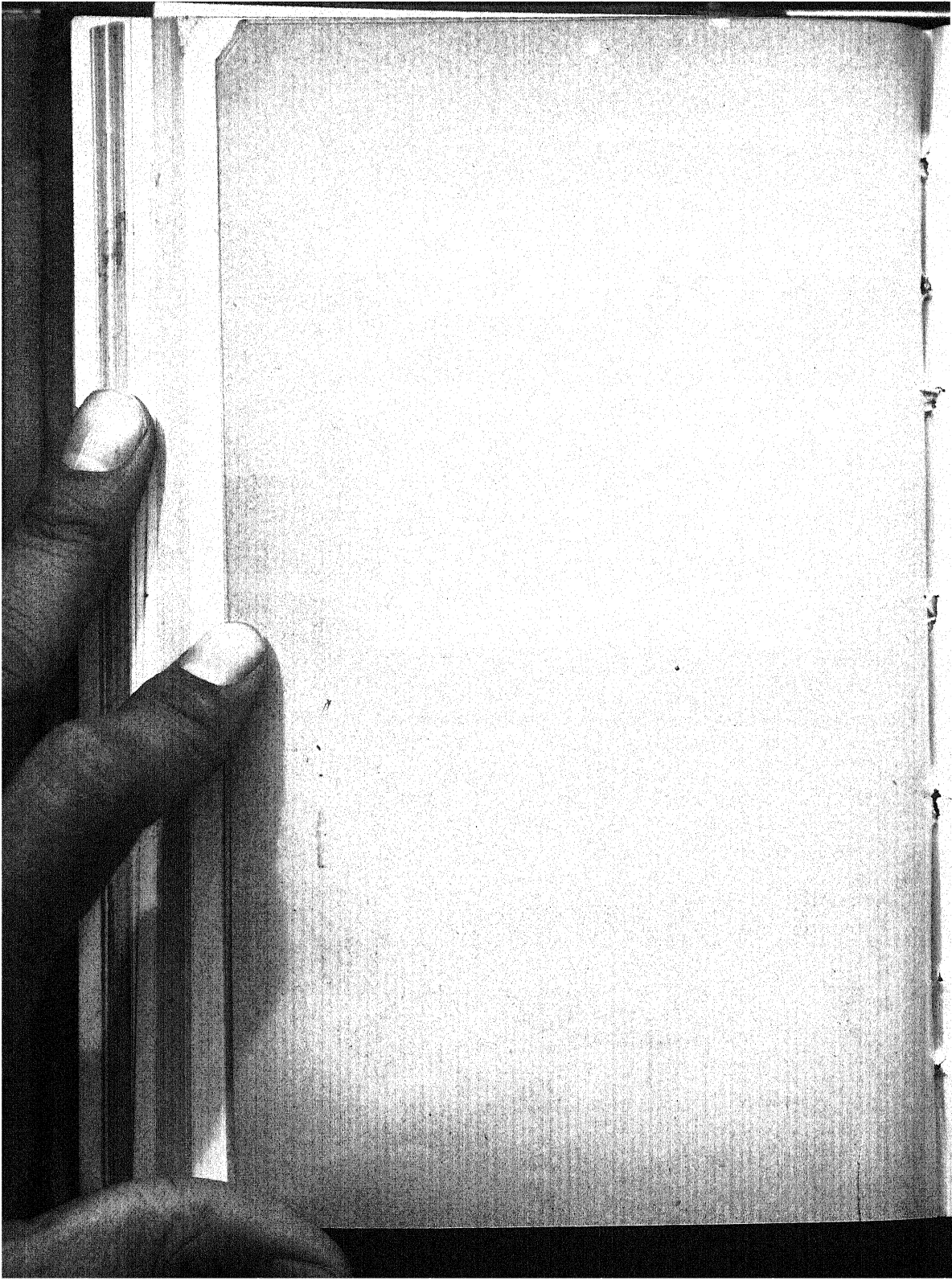
BUDDHA APPEARING AT THE ALTAR DURING WORSHIP.
FROM AMARAVATI.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

BUDDHA APPEARING AT THE ALTAR DURING WORSHIP.

FROM AMARAVATI.



"All hail! Buddhas of the ten quarters."—*Chinese Ritual.*

"I adore the Tathâgata Ts'hi-pag-med, who dwells in the Buddha region Devachan (Sukhâvati or Paradise)."—*Tibetan Ritual.*[1]

"I have no other refuge;
Buddha is the best refuge!
By the truth of these words
May I conquer and win the victory!
I bow my head to the ground and worship
The sacred dust of his holy feet;
If in aught I have sinned against Buddha,
May Buddha forgive me my sin."—*Ancient Ritual of Ceylon.*[2]

"I regard the sacred altar as a royal gem. In the midst of it appears the Shadow of Śâkya Tathâgata."—*Chinese Ritual.*[3]

In the presence of these quotations, my theory about the potency of a mere name breaks down; for the Buddhas of the past that are supposed to be annihilated dwell in Sukhâvati; are able to forgive sin; are able to come down to the altar during worship. The Buddhism of the Sûtras in their present form and the Buddhism of the Ritual are plainly irreconcileable. We are in the presence of two philosophies essentially antagonistic and internecine. This fact seems to have struck Eugène Burnouf, and he settled that the Saint Worship was an addition.

As far as our limited space will admit, let us examine this question, beginning with the Brahminism of the date of Buddha. If we accept Lassen's chronology on the subject, the non-Vaishṇava portions of the Mahâbhârata may be accepted as a fair guide here. It will give us a sketch of the creed that existed in India when the Buddhist movement occurred.

Readers of that epic must be astonished on first perusing it to find no mention of temples. Forests with Rishis or Prophets dwelling in them, and performing the initiation of yoga under trees, are mentioned in almost every episode; but even in the long descriptions of sumptuous towns religious edifices seem conspicuous chiefly by their absence. Alongside

[1] Schlagintweit, p. 129.
[2] Pâtimokkha, p. 5.
[3] Catena, p. 404.

of the Rishis and their forests, there is, however, the Tîrtha. What is a Tîrtha? Our lexicographers tell us that it is a sacred tank. Col. Tod, who studied natives all his life amongst natives, calls it a shrine. At any rate, the Tîrtha was of dominant importance in the ancient religion, for we read thus of it:—

> "It is the greatest mystery of the Rishis, excellent son of Bharata. The holy pilgrimage to the Tîrthas is more important than sacrifices to the gods." [1]

In another verse it is stated that five nights' sojourn at the Tîrtha of Jambumârya is equal to the fruit of a Horse sacrifice.[2] The Horse sacrifice was the most important of Aryan rites. A hundred performances of it raised the sacrificer to the level of Indra, the Supreme.

Assisted by the Mahâbhârata, let us try and make out what was a Tîrtha. Without doubt pilgrims bathed there:—

> "May the pilgrim bathe, O son of Bharata, in all the Tîrthas." [3]

Illustrious Saints resided in Tîrthas, the dead as well as the living.[4] Kapila has his Tîrtha, the Rishi Matanga,[5] the Saint Bhrigu.[6]

> "Go where the greatest Rishis Valmîki and Kaśyapa, Kundajathara, the son of Atri, Visvâmitra and Gâutama, Asita Dêvala, Mârkandêya and Gâlava, Bharawâja and the Solitary Vaśishṭha, Uddâlaka, Śaunaka, and his son Vyâsa, the greatest of ascetics, Durvâsas, the most virtuous of anchorites, Jâvâli of the terrible macerations; go where these, the greatest of Saints, rich in penances, are waiting for thee." [7]

To gods, to dead saints, to ancestors, rites were performed in Tîrthas. "The shining hero (Bhishma)," it says in one passage, "feasted the ancestors, the gods. He feasted the Rishis after the manner laid down in the S'astras." [8] All these passages occur in the book of the Mahâbhârata where King Yudhishṭhira, the eldest of the four sons of Pâṇḍu, is enjoined to make a round of pilgrimages to the Tîrthas.

[1] Mahab. Vana Parva, v. 4059.
[2] *Ibid.* 4083.
[3] *Ibid.* 4074.
[4] Vana Parva, 8056.
[5] *Ibid.* 8079.
[6] *Ibid.* v. 8234.
[7] *Ibid.* vv. 8262, *et seq.*
[8] v. 4035.

We have shown that Tîrthas were places of pilgrimage with tanks. They were also shrines of dead saints. Does this mean that they were stone circles and sepulchral mounds like the Stennis stones in Orkney, like Avesbury, like Stonehenge?

I think this question must be answered in the affirmative for the following reasons:

1. The Western Aryas, the Norsemen, Goths, etc., invariably used the stone circles and the sepulchral mound (haug) for worship and also for burial.

2. In many parts of India these circles and mounds are still used by sections of the Hindoos, as an interesting set of papers by Dr. Stevenson in our Journal has shown.

3. These two institutions figure very prominently in Buddhism. And when one religion breaks away from another, it may make many changes, but must be credited with having retained a large number of the institutions of its parent creed. To dispose of the dead is a pressing need. This is scarcely the point at which a religious reformer would begin.

I think also that there are passages in the Mahâbhârata that bear me out.

> "When King Suhotra governed this globe according to the laws of justice, columns of sacrifice and sacred trees were planted about the surface of the earth (jalonnaient la térre, Fauche) in hundreds of thousands. They shone every season with an abundant harvest of men and grains." [1]
>
> "He offered then, O most virtuous son of Bharata, an hundred solemn sacrifices, bidding gods and Brahmins. There were columns of sacrifice in precious stones and Chaityas (sepulchral mounds) of gold." [2]
>
> "The Long-Haired God gave by thousands and millions columns of sacrifice and Chaityas of great splendour." [3]

It seems to me that these columns of sacrifice planted about by hundreds of thousands must be standing stones. Professor Whitney publishes the translation of a Vedic hymn

[1] Mahabh. Adi Parva, v. 3717.
[2] *Ibid.* Sabha Parva, v. 69.
[3] *Ibid.* v. 74.

which shows that in the early days the body was buried without cremation.

> "Forth from about thee thus I build away the ground,
> As I lay down the clod may I receive no harm;
> This *pillar* may the Fathers here maintain for thee,
> May Yama there provide thee with a dwelling."[1]

The sacred tree considered in the light of a shrine and place of worship is also prominent in the Mahâbhârata. Indeed the word Chaitya, usually applied to a sepulchral mound, is also used to designate the tree. "A tree in fact spread with leaves and fruits, if it be solitary in a village, becomes a venerable Chaitya, without successors, honoured with the offerings of all."[2] In the narrative of which I am going to quote a passage, superstitious importance is plainly attached to it; for the heroes, when they find themselves in an enemy's city, at once run and demolish the sacred tree, probably to annul the charms and hostile influences of their enemy's household gods and patron saints.

> "Then they (Krishṇa, Bhîma and Dhananjaya) rushed upon the splendid Chaitya of the inhabitants of Magadha, and smote it on the crest as they wished to smite Jarâsandha.
> And with the blows of their great arms they felled that ancient tree, vast, firmly rooted, with airy top, respected by all, and ever honoured with incense and garlands."[3]

The sacred tree was plainly an important accompaniment of the Tîrthas, for it figures in the description of those that Yudhishṭhira was advised by the Brahmins to visit.

"Where, as Brahmins tell, was born that Indian fig tree of which the cause is eternal?" This was at Gaya.[4]

At Yamounâ too it is announced: "There is the beautiful and the holy Tîrtha, named the Descent of the Holy Fig Tree."[5]

Here is another passage: "Where the heroic sons of

[1] R.V. x. 18, cited from Whitney's Oriental and Linguistic Studies, 1st Series, p. 55.
[2] Adi Parva, v. 5913.
[3] Mbh. Sabha Parva, v. 816, 817.
[4] Vana Parva, 8307.
[5] *Ibid.* 8375.

Pâṇḍu celebrated the Four Months' Sacrifice with deep knowledge of the scriptures, at a place where grows the imperishable and great Indian Fig Tree."[1]

When Buddhism first emerges in history, it certainly starts with standing stones, and Tîrthas, and Chaityas, and holy trees. Let us see if there is any evidence of saint worship likewise. M. Burnouf thought there was not; but he wrote before the discovery of the Stûpa of Bharhut.

In the British Museum, as you are aware, are the marbles of the Amarâvatî Tope. I see strangers, with puzzled look, stop before certain tablets that represent marble worshippers crouching before a small throne or table placed before a marble tree. On the altar are often two footprints. Other inquirers have been equally puzzled. But the recent exhumation of the remains of the Stûpa of Bharhut has placed the meaning of these emblems beyond the region of controversy. Similar designs have been there discovered, and they are furnished with explanations incised in the Pâli character. One, it is said, is the throne and tree of Kaśyapa, another the throne and tree of Kanaka Muni, and so on through the list of the Seven Great Buddhas. Every great Buddha has his tree and his worship. And here I must mention a curious piece of Chinese-puzzle adjustment, which shows how closely the ritual fits the ancient temple and the temple the ritual. In vol. xvi. of the Asiatic Researches, Professor Wilson gives a ritual from Nepâl, called the Praise of the Seven Buddhas.[2] Each Buddha is "adored" in a separate paragraph, and it is announced that he found emancipation under a special tree. Comparing the list of these trees with that of the Bharhut Stûpa, as given by General Cunningham,[3] we find that five of the trees exactly correspond. The sixth, that of Viswabhu, is obliterated. Śâkya Muni's tree in one list is the Aśvattha and in the other the Pippala, synonyms I believe for the Ficus religiosa. This seems to give great antiquity to the litany.

[1] Vana Parva, 8523.
[2] P. 453.
[3] P. 46.

"Glory to the Arhantas! Glory to all Saints!" says the Khandagiri rock inscription.

"Furthermore the people in the night shall attend the great myrobolan and the holy fig tree," says the Delhi Pillar.

"In the middle of the village or in the forest, on ocean or land, wherever the Saints collect, full of joy is that place." Thus Buddha in the Dhammapada.

"I bow in adoration to those bosom-reared sons of Sugato, who overcame the dominion of death (Mâro)." Buddhaghosa's invocation to the "three treasures" at the commencement of his Aṭṭhakathâ.

Let us try and restore this saint worship. The early Chaitya was a rude sepulchral mound, placed in a jungle if one was available. Round it were erected a few monoliths; and one or two large trees were appropriated. The living saint sate under a tree on a Bodhimandi, a rude stool probably in the first instance. This became the altar of the dead saint. Incense was offered upon it, we see this from the sculptures; food too, on one altar is what I take to be a globular rice pudding about the size of a football. Garlands were hung on the branches. Other offerings are in the hands of the worshippers, probably the scented water which from time immemorial in India was the drink of the ghosts, and which in Buddhism is still used. I now come to a piece of evidence whose importance I had not appreciated when I wrote my work *Buddha and Early Buddhism*.

"I regard the sacred altar as a Royal Gem. In the midst of it appears the shadow of Śâkya Tathâgata." Pl. A. is portion of a sculpture that I have roughly copied from the Amarâvatî tope at the British Museum. Here we have Buddha in person coming down to the altar at the moment of worship. Each Buddha in the Ceylon scriptures has two favourite disciples, and here we see them. The women who are erect are the Apsarasas or nymphs of Indra that are always by him in the Lalita Vistara. The worshippers are distinct; they are crouching and humble. On the apparition of a beatified Rishi in the Mahâbhârata folks fling themselves in the dust, and join the palms of the hands near the

forehead. The beehive-looking object I take to be an incense burner. In Pl. B. we have Buddha once more under similar conditions.

Here I must point out an inspiration, a very happy one, that has recently come to Mr. Franks, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, who has recently delivered a lecture. He has been studying the Amarâvatî marbles at the British Museum, and has come to the conclusion that the imprints of feet so numerous in the early Buddhist temples are designed to typify the presence of Buddha. I think this is very important.

But at this point our conclusions diverge. Mr. Franks is of opinion that these appearances were limited to the actual earth-life of the great Tathâgata. I hold that these foot-prints typified the presence of the beatified Buddha. And superficially, at any rate, this seems the most common-sense view. Buddha's followers were chiefly poor men, slaves, Magdalens, savages, in whom the spiritual faculty had just been awakened. And to a savage, as in the case of Man Friday, a footprint of a mortal would suggest, not that the mortal was present, but that the mortal was decidedly absent. But when the hero of Lord Lytton's *The Haunters and The Haunted* saw the footprints of a ghost, he was convinced that the ghost was present—unpleasantly so. I cannot really see how in the Buddhism of Sûnyatâ, the Buddhism of Nothing-ness, the footprint theory can work. Supposing that we grant that the devotees were worshipping the footprints of Sâkya during his earth-life, what about the six other mortal Buddhas who were with him simultaneously worshipped in a tope? Each had his tree, his altar, his imprint of foot-steps. They could not all be supposed to be alive together, for the one preceded always his immediate successor by many thousand years.

"I bow my head to the ground and worship
The sacred dust of his holy feet."

These words are perhaps being chanted in Ceylon at the very moment I am addressing you. They cannot refer to Buddha during his earth-life.

I might mention too that the doctrine of pure and absolute nothingness (Sûnyatâ) is not all that a disciple of Schopenhauer would desire. There are, as Mr. Hodgson[1] tells us, a Sûnyatâ, and a Maha-Sûnyatâ. We are dead. You are a little Nothing. But I am a big Nothing. Also there are eighteen degrees of Sûnyatâ.[1] You are annihilated, but I am eighteen times as much annihilated as you. It is possible that the framers of the doctrine meant something different from what the moderns suppose.

In a short paper it is of course impossible to take up all the points that bear on this great question. Did space permit, I could show you from the Lalita Vistara that the Buddhas of the past, far from conceiving themselves annihilated, crowd round the Prince at every turn of the story and act as his guardian angels. I could show, too, that the annals of Cingalese Buddhism, if properly ransacked, by no means bear out the theory that is popularly evolved from them. All this would require not a paper, but a book—a book far larger than the one I have written on the subject.

Saint worship is the religion of India when Buddha appears on the page of history. Saint worship is his recorded teaching. Saint worship is on the earliest monuments. The Buddhist temple is an apparatus of saint worship, and saint worship its only ritual. Saint worship is the key of the Buddhist emblematology; and the Buddhist cosmology is the Brahmin cosmology adapted to saint worship. The Buddhist Pantheon is a cohort of saints. Between this saint worship and the doctrine of Sûnyatâ there is a great gulf fixed; and one of these antagonistic elements has plainly been foisted on the other. Either a complicated and harmonious religion, with its temples and rites and symbols, has been foisted on the muddled doctrine of Sûnyatâ, or the muddled doctrine of Sûnyatâ has been foisted on the vast and complicated religion.

[1] Essays, p. 59.

ART. XV.—*Gleanings from the Arabic.* By H. W. FREELAND, M.A., M.R.A.S.

قَالَ بَعْضُ ٱلشُّعَرَآءِ فِي ٱلْحِلْمِ

إِذَا مَـا أَخِي يَـوْمًا تَـوَلَّى بِـوُدِّهِ ... وَأَنْكَرْتُ مِنْهُ بَعْضَ مَاكُنْتُ أَعْرِفُ

عَطَفْتُ عَلَيْـهِ بِٱلْمَـوَدَّةِ إِنَّنِـى ... عَلَى مُذْنِبِ ٱلْإِخْوَانِ بِٱلْبِرِّ أَعْطِفُ

وَلَسْتُ أُجَـازِيـهِ قَبِيحَ ٱلَّذِى أَتَى ... وَلَا رَاكِبًا مِنْهُ ٱلَّذِى يَتَخَـوَّفُ

وَإِنْ عَـوْرَةٌ مِنْهُ بَدَتْ لِي فَإِنَّنِـى ... سَأَصْفَحُ عَنْهَـا مُجْمِلًا ثُمَّ أَصْدِفُ

وَإِغْضَآؤُكَ ٱلْعَيْنَيْنِ عَنْ عَيْبِ صَاحِبٍ ... لَعَمْرُكَ أَبْقَى لِلْإِخَـآءِ وَأَشْـرَفُ

THE GENTLE FRIEND.[1]

If I faults in friend discover,
  Find him not in acts the same,
I, by friendship moved, pass over
  What in him provoketh blame.
What a friend of evil doeth
  I to him will never do;
Fault which unto him accrueth
  I with grace indulgent view.
To a friend's defects the blindness
  Of a friend is friendship's part,
Friendship this preserves through kindness
  Worthy of a noble heart.

[1] From an anonymous Arabic poem.—*Kosegarten*, p. 153.

To a Tomb.

و قِيلَ في قَبْرٍ

يَا قَبْرُ يَا قَبْرُ هَلْ زَالَتْ مَحَاسِنُهُ
أَمْ قَدْ تَغَيَّرَ ذَاكَ المَنْظَرُ النَّضِرُ
يَا قَبْرُ مَا أَنْتَ لَا رَوْضٌ وَلَا فَلَكٌ
فَكَيْفَ يُجْمَعُ فِيكَ الغُصْنُ والقَمَرُ

Translation.

O Tomb, hath beauty vanished from his brow?
Form young and fair, and hath it changed so soon?
Nor dewy mead, nor spangled vault art thou,
Yet covetest fair branch and radiant moon!

Latine redditum.

O tumule! ingenuam frontem lux alma reliquit?
Deserit heu! nati mollia membra decus!
Non sunt prata tibi, neque cœlum aut lumina cœli—
Fulgentem lunam tu salicemque cupis?

Auf Deutsch.

Du Grab, sind seine Blüthezeit und Jugend schon verschwunden,
Erbleicht die liebliche Gestalt in schweren Todes stunden?
Die Pracht des Himmels kann'st du nicht, der Wies' auch nicht entfalten,
Willst gierig doch den Mondenglanz den grünen Zweig behalten.

ART. XVI.—*Al Kāhirah and its Gates.* By H. C. KAY, Esq., M.R.A.S.

ON the occasion of a recent visit to Cairo, I occupied myself in an endeavour to copy the Cufic inscriptions on the Bab en Naṣr. I only partially succeeded, but what I have been able to decipher is sufficient to show that the inscriptions are of somewhat more than ordinary interest. As far as I am able to discover, they have never been published, —a sufficient excuse, I hope, for offering the Society the imperfect results of my attempt to perform a task, which some other student will perhaps be induced to take up and complete.

The three well-known monumental gates at Cairo, of which Bab en Naṣr is one, are closely connected with the question of the origin and early history of the city itself. There exists on these points, as it has long seemed to me, a misapprehension so general, that I may perhaps in the first place allow myself to direct attention to it.

According to the commonly believed version, Jauhar, the commander of the army of Al Mu'izz, after wresting Egypt from the supremacy of the Khalifate of Baghdad, and subjecting it to the rival dynasty then reigning at Ḳairawan, proceeded to trace out and lay the foundations of a city, designed to serve as the new metropolis of Egypt and of the Fatimite Empire.

In point of fact this is by no means strictly correct. There exists, it is true, a certain laxity of expression on the part of the generality of Arab chroniclers, in their brief notices of the subject, which is doubtless the chief cause of the error. Here and there isolated passages may be found, even in Al

Maḳrizi himself, that may seem to countenance it. But his narrative of facts is clear and consistent, and can leave no room for doubt as to his real meaning. Jauhar, he tells us, erected a fortified inclosure containing a place of residence for the Khalifeh, the diwāns, or principal government offices, and quarters for the garrison intended for the defence of the fortress. He is careful to add that its site was selected for the express purpose of covering the approaches to the city of Miṣr and of defending the capital against attacks by the Carmathians.[1] With that object the strength of the position was increased by the construction of a double line of ditches, extending from the Muḳaṭṭam Hills to the old canal of 'Omar ibn al Khaṭṭāb, by which, and by the Nile beyond it, the fortress was protected on the west.

Jauhar's defences were put to the test by two successive invasions of the Carmathians. The first in A.H. 361 (A.D. 972), less than three years after the commencement of the fortress. The enemy was repulsed on both occasions, though it must be confessed that on the second, in A.H. 363, the final success of the Faṭimis was due, not so much to their valour, or to the strength of their fortifications, as to a bribe, with which they won over one of the allies of the Carmathians, and which they paid him in false coin![2] The Carmathians were both times, however, held in check at 'Ayn esh Shems or Heliopolis, and although the neighbouring country suffered severely at their hands, the city of Miṣr was effectually protected by the Imperial citadel of Al Ḳāhirah in its front.

There is nothing to show that either Jauhar or his master, in building the latter, intended or even foresaw what afterwards happened. There is, on the contrary, much that may serve to prove that the foundation of a new city, in the ordinary sense of the word, was actually opposed to their intentions. But the population of Miṣr, at a subsequent period, gradually removed to the immediate vicinity of the Imperial stronghold, and eventually, but not until after the

[1] Kitab el Khiṭaṭ, Bulak ed., vol. i. pp. 348, 361.
[2] See Ibn el Athīr, vol. viii. pp. 452 and 469.

extinction of the dynasty in A.H. 567 (A.D. 1171), overflowed into the Imperial inclosure itself, the original purpose of which then soon fell into oblivion.[1]

The ground inclosed by Jauhar was about three-quarters of a mile in length, and slightly over half a mile in width. Its principal buildings were, in the first place, the two Imperial palaces. One, the Eastern or Great Palace, composed of a multitude of buildings, was the place of residence of the Khalifeh, of his harīm, and of his numerous slaves and followers. Of its extent we may form some idea from the statement, even if it be suspected of exaggeration, that at the death in A.D. 1171 of the last Khalifeh al 'Āḍad li din Illah, the palace was found to be inhabited by twelve thousand persons, all, excepting the Khalifeh and members of the Imperial family, either eunuchs or women. The Small Palace, as it was called, served for purposes of recreation, and overlooked gardens and pleasure grounds, extending to the western walls, that ran parallel to the old and still existing canal. Close to the Eastern Palace was the Imperial Mausoleum, in which Al Mu'izz deposited the remains of his ancestors, which he brought with him from their places of sepulture in the west. Further south was the Mosque, also built by Jauhar, in which the Khalifeh, as Imam of his subjects, conducted the Friday's prayers. The palaces received the name of *Ḳuṣūr ez Zāhirah*, the Splendid Palaces, and the Mosque that of *Al Azhar*, the Most Splendid, which

[1] The short notices of the foundation of Al Ḳāhirah given by Ibn Khallikan, in his biographies of Jauhar and of Al Mu'izz, are quite consistent with the statements to be found in Al Maḳrizi, though not clear enough to dispel the preconceived idea, with which modern writers generally approach the subject. Thus, M. de Slane in rendering the statement that Jauhar marked out the circumference (or plan) of *Al Ḳāhirah*, translates *of the new city*. Further on he writes that Jauhar was displeased with certain irregularities in the outline of *the future city*, where in the original the pronoun is used, referring to the word *Al Ḳaṣr*, immediately preceding it, which M. de Slane himself has rendered *the citadel*.

The author of the *Nujūm ez Zāhirah*, Ibn Taghri Bardi, is somewhat obscure on the subject, but one among other passages deserves to be noticed in which, using the word Al Ḳaṣr, the palace, he adds, اعنى القاهرة "*that is to say, Al Kāhirah*" (ed. Juynboll, vol. ii. p. 423). Al Maḳrizi, I may further remark, designates Al Ḳāhirah in certain passages (vol ii. p. 107) by the term Al Ḳaṣabah.

it still retains, and under which it has long been widely known as the great seat of Muhammadan learning, frequented by students from the most distant countries of Islam. In addition to the garrison's quarters, many other buildings are enumerated, sufficient to account for the remaining space; such were the treasury, mint, library, audience halls, arsenals, provision stores and Imperial stables. Several open spaces were moreover reserved, one of which alone, called Bayn el Ḳaṣrayn, *Between the two Palaces*, a name retained by the street that now leads over the site, was large enough to contain a force of 10,000 men.

A jealously regarded object in the construction of Al Ḳāhirah was, as Al Maḳrizi tells us, the strict seclusion of the Khalifehs from the sight of their subjects. Within its walls, a subterranean passage was formed, as a means of communication between the two palaces, through which the Khalifeh could pass to and fro, unseen even by the few whose presence within the fortress was permitted. No person was allowed to enter the walls of Al Ḳāhirah but the soldiers of the garrison and the highest officials of the state, whose greatest privilege was that of approaching the sacred person of the Khalifeh. Ambassadors from foreign states were obliged to dismount at the gates of the fortress, and were conducted thence to the audience hall on foot.[1]

In this condition matters remained for fully a century, when, in the reign of Al Mustanṣir Billah, the ravages caused by civil war, famine and plague extended even to the precincts of the palace. The Empire itself was on the verge of destruction. It was rescued, by the fidelity and ruthless energy of the Amīr Badr al Jamaly, from the military factions by whom the country was ravaged and plundered, and in whose hands the Khalifeh himself was little better than a

[1] Elsewhere (vol. i. p. 461) we learn from Al Maḳrizi that the ambassador was introduced into the audience hall, with an official of the court on either side of him, each grasping one of his hands. The custom was doubtless an imitation of the ceremonial observed on similar occasions at the Byzantine Court, and the practice, as is well known, has been continued by the Turkish Sultans almost down to the present day, though erroneously stated to have been first introduced at Constantinople, in consequence of an attempt made upon the life of one of the Sultans by a Servian prisoner.

helpless prisoner. Badr al Jamali became, under the name of Wazir, the virtual ruler of the Empire, which under his administration soon recovered its former splendour. Many buildings within the Imperial inclosure had fallen into decay and some into utter ruin. One of the Amīr's earliest acts was to give permission to certain chosen persons to build upon their sites. But it was not, as I have already said, until after the extinction of the Fatimi Khalifate, and after the removal of the seat of government and residence of the new dynasty of Saladin to the "citadel on the hill," that Al Ḳāhirah was gradually absorbed and lost, in the city that had begun to grow up under its walls. Al Ḳāhirah, says Al Maḳrizi, then fell from being a stronghold and Imperial residence to the condition of an ordinary city and place of general habitation, فهانت بعد العزّ وابتذلت بعد الاحترام. From being a centre of honour it sank into abasement, from reverence into contempt.[1]

It is not without interest to remark that the foundation of Al Ḳāhirah, for the purposes described, appears to have been simply in accordance with the already established usages of the Fatimi Court. Al Manṣurieh, the creation of the Khalifeh Al Manṣur Billah, was doubtless the prototype of Al Ḳāhirah. It was founded in A.H. 336, close to Ḳayrawan, but, unlike its successor in Egypt, it neither became the nucleus of a new city nor did it supersede the ancient capital; but it has, on the contrary, itself disappeared.

I may add, with reference to the position of Al Manṣurieh, that Ibn Khallikan is clearly in error when stating, in his biography of Al Manṣur, that Al Manṣurieh was built on the site of the battle that resulted in the capture of Abu Yazid. It may be, however, that the author refers to a series of obstinately fought contests that took place under the walls of Ḳayrawan, more than a year, it is true, before the final defeat and capture of Abu Yazid, but by which the latter's power was irretrievably broken up.[2] In one of the notes

[1] Vol. i. p. 348.
[2] See Ibn al Athir, vol. viii. p. 327.

appended to his translation of the biography of Al Mu'izz, M. de Slane quotes Al Bakri's description of North Africa, to the effect that Al Manṣurieh occupied the site of a suburb of Ḳayrawan, of the name of Sabra, though the statement seems difficult to reconcile with the words of the text, in which Sabra is spoken of as existing in the reign of Al Mu'izz.[1]

Both Al Manṣurieh and Al Ḳāhirah receive from Arab writers the designation of *Medinah*, or city, which, in the case of the latter, is justified by the inscription on Bab en Naṣr. But the word 'city' must obviously be understood in a restricted, and not in its ordinary sense.

It may perhaps be regarded as something more than an accidental coincidence that Jauhar gave the new Egyptian residence of the Khalifehs the name of Al Manṣurah, *The Victorious*, so similar in sound and meaning, if not in actual derivation, with the designation of the Imperial residence in the West.[2]

On his arrival in Egypt, Al Mu'izz changed the name into Al Ḳāhirah, *The Subjugator*. The citizens, however, when they removed to the neighbourhood of its walls, continued to give to their new home the name of the old capital, *Miṣr*, and still do so to this day, distinguishing what little remains of the latter by the designation of *Old Miṣr*. The name Al Ḳāhirah, owing to its conveying a sense of subjection to violence and arbitrary power, has always been unpopular, and is still regarded by the people of Egypt with half-superstitious dislike.[3]

[1] See Ibn Khallikan, De Slane's translation, vol. iii. p. 377.

[2] Two gates at the Al Manṣurieh bore respectively, as at Al Ḳāhirah, the names of *Bab Zawilah* and *Bab al Futuh*.

[3] Mr. Lane, in one of the notes to his translation of the Arabian Nights, remarks that he has not found the name of Miṣr applied to Cairo in any Arabic work earlier than the Turkish Conquest. It strikes me that the circumstance may be sufficiently accounted for by the punctilious accuracy of style which Arab writers always affect in their written, as distinguished from their spoken language. Nevertheless, Ibn Baṭuṭah, when describing the city of Cairo on the occasion of his first visit to Egypt in A.D. 1326, gives it repeatedly the name of Miṣr, though, singularly enough, in the much briefer account of his last visit, he invariably styles it Al Ḳāhirah.

Quatremère, in his Memoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte (vol. i. p. 48), whilst referring to the fact that the Copts transferred from Al Fustat to Cairo the name of Bablun or Babylon, adds that they gave Cairo the further designation of Ti Keschromi, "qui signifie mot à mot qui brise les hommes"—

With respect to the derivation of the name Al Ḳāhirah, Abu'l Mahasin[1] says that, according to some authorities, this designation was originally only that of one of the domes or halls of the palace. The remark follows his account of the well-known tradition, which he says contains the more generally received version of the origin of the name.

The tradition is related also by Al Maḳrizi, but with little pains to conceal the small degree of credit he attaches to it. The foundations, in consequence of a sufficiently incredible accident, were said to have been commenced, not at the propitious hour intended by Jauhar's astrologers, but at a moment when the planet *Al Mirikh*, or Mars, surnamed by the Arabs Al Ḳahir, was, with its evil influences, in the ascendant. Hence, it was said, the city received the name of Al Ḳāhirah.[2]

Three of the old gates of Al Ḳāhirah, as I have mentioned, are in existence to this day. Two on the north, Bab en Naṣr, the Gate of Victory, and Bab al Futuḥ, the Gate of Conquests. On the south is Bab Zuwayleh, or more correctly according to the ancient orthography, Bab Zawīlah. It derives

"nom assez étrange," he remarks, and indeed a name of ominous sound. "Je croix y reconnaitre," he continues, "la traduction un peu altérée du mot Arabe Al Ḳahirah."

[1] Vol. ii. p. 416.

[2] An Egyptian derivation has been attributed to the name Al Ḳāhirah, but I do not know whether its claims to attention rest upon better grounds than that of its ingenuity. It has been contended that the country in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis was from early times designated Kahi-ra, the District of the Sun. The denomination would be similar to that of Kahi-nub, the District of Gold, generally accepted as the origin of the name Canopus.

The name Al Ḳāhirah might perhaps with equal plausibility be connected with certain verses, addressed to Al Mu'izz by the poet Muḥammad ibn Hani, on the eve of the Khalifeh's departure for Egypt. Ibn Al Athir (vol. viii. p. 457) remarks that the language used by the poet, in his panegyrics, was often carried to the highest point of extravagance, and that it was condemned by the 'Ulema as marked with rank infidelity. He quotes, among other instances, the following lines, in which the poet addresses the Khalifeh as *Al Wahad* and *Al Ḳahhar*, both of them epithets applied only to the Deity:—

ما شيت الّا ما شآت الاقدارُ ∴ فاحكم فانت الواحدُ القهّار

"Thy decrees are nought but the irresistible will of Fate.
Command then, for thou art the One Mighty Subduer."

An account of the life of Ibn Hani is given by Ibn Khallikan.

its name from a tribe who occupied a suburb of Al Mahdieh, one of the sea-ports of the modern Regency of Tunis, built by 'Obayd Allah al Mahdy, the founder of the Western Ismaily or Fatimi dynasty. The Zawilahs furnished a contingent to Jauhar's army, and the quarters assigned to them, on the foundation of Al Ḳāhirah, were in the neighbourhood of the Southern Gate.

The three existing gates, though they have retained the old names, are not those built by Jauhar. They were erected by Badr al Jamāli about A.D. 1087, when he rebuilt the walls of Al Ḳāhirah and somewhat enlarged its limits. They do not consequently occupy the actual sites of their predecessors. The Bab Zawilah of Jauhar stood some distance to the north of the present gate. It consisted of two arches, standing side by side, through the easternmost of which Al Mu'izz made his public entrance into the new Imperial residence in Ramadan, A.H. 362 (A.D. 973), three years after its construction had been commenced. The western archway, from that early date, fell under the evil repute of being unlucky, a superstition which, long after it had disappeared, continued to attach to the spot upon which it had formerly stood. The twin gateway was still in existence in the fifteenth century, under the name of *Bab el Ḳaus*.

Respecting the present gate of Badr al Jamali, a tradition is mentioned by Al Maḳrizi that its architect was one of three brothers, who came to Egypt from Ar Ruha, and that Bab en Naṣr and Bab el Futuḥ were each respectively built by the other two.

Ar Ruha, the modern Urfah or ancient Edessa, was according to Ibn al Athir besieged and captured from the Byzantines in A.H. 479 (A.D. 1086) by Malik Shah.[1] Its strongly built fortifications and the magnificence of its churches are elsewhere alluded to by the historian.[2] It seems not unlikely that Greek or Armenian refugees from Edessa may have found their way into Egypt, and the style of architecture and construction of the three gates, but especially

[1] Vol. x. p. 97.
[2] Vol. ix. p. 282.

of Bab en Naṣr, are in some degree consistent with Al Maḳrizi's statements.[1]

Bab Zuwaylah is spoken of by Arab writers in terms of the highest admiration. Its hinges were said to turn on glass sockets. A person who had travelled much, and who had seen all the cities of the East, says Al Maḳrizi, assured him that nowhere had he beheld a more majestic gate, or anything to be compared to its two towers. Modern visitors, without questioning the praise to which Bab Zuwaylah is indeed well entitled, must perhaps hesitate before they grant it the palm over its two contemporaries. It is indeed one of the noblest buildings in Cairo, but the coarse plaster and paint with which it is daubed must sorely detract from its original appearance. The round towers on either side, we are told, were originally much loftier, and were lowered when the Sultan Al Mu-ayyad surmounted them with the two minarets for the mosque he built in A.D. 1416, and which adjoins the gate on its western side.[2]

A small portion of the plaster a few years ago became detached, and dropped from the stone above the archway.

[1] The Church of Edessa was regarded by Arab writers as one of the wonders of the world (see de Sacy's 'Abd al Laṭif, p. 442).

[2] One feels inclined to suspect that a certain degree of Chauvinism is at least partly responsible for the laudatory terms in which Al Maḳrizi so generally indulges in his work on Egypt and Cairo. Passages that exhibit some discrimination are, however, not wanting. Thus, he quotes, with but faint protest, certain descriptions of his native city by foreign writers, couched in no flattering terms. One, remarks upon the hard lot of the citizens, condemned to the use of unwholesome water from contaminated wells, and from canals, the receptacles of drainage from the houses on their banks. The atmosphere itself, says Ibn Sa'id, is unhealthy, especially during the prevalence of the hot *mirīsy* winds, and diseases of the eyes very prevalent. In a subsequent passage, it may be that feelings of professional ill-humour have the upper hand. Life at Cairo, he proceeds, is hard and poor, especially for the learned. The professors at the colleges are paid miserable salaries. The happiest lot, he continues, somewhat bitterly, is that of the Jews and Christians, occupied in the practice of medicine and in the collection of taxes. But it is an excellent place for paupers, who live untroubled by the fear of taxes and tithes, of summonses and torments. The pauper possesses no slave whose death may be a pretext for charging his master with having succeeded to an inheritance, followed in all probability by his being imprisoned, tortured, and plundered. With bread cheap and abundant, he leads a life of ease, free to enjoy the songs and public amusements of the town. Nor is there any one to interfere with him, even when his fancy leads him to strip himself of his clothing before dancing in the public streets, to stupefy himself with *ḥashīsh*, or to associate openly with women of abandoned character. He has not even to fear impressment for service in the state galleys. That fate is reserved to the *Mogharba*, noted for their qualities of seamanship. A Moor, on arriving in

A few letters of the Cufic inscription became visible, but they were soon again covered up.

Bab en Naṣr and Bab el Futūḥ are on the north of the city. They stand about two hundred yards apart, only separated from one another by the ruined mosque of Al Ḥākim b-imr Illah.

Like Bab Zuwaylah, they do not occupy the sites of the original gates of Jauhar. When rebuilt by Jauhar, they were removed to their present position, so as to inclose the mosque which Al Ḥākim built outside the walls. Bab el Futuḥ has no inscriptions.

Bab en Naṣr is remarkable for a bracketed cornice and frieze, decorated with beautifully executed Cufic inscriptions. They are carried along the face of the gateway, and along the faces and inner sides of the two massive square towers, with which it is flanked, at rather more than half their height from the ground.

Within the arch, and above the lintel of the rectangular doorway, an oblong tablet is sculptured upon the stone, containing the following words :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا
الله وحده لا شريك له محمد
رسول الله علىّ ولىّ الله

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. There is no other god but God, Alone. None is associated unto Him. Muḥammad is the Apostle of God. 'Aly is the favourite of God.

Below the tablet, and on the face of the flat relieving arch over the lintel, the following words are added :

صلى الله عليهما و على الائمة من ذريتهما اجمعين

May God bless them both, and also the Imams their seed.

Egypt, finds himself between two alternatives: if rich, he is squeezed and plundered, and there is no happy release from his miseries but by flight; if poor, he is cast into prison, and kept there until required for service in the fleet. Such is a glimpse into life at Cairo in the thirteenth century.

Ibn Sa'id, himself a Spanish Moor, is largely quoted by Al Maḳḳari in his *Kitab Nafḥi ṭ Ṭ'ib*. His extracts comprise Al Maḳrizi's quotations, of which the above is a summary (Bul. ed. vol. i. p. 497 et sqq.). Ibn Sa'id arrived in Egypt in A.H. 639. An account of his life and writings is included in the work of M. de Gayangos.

The inscription on the frieze, along the face of the gateway, is as follows, commencing, however, with the five words given below, which immediately precede it on the same line, but which are inscribed on the inner side of the western tower, following immediately after the verses from the Ḳur-ān, noticed further on.

I omit the diacritical points of words I have been unable to decipher, or of which I feel doubtful.

بعز الله العزيز الجبار بحار الاسلام مسسا لمعاقلى الاسوار انشا هذا
بابا (؟) لعرو السور لمدينة معزية القاهرة المحروسة حماها الله
بامر مولانا و سيدنا الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين صلوات الله
عليه و على ابائه الطاهرين وابنائه الاكرمين انشا هذا

. . . God the Great, the Mighty . . . . . the city of Al Ḳahirah the Mu'izzite, the protected, may God guard it, by command of our Lord and Master the Imam al Mustanṣir Billah, Prince of the Faithful, the Favour of God be upon him, on his pure forefathers and on his noble descendants.[1] *Ædificavit hoc*

The inscription is continued, on the inner side and front of the eastern tower, with the pompous titles of the Amir al Juyūsh Bedr al Jamāli, as follows:

امير الجيوش سيف الاسلام ناصر الائمان كافل قضاة المسلمين
و هادى دعاة المؤمنين ابو النجم بدر المستنصرى عضد الله به الدين
و امتع بطول بقائه امير المؤمنين . . . . . .
. . . . . سنة ثمانين و اربع مايه

the Commander of the Armies, the Sword of Islam, defender of the Faith, protector of the Judges of the Muslims and guide of the Leaders of the Faithful, Abu'l Nijm Badr el Mustanṣiri. May God aid through him the Faith, and by the length of his days grant comfort to the Prince of the Faithful . . . . . the year 480.

[1] A native friend suggested the following reading of the words at the commencement of the inscription, but I feel more than doubtful of it: وهو الله
العزيز الجبار مبانى الاسلام تنشأ لمعاقل الاسوار

The inscription on the western tower is the *Ayat el Kursi*, or Throne Verse (Kuran, ii. 256):

> God! there is none other God but He, the Living, the Watchful. Drowsiness hindereth him not (in his care of the Creation) nor sleep. Unto Him belongeth that which is in the heavens and that which is on earth. Who is there (of his creatures) shall intercede with Him excepting by his permission? He knoweth their past and their future, and they encompass nought of his knowledge but that which he pleaseth. The extent of his throne is that of the heavens and the earth. The preservation of either is no burthen unto him, for He is the Most High, the Most Great.[1]

The inscriptions on Bab en Naṣr are the only remaining memorials in Egypt of the fact that the Shia'i heresy, now and for many centuries past regarded with detestation, once reigned supreme in the country. It is no doubt chiefly owing to the disuse and general ignorance of the characters in which they are written that we may attribute their preservation. A profession of faith which declares of 'Aly that he is the exclusive *waly* or favourite of God, and in which an invocation for special divine favour is made for him in terms applied to none but a prophet, is in the eyes of a Sunni Muslim a proclamation of gross heresy. But a thing utterly abhorrent to him is the attribution of that sacred formula, not merely to 'Aly the son-in-law of the Prophet, but also to a race of usurpers, whom the orthodox heads of Islam have denounced as impious impostors, men of ignoble birth, the descendants, not of the Prophet Muhammad and his daughter, but of Magians and Jews.

[1] I have ventured to depart from the rendering of the word *al Ḳayyūm*, adopted by Sale and other English translators, namely, *the self-subsisting*. The Ḳamūs explains the word as meaning 'He who has no equal.' Both Az Zamakhshari and Al Baydāwi say that *Al Ḳayyūm* is he who is continually engaged in regulating the order of the Creation and in its preservation, a sense I have endeavoured to render by the word *watchful*.

In the translation of the verb أخذ, I have followed the sense indicated by Ibn 'Arab Shah, who borrows the phrase in his *Fakihat al Khulafa*, and writes لا تأخذه عن ذلك سنة ولا نوم (Bulak ed. p. 141).

The assumption of the formula in question by the Fatimi Khalifehs, so far as I am able to discover, is not specifically mentioned by any Arab historian, and the inscription on Bab en Naṣr is now the only one in the country from which the fact can be proved. Certain passages in Al Maḳrizi's Khiṭaṭ may, however, be quoted in support of it, and as indicating that the words were assumed by all the Khalifehs of the dynasty, probably from its earliest times.

Thus in his account of the life of Jauhar, Al Maḳrizi quotes a minute, written in the alliterative style of rhyming prose, so much admired by Eastern writers, which Jauhar on a certain occasion appended to a petition presented to him at Al Ḳāhirah. It consists of bitter reproaches addressed to the persons concerned in the case and ends with the words:—

> Let the Prince of the Faithful, the Blessings of God be upon him, decide what shall be done unto you.

ليرى امير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه رائه فيكم

Again, in describing the forms observed in the *Majlis an Naẓri fi'l Maẓālim*, the Court for the redress of grievances, Al Maḳrizi says that on the statement of the case being returned with a note in the handwriting of the Khalifeh, it was the practice of the Wazir to write the following words below the Imperial decree:—

> Let obedience be shown to the command of our Lord the Prince of the Faithful, the Blessings of God be upon him.

يتمثل أمر مولانا امير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه

We know also that in the form of Khuṭbah instituted by Jauhar, the invocation for God's special blessing or favour was applied, in general terms, to the Imams, descendants of 'Ali and Faṭimah, but this was little more than is continually done by orthodox Muslims, in the case of the family and companions of the Prophet.

I have recently, however, met with another and somewhat unexpected confirmation of the fact recorded by the inscrip-

tion on Bab en Naṣr. Among the objects included in the Exhibition last year of Hispano-Morisco Art at South Kensington, was an ivory casket belonging to the National Archæological Museum of Madrid, described in the catalogue as being of the eleventh century and as having been procured from Carrion de los Condes, in the Spanish province of Palencia. The Cufic inscription on the lid of the casket, of which the following is a copy, shows that it is in point of fact a century older in date, and that it was made at Al Manṣurieh for the use of the Khalifeh Al Mu'izz :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نصرمن الله و فتح قريب لعبد الله ووليه
معدّابى تحيم الامام المعز . . . . . امير المؤمنين صلوات الله
عليه و على ابائه الطيبين و ذريّته الطاهرين مما امر بعمله
بالمنصوريه المرضيه

In the name of God the Merciful, the Gracious. Victory from God and speedy conquest unto the servant and favourite of God Ma'add Abu Tamim, the Imam al Mu'izz (li din Illah), Prince of the Faithful, the Blessings of God be upon him, on his excellent forefathers and on his pure seed. One (of the cabinets) he hath commanded to be made at Al Manṣurieh.

The titles *Kafil Ḳudat il Muslimin wa Hady Du'āt il Muminin,* which we find in the inscriptions on Bab en Naṣr, are mentioned in the short life of Badr al Jamali given by Al Maḳrizi.[1] They were bestowed, he says, upon the Amir, on his appointment as Wazir of the sword and pen, wielding supreme authority over the Ḳadis and Du'āt or Da'ys. The latter were missionaries employed in teaching and spreading the doctrines of the Ismaili sect, and their chief was styled Da'y ed Du'at, the Da'y of Da'ys. It seems probable that the word is the origin of the title of Dey, by which the rulers of the province of Algiers have been designated by Europeans.

Within the archway of Bab en Naṣr an inscription is carved on the western wall, which at a first glance is seen to

[1] Vol. i. p. 382.

belong to a much later date than that of the building itself. The following is a copy :—

بحسب ما رسم به نايب السلطنه المعظمة المقرّ العالى
سودون السيفى من عراقة الجمال بان يؤخذ على كل جمل خمسة
وملعون من ياخذ اكثر من ذلك اويحدث مظلمة فى ايام الدولة
العادلة

As commanded by the noble and exalted Vicegerent of this illustrious Empire, Sudūn es Seyfi, in respect to dues upon camels, upon each shall be levied five; and cursed be he that shall levy a larger sum, or be the cause of oppression in the days of this righteous government.

There is no date, but the inscription is in the ordinary Naskhi character and the title given to the author of the decree, Naib es Salṭanah, Vicegerent of the Kingdom, is one that belonged to the period of the Mamluk Kings of Egypt. Under their rule the office of Wazir was only nominally retained. Its functions, excepting in the reign of Al Malik en Naṣir, were exercised by the Naib es Salṭanah, who, in the words of Al Maḳrizi, was virtually the second sovereign of the Empire, which he ruled in his master's name. The powers of the Wazir, on the other hand, had meanwhile fallen so low, that one who held the office was able to complain, with but little exaggeration, that its highest duty had become that of purchasing provisions and fuel for the use of the palace. In the course of time, however, the office of Naib es Salṭanah shared the fate of the Wazirate. It was abolished about the middle of the reign of the Sultan ez Ẓahir Barḳuḳ (A.D. 1382–1399), and its functions were divided among the chiefs of subordinate departments.

For the purpose of identifying the name of Sudūn, I had recourse to the comprehensive pages of Al Maḳrizi, with a confidence that was speedily justified. I find, in fact, that Sudūn was the name of the Naib es Salṭanah in the reign of Barḳuḳ, and that he was the last to hold the office with its full powers. The surname As Seyfi is rendered Ash Shéykhi, but the latter, it cannot be doubted, is an error of

transcription. The date of the inscription may, therefore, be placed between A.D. 1382 and 1390.

The denomination of the coins, of which five were to be paid on each camel, is not expressed. We may perhaps supply the word *fulūs*. We know, in fact, both from Al Maḳrizi's treatise on Muhammadan coins and from the Kitab al Khiṭaṭ,[1] that copper was coined in such large quantities in the reign of Az Ẓahir Barḳuḳ, that it drove both silver and gold out of circulation. The value of all commodities, and even that of gold dinars, was expressed by its equivalent in copper. The confusion and hardship thus occasioned were not effectually removed until the reform of the coinage introduced by the Malik al Mu-ayyad in A.H. 817.

The stone walls inclosing the city of Cairo, properly so called, were commenced by Saladin in A.H. 566 (A.D. 1170), whilst Egypt was still under the nominal rule of the last Khalifeh Al 'Aḍad li din Illah. The work was continued after the death of the Khalifeh in A.H. 567 by Buha ed din Ḳaraḳush, the Egyptian minister of Saladin, by whom also the present citadel was built on a spur of the Muḳaṭṭam Hills. The eastern walls of Al Ḳāhirah were prolonged southwards, so as to include within their circuit the large space of ground between Bab Zuwaylah and the new fortress on the hill. From that point they were to have been continued in such wise as to inclose the ancient city of Miṣr, and thence to run northwards along the banks of the river, which, it will be remembered, has materially changed its course since that period. The execution of that portion of the design was interrupted by the death of its author, and was never afterwards resumed.

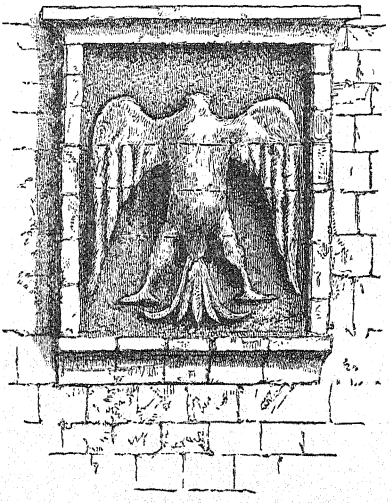
An interesting memorial of the builders of the citadel exists on one of its inner walls. Within a projecting quadrangular niche, surmounted by a plain cornice, stands an eagle, sculptured on the stone in high relief. The figure is now, and has long been, headless, but its resemblance in almost every detail to the representation of the double-headed

[1] Vol. i. p. 110.

eagle on Ortoḳi coins, and more particularly to that on the coins of the Atabek 'Imad ed din Zenki of Sinjar, is very striking. An engraving of the figure is moreover given by M. Prisse de Avennes in his work *L'Art Arabe*, in which the eagle is represented with two heads facing in opposite directions. It would be interesting to know at what time the original drawing was made.

The author writes that the double-headed eagle was the *rank* or armorial badge of Saladin.[1] I have not succeeded in finding the authority upon which the statement is founded, but accepting it as correct, it seems hardly possible to resist the conclusion that the eagle on the coins of 'Imad ed din represents his recognition of the suzerainty of the early Ayyubi princes.

[1] Quatremère, in his Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks (vol. ii. pt. i. p. 14), has collected together a number of passages, in which the word *rank*, or its plural *ranuk*, is employed by Al Maḳrizi and other Arab writers to designate the badges or armorial bearings and banners used by Muhammadan princes of the Middle Ages.



ART. XVII.—*How the Mahábhárata*[1] *Begins.* By EDWIN ARNOLD, C.S.I., M.R.A.S., Officer of the White Elephant of Siam.

THE following pages offer an imperfect and unpretending analysis of the opening portions of the Great Indian Epic, the Mahábhárata; with a free version here and there of striking passages, and in most of these instances the Sanskrit text. So cumbrous an introduction to the mighty Poem was, perhaps, compiled in days long subsequent to those of the finer sections of the Epic. It seems principally directed to the exaltation of Brahmans, and the glorification of Royal and Saintly Pedigrees; but a closer study—as, for example, of the long catalogue which occurs in the description of the Serpent-People—would probably give useful results to ethnology and geography.

The Calcutta Edition of the Mahábhárata, in four quarto volumes, commences thus:—

> To Narayen, Nara, best of males, give heed;
> To great Saraswati be paid her meed,
> So shall this Story worthily proceed.[2]

After prefatory matter, the text begins: Ugrasravah, or

> Sauti, the son of Lomaharshana,
> Came to the sages in the Naimish Wood,
> What time they wrought the twelve-year sacrifice
> For Saunaka. He, learnëd in Purâns,

[1] श्रीमहाभारतं
॥ आदिपर्व ॥

[2] नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरञ्चैव नरोत्तमं।
देवीं सरस्वतीञ्चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत्।

Each Parva of the Mahábhárata opens with this, or a similar, dedicatory verse.

Folded his hands before them, and said this—
"What will ye that I now discourse to you?"[1]

The Sages desire him to discourse upon "Yoga," but observe that the wise and holy Saunaka is at present in the house of Sacrifice. As soon as he takes his seat, the "Paurâniko" may fitly begin. The great man enters, and, saluting the narrator, wishes to hear from him of Bhrigu's family. He recites the pedigree of Bhrigu. Saunaka himself was grandson of Samika, who was the son of Kuru, who was the son of Pramati, who was the son of Chyavana. Saunaka asks to know respecting this last named. The son of Suta relates how Bhrigu's wife, Pauloma, being advanced in pregnancy, was desired by a Rakshasa Pauloman, who, after appealing in vain to Agni in regard of a prior claim which he makes to her, attempts to carry her off in the shape of a boar, but her child Chyavana, being suddenly born, withers the demon to death by his dazzling aspect. Bhrigu was very angry with Agni for the partial information given to the demon, and "*cursed him to be the devourer of everything.*"[2] Agni, in turn, is incensed at this serious act. The god said:

What is this outrage, Brahman, thou hast wrought?
I follow virtue, and I speak plain truth!
Where was thy wrong in that I answered fair
Thou absent? He who beareth witness false
And he who, knowing truths, forbeareth it,
These men shame all their ancestors in bliss
To the seventh degree, and to the seventh degree
Infect their seed. I, too, the God, might curse
Who curses me, but that I reverence
A twice-born. Hear me yet, though thou may'st know,
By yoga I divide me manifold
Dwelling in all formed things—not flame alone,

[1] लोमहर्षणपुत्र उग्रश्रवाः सौति पौराणिको नैमिषारण्ये।
शौनकस्य कुलपतेर्द्वादशवार्षिके सत्रे। etc.

[2] शशापाग्निमतिक्रुद्धः सर्व्वभक्षोभविष्यसि

But that which flames, the sacrifice, yea, that
Which offereth it, man's act. Therefore to me
Oblations fitly made soothe Gods and Shades,
By me their worship passeth at due times;
At the full moon to Gods, at the new moon
To Pitris; they are worshipped through my mouth,
And eat the offerings with it; . . . darest thou then
Curse me to "eat of all things"?[1]

Agni withdraws from the world in anger, all sacrifices are suspended, and mankind generally distressed. The Rishis in much alarm repair to the Gods. These accompany them

[1] किमिदं साहसं ब्रह्मन् कृतवानसि मां प्रति।
धर्म्मे प्रयतमानस्य सत्यञ्च वदतः समं।
पृष्टोयदब्रुवं सत्यं व्यभिचारोऽत्र को मम।
पृष्टोहि साक्षी यः साक्ष्यं जानानोऽप्यन्यथा वदेत्।
स पूर्व्वानात्मनः सप्त कुले हन्यात्तथापरान्।
यश्च कार्य्यार्थतत्त्वज्ञो जानानोऽपि नभाषित।
सोऽपि तेनैव पापेन लिप्यते नात्र संशयः।
शक्तोऽहमपि शप्तुं त्वां मान्यास्तु ब्राह्मणा मम।
जानतोऽपि च ते ब्रह्मन् कथयिष्ये निबोध तत्।
योगेन वह्निधात्मानं कृत्वा तिष्ठामि मूर्त्तिषु।
अग्निहोत्रेषु सत्रेषु क्रियासु च मखेषु च।
वेदोक्तेन विधानेन मयि यज्ञूयते हविः।
देवताः पितरश्चैव तेन तृप्ता भवन्ति वै।
आपोदेवगणाः सर्व्वे आपः पितृगणास्तथा।
दर्शश्च पौर्णमासश्च देवानां पितृभिः सह।
देवताः पितरस्तस्मात्पितरश्चापि देवताः।
एकीभूताश्च दृश्यन्ते प्रथक्त्वेन च पर्व्वसु।
देवताः पितरश्चैव भुञ्जते मयि यज्ञुतं।
देवतानां पितॄणाञ्च मुखमेतदहं स्मृतं।
अमावास्यां हि पितरः पौर्णमास्यां हि देवताः। मन्मुखेनैव ह्यश्नन्ते भुञ्जते च हुतं हविः। सर्व्वभक्षः कथं तेषां भविष्यामि मुखं त्वहं।

to the presence of Brahma, who summons Agni, and gently admonishes that deity, as follows:

Thou art in all the dweller, of all acts
The mover, of the Three Worlds and their life
Sustainer. Thou shalt still dwell, move, sustain!
Be not unwise, being so great a God;
Thou art the purity and strength of Earth,
Thou shalt not bear th' unlightened curse, nor eat
The belly's draff; save as a flame eats flesh.
The Sun makes clean whate'er he shines upon,
So shall be clean whate'er thy fires consume.
Give of thy splendour what this curse demands
For necessary use, but keep thy part
Of offerings with the Gods, whose mouth thou art.[1]

Agni consents amid the rejoicings of heaven and earth; and the danger is averted.

The Reciter then narrates the story of Ruru, grandson of Chyavana; how the Sage Sthulakeśa found exposed the infant daughter of an Apsaras, by Vishâvasu, King of the Gandharvas, and reared her into wonderful virtue and beauty. Ruru sees and loves this fair Pramadvara, who is promised as a bride to him: but, playing in the wood, she is bitten by

[1] लोकानामिह सर्व्वेषां त्वं कर्त्ता चान्त एव च।
त्वं धारयसि लोकांस्त्रीन् क्रियाणाञ्च प्रवर्त्तकः।
स तथा कुरु लोकेश नोक्तिर्व्वैरन्यथा क्रियाः।
कस्मादेवं विमूढस्त्वमीश्वरः सन् ऊताशन।
त्वं पवित्रं सदा लोके सर्व्वभूतगतिश्च ह।
न त्वं सर्व्वशरीरेण सर्व्वभक्षत्वमेष्यसि।
अपाने ह्यर्च्चिषोयास्ते सर्व्वं भोक्ष्यन्ति ताः शिखिन्। क्रव्यादा च तनुर्या
ते सा सर्व्वं भक्षयिष्यति। यथा सर्य्यांशुभिःस्पृष्टं सर्व्वं
शुचि विभाव्यते।
तथा त्वदर्च्चिर्भिर्दग्धं सर्व्वं शुचि भविष्यति।
त्वमग्ने परमं तेजः स्वप्रभावाद्विनिर्गतं।
स्वतेजसैव ते शापं कुरु सत्यमृषेर्व्विभो।
देवानां चात्मनो भागं गृहाण त्वं मुखे ऊतं।

a large snake, and falls lifeless to earth amid weeping friends. Ruru, wild with sorrow, repairs to a lonely grove and there laments:

She lies, my sweet-limbed darling, on the earth,
Grievous to see for me, kin, friends, and all.
Ah, Gods! What woe is greater?—Ah, high Gods!
If I have won, by penance, worship, works,
Grace at your hands, give me in one dear gift
All my reward, my love's life back again!
Open her eyes and let my merits go!

A heavenly messenger (देवदूत) appears and speaks:

Vainly thou weepest, Ruru! she is gone.
Tears cannot make the dead alive again; . . .
Yet the Gods keep a secret which might give
Life to Pramadvara!

Ruru exclaims:

Oh, Angel! speak.
What must I do? What secret? tell me quick
That I may hear and try; deign to give aid.[1]

[1] शेते सा भवि तन्वङ्गी मम शोकविवर्द्धिनी।
बान्धवानाञ्च सर्व्वेषां किं नु दुःखमतः परं।
यदि दत्तं तपस्तप्तं गुरवो वा मया यदि।
सम्यगाराधितास्तेन सञ्जीवतु मम प्रिया।
यथा च जन्मप्रभृति यतात्माऽहं धृतव्रतः।
प्रमद्वरा तथाऽद्यैषा समुत्तिष्ठतु भाविनी।
एवं लालप्यतस्तस्यभार्य्यार्थे दुःखितस्य च॥
देवदूतस्तदाऽभ्येत्य वाक्यमाह रुरुं वने॥
देवदूत उवाच॥ अभिधत्सहे यद्वाक्यं रुरो दुःखेन तन्मृषा।
यतो मर्त्यस्य धर्मात्मन्नायुरस्ति गतायुषः।
गतायुरेषा कृपणा गन्धर्व्वाप्सरसो सुताः।
तस्माच्छोके मनस्तात माकृथास्त्वं कथञ्चन।
उपायश्चात्र विहितः पूर्व्वं देवैर्महात्मभिः।
तं यदीच्छसि कर्त्तुं त्वं प्राप्स्यसीह प्रमद्वरां॥
रुरुरुवाच॥ क उपायः कृतो देवैर्ब्रूहि तत्त्वेन खेचर।
करिष्येऽहं तथा श्रुत्वा चार्हति मां भवान्॥

The Messenger informs the Prince that if he bestows one moiety of his remaining existence upon the dead maiden, Yama, the God of Death, may accept the price, and restore Pramadvara. Ruru joyfully consents, and his betrothed is restored to life, and married to him. But, ever after, his enmity against serpents becomes insatiable. He kills all he meets remorselessly, until, one day, in entering a forest, he sees an old Dundubha snake (डुण्डुभ) asleep and seeks to put it to death. The snake wakens up and remonstrates in a human voice, pleading that he is of a harmless kind, and has done no one any injury. Ruru, astonished, qustions the reptile, and learns that it is a Rishi, named Hara, long ago changed into snake-form by a Brahman's curse. Hara had one day in sport frightened his friend the Brahman, while at sacrifice, with a wisp of straw twisted to resemble a serpent; and in his terror the angry sage had cursed him to take that shape. The curse could not be retracted, but it would pass away—said the Brahman—when its victim met with Ruru. Accordingly the Dundubha now resumes his human form, and instructs the Prince in the true duties of a Twice-Born. So far from destroying any such creatures, such a one ought to be compassionate and heedful, specially after having heard the story of Janamejaya, how he engaged to kill all the serpent-people at a sacrifice, and how they were rescued by the Brahman Astika.

Saunaka then begs the Reciter to narrate this serpent-legend. Astika's father was Jaratkaru, a great ascetic, equal in dignity and holiness to the Prajapatis. One day, "breathing with the interior breath, fasting, and keeping his eyes held from winking," he was visiting holy places. At night he came to a cave, where he beheld many figures suspended by their feet over an abyss. They were kept from falling into the pit only by one cord of fibres, which a rat was gnawing. He addressed them somewhat thus:

> "Oh ye that hang heads downward in this cave,
> The home of rats, held by thin threads from the pit,
> Who are you?" . . .

"We are ancestors," they said,
"Of Jaratkáru, a most holy Sage,
Who dooms himself and us to misery,
Being ascetic and a celibate.
By this thin thread of his one life we hang,
[While Time the Rat doth nibble it a-twain,]
Having no children of our child. But thee
Why should this touch, O Brahman? Who art thou?"
And Jaratkáru answered, "I am he
Who grieves ye thus, my ancestors. Say then
What must I do?"
"Ah, haste thee! wed! beget!"
They cried, "that thou and we may live anew:
A son is more than virtues or than fasts, . . .
Marry, and breed a boy, before we fall."[1]

[1] इतस्ततः परिचरन्दीप्तपावकसप्रभः ।
अटमानः कदाचित्स्वान् स ददर्श पितामहान् ।
लम्बमानान्महागर्त्ते पादैरूर्द्धैरवाङ्मुखान् ।
तानब्रवीत्स दृष्ट्वैव जरत्कारुः पितामहान् ।
के भवन्तोऽवलम्बन्ते गर्त्ते ह्यस्मिन्नधोमुखाः । वीरणस्तम्बके लग्नाः सर्व्वतः
परिभक्षिते । भूषिकेण निगूढेन गर्त्तेऽस्मिन्नित्यवासिना ।
॥ पितरऊचुः ॥ यायावरा नाम वयमृषयः शंसितव्रताः ।
सन्तानप्रक्षयाद्ब्राह्मन्नधो गच्छाम मेदिनीं ।
अस्माकं सन्ततिस्त्वेको जरत्कारुरिति स्मृतः ।
मन्दभाग्योऽल्पभाग्यानां तप एकं समास्थितः ।
न स पुत्रान् जनयितुं दारान्मूढश्चिकीर्षति ।
तेन लम्बामहेगर्त्ते सन्तानस्य क्षयादिह ।
अनाथास्तेन नाथेन यथा दुष्कृतिनस्तथा ।
कस्त्वं बन्धुरिवास्माकमनुशोचसि सत्तम ।
ज्ञातुमिच्छामहे ब्रह्मन् कोभवानिह नः स्थितः ।
किमर्थञ्चैव नः शोचाननुशोचसि सत्तम ।
॥ जरत्कारुरुवाच ॥ मम पूर्व्वे भवन्तो वै पितरः सपितामहाः ॥
ब्रूत किं करवाण्यद्य जरत्कारुरहं स्वयं ।
॥ पितरऊचुः ॥ यतस्व यत्नवांस्तात सन्तानाय कुलस्य नः ।

Jaratkáru consents to marry, if he can find a wife of his own name, freely offered to him; which conditions are fulfilled, after much wandering, by Vasuki, a King of the Serpents, who gives his daughter—also called Jaratkáru—to the Sage. Afterwards she bears him a son, the renowned Astika, who delivers the suspended ancestors, and also saves the snake-people at the sacrifice. The history of this event is next told, beginning in "the age of the gods." A Prajapati, named Kasyapa, had two wives, Kadru and Vinata, to whom he promised whatever each should wish. The former desired to have a thousand serpent-children, the latter to bear two sons stronger than a thousand. Kasyapa assents, and Kadru by-and-by brought forth snake-eggs ten at a time, up to a thousand, while Vinata produces two. Five hundred years elapse, and Kadru's eggs are hatched, but not Vinata's, who, becoming impatient, breaks one, and is reproached by the half-formed offspring within, who disappears, to become Aruna, the herald of the Dawn and charioteer of Aditya. In departing he tells his mother that she must be punished by becoming her sister's slave, but that her other child, Garuda, shall deliver her.

Just upon the birth of Garuda, the sisters perceive Uchchaihsravas, the Divine Steed, approaching, which was produced when the Gods churned the Ocean for the "Amrit." The mention of this miraculous horse occasions a long description of the churning of the Sea of Milk with Mount Mandara for the churning-stick, and the King of Serpents for the cord, and also how there came out thence the Moon, and Srî, and the great elephant Airávaná and Dhanwantari with the nectar, and this wonderful horse Uchchaihsravas. After long digression the poem comes back to its course.

आत्मनोऽर्थेऽस्मदर्थेच धर्म्मइत्येव वा विभो।
न हि धर्म्मफलैस्तात न तपोभिः सुसञ्चितैः।
तां गतिं प्राप्नुवन्तीह पुरुषा यां व्रजन्ति वै।
तद्दारग्रहणे यत्नं सन्तत्याञ्च मनः कुरु।
पुत्रकास्मिन्नियोगात्त्वमेतन्नः परमं हितं।

The sisters dispute as to the colour of the horse, Kadru saying its mane and tail were black, Vinata that they were white, and they wager about it, she who is wrong to be the other's slave. Kadru employs her serpent-brood to deceive Vinata, cursing those among them who shall disobey; and thus Vinata, after seeing the horse, yields herself to servitude. At this time Garuda is hatched from her remaining egg, of such mighty size and dazzling brilliance that the beholders take him for Agni. The first act of Garuda is to bear his brother Aruna to the eastward heavens, where the Sun was preparing to consume the world in anger at what had happened during the Amrit-churning. "Thus, the Sun at his rising was covered over by Aruna, the charioteer, and Gods, men, and Lókas remained unconsumed."

A curious episode follows. Garuda, visiting his mother beside the "great ocean," finds her obeying Kadru and the serpents, who ordered the great Bird-God to carry them all to the Land of the Nagas, "in the midst of the sea." Garuda complies, but flies so near the sun on his way, that the snake-children are only saved from death by copious rains sent from Indra. After remaining some time on the Delightful Island, the Snakes demand to be carried elsewhere, and Garuda, indignant at such servitude, learns from his mother Vinata that he and she can only buy their freedom if he will bring to the serpent-people some of the Heavenly Amrit.

Garuda first needs food himself, and is sent for this by his mother to the island of the Nishadas, being warned in devouring them, not to swallow a Brahman. "They are more dreadful than fire, poison, or deadly weapons." "If he should eat one by mistake, the morsel will stick in his throat like a fish-hook, and burn like flame." Garuda lands upon the isle, driving the waves upon the land by his huge wings and feet, and devouring the Nishadas with his vast gaping beak. A Brahman and his wife are gulped up with the hapless crowd, but they stick in the vast bird's gullet and scorch like fire. Garuda cries, "Release thyself, great Brahman, and come forth," but the Brahman then begs that his Nishadi spouse may be also released, which is granted. Next

the Bird flies to his father Kasyapa, still lacking food, and is directed to the "Lake of the Elephant and Tortoise," of which a very long story is told. Garuda seizes these two monsters, one in each claw, and seeks a branch on which he may perch to devour them. He comes to a mighty sandal tree (Rauhina-padapa) and alights. The bough breaks with his weight, but he seizes it, while falling, with his beak, for it is covered with meditating sages, who must not be hurt, yet will be killed if the limb drops. From that triple and "grievous load" Garuda's name is said to be derived. Flying far to discover a spot where he could safely lay down the branch, laden with "the sages who feed on sun-beams, the Balakhilyas," he is directed by his father to Himavat, where he rids himself of his burden and devours the elephant and tortoise.

By this time prodigies have warned the Gods that the colossal Bird is coming to seize their Amrit. There is emotion and even fear in the Indian Olympus, for, strong with the austerities of sages, "nothing," Vrihaspati declares, "will be impossible to Garuda." All this danger is due "to a previous act of pride on the part of Indra." The fault of the Deity (whose behaviour is discussed with curious freedom) is thus recited:

When Kasyapa performed sacrifice for a son, all the gods assisted, and they, as well as Indra and the Balakhilyas, were sent by Kasyapa to bring wood for the sacrifice.

Indra, according to his strength, easily brought a bundle of wood as big as a mountain. He, on his way to the sacrifice, saw some little lean starveling sages, half a thumb high, all together carrying a single tiny stick, under the weight of which they had tumbled into a cow's foot-print full of water, where they remained, struggling to get out. Proud Indra, contemptuously laughing, went up, and lifted them out with disrespect. At this they grew indignant and indeed extremely enraged, so that they "began a mighty deed, terrible to Indra." They sacrificed with special rites and repeated solemn prayers (or Mantras) with a loud voice, what they prayed for being this:—"Let another terrible Indra be born, the fruit of our Tapasya, who shall have whatever power he requires, and go

where he pleases, rule over the gods, be the dread of Indra, and a hundred times more strong and valiant."

Indra, much alarmed at this strong prayer, begs the intercession of Kasyapa, who persuades the angry little Saints to be satisfied with the creation of a Garuda. He was to be, as before said, one of the two egg-born children of Vinata, but Kasyapa warned the God thus:—"Never again slight the sages (Brahmavadis), nor proudly contemn those, whose every word, when angered, is as a thunderbolt."

The story now resumes its course, with an account of Garuda's attack upon the Gods. He overcomes Viswakarma, keeper of the nectar, and bewilders or defeats the other Deities, including even Agni. He then became small that he might pass within the whirling golden discus and the fiery snakes guarding the Amrit, which he seizes and carries off, not, however, tasting it. Indra hurls a thunderbolt at the vast Bird while escaping, but it affects him so little that Garuda voluntarily drops a wing-feather in order that he may seem to have been struck, and that Indra may not be altogether shamed. Astonished at such grace and power, Indra asks friendship and explanations from the Bird, who says:

"I can carry on my wings the earth and its forests and mountains, its lakes and seas. I can carry all its regions, creatures and products, without weariness."

Indra begs that the Amrita may be restored, since it will be fatal to the Gods that any others should possess it. Garuda accordingly promises that, as he has only undertaken to *fetch*, but not to *deliver*, the Nectar of immortality, he will lay it down where Indra may recover it. In return for this complaisance, he receives immortality and control over the Serpents, whom he deceives by placing the Amrit in their sight, but persuading them first to bathe and pray, and deck themselves before they eat. Indra meanwhile carries off the prize, and the Snake-folk, mournfully licking the Kusa-grass where it had been deposited, cut their tongues. Hence, all serpents—says the narrative—have become double-tongued.

The next chapter recounts the names of the principal chiefs among the Serpents.

The head of all these, Śesha, dreading the curse laid on his kind by their mother, set himself to fast, and stood meditating, "till his hair grew long, and his flesh, sinews and skin dried up." Brahma, observing this, pitied him, and offered a boon, "since thy thoughts are always virtuous." Śesha asked that he might ever delight in virtue, and also escape the fate of the Snakes; which Brahma grants, appointing him at the same time the Sustainer of the earth. "Beneath the world evermore sits the mighty Snake, and singly supports it." Meantime the other serpents hold assemblies to discuss the means of averting the maternal curse. Various proposals are put forward. One snake suggests they shall become Brahmans; another that they should get elected as Janamejaya's ministers; a third to try force; a fourth to defile the sacrifice, and thus render it null; a fifth to seize the king while still young. None of these projects please; but Elapatra, a wise serpent, relates how, when the curse was pronounced, it was also fated that Astika should be born and deliver all the virtuous snakes. So it was that the Serpent-King's sister, Jaratkáru, married the Sage of that name, and bore the Rishi Astika. The story thus comes round again.

This happened at the time of King Parikshita of the Kaurava race; and it is related how, while hunting one day, this monarch came upon a Brahman engaged in devotion, who did not answer when the King asked for water. Parikshita, in hasty pique, put a dead snake round his neck, still unnoticed by the Sage; but his young son, learning the affront thus offered, cursed the Royal offender to die by the bite of a snake. A curious passage ensues, wherein the fulfilment of this curse is depicted, although the Brahman had endeavoured to avert the effect of his son's words. Parikshita perishes, and his infant son Janamejaya is proclaimed successor, being betrothed to the daughter of the King of Kaśi.

In the ensuing chapter the story of Jaratkáru's ancestors, hanging by their heels in the cave, is told over anew, with fresh details, until the marriage of that sage is again reached. Here occurs a remarkable passage, illustrating the deep subjection of the wife of such a Rishi as Jaratkáru:

It chanced he laid his head upon her lap,
Sleeping so long the sun came near to sink;
And she did dread lest it should sink and leave
His sunset-prayers unsaid. But almost more
Feared she to anger him, awakening him.
Yet at the last this seemed the lesser ill,
To vex him for his good.[1] So, with soft breath,
She whispered in his ear, "Arise, my Lord!
The sun is setting, make thine evening prayer
After thy wont; the sacred fire shines low,
And in the west the shades of twilight spread."
Uprose he from his slumber wrathfully,
With lips in anger quivering, and he cried,
"O Daughter of the Snake! obeyest thou thus?
Is this thy rev'rence? I will not abide
Beside thee any more. 'The Sun,' sayest thou?
I think he dared not set until I woke;
The meanest will not live where he is scorned,
Much less a Sage like me."
Murmured the wife,
"I did it not in scorn, dear Lord! but lest
Thou shouldst omit thy duty, being a Sage."

[1] उवाचेदं वचः श्लक्ष्णं ततो मधुरभाषिणी।
उत्तिष्ठ त्वं महाभाग सूर्य्योऽस्तमुपगच्छति।
सन्ध्यामुपास्स्व भगवन्नपः स्पृष्ट्वा यतव्रत।
प्रादुष्कृताग्निहोत्रोऽयं मुहूर्त्तो रम्यदारुणः।
सन्ध्या प्रवर्त्तते चेयं पश्चिमां दिशि प्रभो।
एवमुक्तः स भगवान् जरत्कारुर्म्महातपा।
भार्य्यां प्रस्फुरमाणौष्ठ इदं वचनमब्रवीत्।
अवमानः प्रयुक्तोऽयं त्वया मम भुजङ्गमे।
समीपे ते नवत्स्यामि गमिष्यामि यथागतं।
शक्तिरस्ति न वामोरु मयि सुप्ते विभावसोः।
अस्तं गन्तु यथाकालमिति मे हृदि वर्त्तते।
न वाऽप्यवमतस्नेह वासो रोचेत कस्यचित्।
किं पुनर्द्धर्म्मशीलस्य मम वा मद्विधस्य वा। etc.

But the harsh Rishi is implacable, and only vouchsafes to console his abandoned wife by telling her that as to her unborn offspring, *Asti* "he is." Hence when she gives birth to a son, he was called Astika.

After a repetition of the story of Parikshita and his death by the serpent's bite, the narrative relates how Janamejaya prepared the great sacrifice for the destruction of the Snakes. The officiating priests, of whom a list is given, make ready the ground and the "house," and a guard is set round because it has been predicted that a Brahman shall stay the rites. "The officiating ministers took their stations. They wore black garments and muttered the charms as they threw the scented wood upon the fire, striking terror into the minds of the serpents at a distance. These, calling in a bewildered way on each other, rushed into the flames, hissing, twisting, and entwining their bodies. They were innumerable and of various shapes. They dropped in myriads into the flames; limbs, bones, and marrow were mingled together, and the roasting flesh sent forth a dreadful smell. Dismal cries were heard of the snake-folk, flying into the air and falling into the sacrifice." Even the serpent kings Takshaka and Vasuki were terrified and drawn by the sacred and dreadful spell.

At this juncture Vasuki calls upon Astika, his daughter's child by Jaratkáru, to save the snake-people. Astika consents, and approaches the place of sacrifice, which he finds guarded. He endeavours to gain admittance by loud felicitations of the King and his priests, which are heard with astonishment and pleasure by Janamejaya, since Astika is so youthful. The King is inclined to offer the young Brahman whatever he wishes as a boon, but Takshaka the Snake-Lord has not yet been brought to the flames, so the Hotra must continue. Presently Indra appears in the air with the Great Snake coiling round him for protection, but the King cries, "If Takshaka takes refuge with Indra, hurl him and the God together into the flames." At this command the officiating priest devotes both the snake and his divine protector to the fire, and Indra, greatly alarmed, flies with his chariot of clouds to heaven, while Takshaka "helplessly approached the

flames." The priests exclaimed, "The sacrifice goes well, King! You can now grant the young Brahman a boon." The King cries out, "I grant it," and Astika immediately demands that the sacrifice be stayed. The King is in consternation at this sudden turn; he offers gold, cattle, anything instead of this; but Astika insists upon the salvation of his mother's race, and the priests themselves say, "the Brahman must have his boon." The sacrifice is thus stayed.

The serpents are very grateful. They cry aloud:

> . . . "Oh, Astika! accept some gift from us
> Whom thou hast saved." . . .
> Answer made Astika,
> "Let him who is a Brahman, priest or lay,
> Or one, not twice-born, who shall read this tale
> Of what I did, at sunrise and sunset
> Go free from peril of your poison-fangs."
> Eager the Snake-folk gave consent, and framed
> A charm of subtle meaning, *Asitam*
> *Chartimantañcha Sun-îtham.* So rolled
> The potent syllables, which whoso saith
> By day or night he walks fearless of fangs.
> Also if one be threatened by a snake,
> This must he cry, "Oh Snake! calling to mind
> Astika—Jaratkáru's son by her
> Like-named—who saved the Serpents from the flames,
> Thou shouldst not harm me. Be it well with thee
> Deadly and excellent! as thou recall'st
> Astika's words, which stayed the sacrifice."
> And if a Snake turns not abashed at this,
> Shattered be hood and head a hundred-fold.[1]

[1] ॥ सौतिरुवाच ॥ एतच्छ्रुत्वा प्रीयमाणाः समेता ये तत्रासन्पन्नगा वीतमोहाः। आस्तीकं वै प्रीतिमन्तो बभूवुरूचुश्चैनं वरमिष्टं वृणीष्व। भूयोभूयः सर्व्वशस्तेऽब्रुवंस्तं किं ते प्रियं करवामाद्य विद्वन्। प्रीता वयं मोचिताश्चैव सर्व्वे कामं किं ते करवामाद्य वत्स।
॥ आस्तीक उवाच ॥ सायं प्रातर्य्यै प्रसन्नात्मरूपा लोके विप्रा मानवा ये परेऽपि। धर्म्माख्यानं ये पठेयुर्ममेदं तेषां युष्मन्नैव किञ्चिन्न्यं स्यात्।

Fanciful genealogies and fantastic stories ensue, having for object to link these mythical legends with the Pandu and Kuru Princes; and the main argument afterwards is related how the Brahmans cleared the land of male Kshatryas, and begot a better race upon the females of that sort; and how the earth was plagued with Daityas, etc., to rid her of which the Gods and Apsarases came down incarnated.

A strange episode ensues, beginning with mention of the marriage of Yayati to Devayani. The Gods and Demons had quarrelled, and, in the conflict which followed, Sukra, the Brahmana of the Demons, restored to life such as fell by his magic art of *Sanjivini* or "Enlivening." Angiras, the Purohit of the Gods, could not emulate this, so the Gods sent Kacha, the son of Vrihaspati, to offer himself as pupil to the great Rishi, and thus learn the secret. Kacha presents himself at the abode of the Sage, saying,

> "Kacha am I, son of Vrihaspati.
> Master, admit me near thee; I will live
> The life of Brahmacharya, studious
> Of wisdom, tho' I wait a thousand years."
> And the Sage answered, "Welcome art thou, Son;
> I will admit thee, for I honour thee,
> Being the son of good Vrihaspati."

Kacha therefore undertakes the vows, and serving about the person of his Teacher, soon ingratiates himself with his

तैश्चाप्युक्तो भागिनेय प्रसन्नैरेतत्सत्यं काममेवं वरं ते। प्रीत्या युक्ताः कामितं सर्व्वशस्ते कर्त्तार स्म प्रवणा भागिनेय।
असितं चार्त्तिमन्तञ्च सुनीथं चापि यः स्मरेत्।
दिवावा यदि रात्रौ नास्यसर्पभयं भवेत्।
यो जरत्कारुणा जातो जरत्कारौ महायशाः। आस्तीकः सर्पसत्रे वः पन्नगान्योऽभ्यरक्षत। तं स्मरन्तं महाभागा न मां हिंसितुमर्हथ।
सर्पापसर्पभद्रं ते गच्छ सर्प महाविष।
जनमेजयस्य यज्ञान्ते आस्तीकवचनं स्मर।
आस्तीकस्य वचः श्रुत्वा यः सर्पो न निवर्त्तते।
शतधा भिद्यते मूर्द्धा शिंशवृक्षफलं यथा।

daughter Devayani. In this manner he passes a long time, till the Asuras, knowing Kacha, determine to make an end of him to spite Vrihaspati, and to preserve on their own side the art of reviving the dead. They kill him and cut him into pieces, which they give to dogs. The verse proceeds:

> The cows came back that night without a guide,
> And Devayani, seeing them alone,
> Spake to the Sage, "Father, the sun is set,
> The Agnihotra offered; but the cows
> Return untended. Where is Kacha, then?
> I see not Kacha! Is he hurt or slain?
> I cannot live without him. I shall die."
>
> "If Kacha hath been slain," replied the Sage,
> "He shall return alive, when I say '*Come!*'"

Then, having recourse to his art, he summons Kacha, and all the portions of his body at once emerge from the maws of the dogs, and are reunited in living form. Devayani asks why he has stayed away so long; and he relates how the Asuras killed and mutilated him when he was bringing Samidh wood and Kuśa grass. "Now, however," adds Kacha, "I am somehow restored."

Again he is sent for flowers by Devayani, and the Asuras catch and kill him, this time reducing his body to a paste, which they throw in the sea. The lady misses him, invokes her father's aid, and Kacha is restored. The third time the demons slay him, and then burn his body, afterwards giving its ashes in wine to the Rishi. Devayani is in despair, she declares that he was her only beloved, and threatens to die if he be not revived. Kacha suddenly speaks to the Sage from his own inside, explaining what has been done, and that the Asuras hope either to put an end to him, or to make him kill his preceptor (a mortal sin) in being brought forth to life. The only solution of the difficulty is that the sage should teach the art of *Sanjivini* to the imprisoned pupil, in order that when he has emerged alive (by the enforced destruction of his master) he may exercise the art, and in turn restore the Sage himself to existence; Devayani having dutifully pro-

tested that she can survive neither the one nor the other. Accordingly the arrangement is carried out. Kacha comes forth, to the destruction of his Teacher's body, and then revivifies the august corpse. Restored to life, the Sage solemnly curses wine, which had betrayed him, and prohibits its use in future by all Brahmanical persons. Devayani afterwards offers herself as wife to Kacha, but he excuses himself in a very ungrateful manner, by pretending that having inhabited the body of her father, they are now brother and sister. Incensed at this, Devayani curses him: "his acquired gift shall be fruitless to himself." But he takes its knowledge in triumph to the Gods.

A long episode follows about the lives and fortunes of Yayati and his brides Devayani and Samistha. Their offspring bring the poem down to the Paṇḍava and Kaurava families, and to the real narrative of the Mahábhárata, all this lengthy introduction—with much other unnoticed matter—serving apparently to dignify the Brahmans, defame the "Snake-peoples," glorify Royal pedigrees, and to blend existing legends and beliefs with the real and eminently beautiful ancient Epic, of which the action may be said to begin with the death of King Paṇḍu.

Art. XVIII.—*Arab Metrology. IV. Eḍ-Ḍahaby.*

By M. H. Sauvaire.

[p. 1.] Ceci est un traité important, substantiel, utile, sur la détermination du derham, du metqâl, etc., par le maître, le très docte cheikh Eḍ-Ḍahaby, que Dieu lui fasse miséricorde et nous fasse profiter de lui et de ses connaissances ! Ainsi soit-il !

[p. 2.] Au nom de Dieu clément, miséricordieux !

Louange à Dieu, le maître des mondes ! Que la prière et le salut reposent sur notre Seigneur Mohammad, sa famille, ses compagnons et les compagnons de ses compagnons (*tâbé'yn*) !

Or donc, voici ce que dit Moustafa Eḍ-Ḍahaby, le châfé'îte: Ceci est un traité sur la détermination تحرير du derham, du metqâl, des monnaies ayant cours en Egypte (Mesr), de la quantité d'alliage غشّ qu'elles contiennent et du chiffre qu'elles fournissent comme quotité imposable (*nésâb*), ainsi que cela a été déterminé حرّر à l'hôtel des monnaies, et sur l'exposé des poids et des mesures de capacité.

En ce qui regarde le derham et le metqâl, les textes établissent qu'ils n'ont pas changé, ni avant ni depuis l'islamisme, c'est-à-dire que la puissance مقدار de ces deux poids, sous l'islamisme, n'a pas varié de ce qu'elle était au temps du paganisme et qu'elle est restée conforme à la détermination que les Grecs (*Younân*) en avaient faite. Or les gens ont continué de l'adopter, lors de la venue de l'islamisme, le législateur (sacré) ayant gardé le silence sur ce point. Les derhams et les metqâls dont il est question dans la *zakâh* (la dîme aumônière) et autres (prescriptions religieuses) doivent donc s'entendre de cette (manière) et ne sauraient être l'objet d'aucun doute, contrairement à ce que se sont imaginé quelques (docteurs).

Ebn er-ref'ah [1] dans le *Tebyân*,[2] Es-Saroûdjy [3] dans le Commentaire de la Hédâyah,[4] Es-Soyoûty [5] dans le *Qat'el moudjâdalah*,[6] El Maqrîzy,[7] 'Abd el Qâder es-Soûfy [8] et autres auteurs ont rapporté que les Grecs (*Younân*) avaient évalué le derham à quatre mille deux cents grains (*habbah*)—4200,—des grains de moutarde sauvage,[9] et le metqâl à six mille de ces mêmes grains [10]—6000. Le derham se trouve ainsi égal aux sept-dixièmes du metqâl,[11] c'est-à-dire à la demie et un cinquième de celui-ci,[12] et le metqâl à un derham et trois septièmes de derham. Conséquemment les dix derhams équivalent à sept metqâls.[13] Cette équation est basée sur le rapport de l'or pur الصّافى à la parité de son volume [14] d'argent pur. Alors, en effet, le poids de l'or surpasse celui de l'argent des trois septièmes de ce dernier, comme cela est connu. On n'a pris pour base ce rapport qu'à cause de la fréquence de l'emploi des (expressions) *derham* et *metqâl* pour signifier les deux monnaies (légales), le (mot) metqâl étant notoirement usité en (parlant de) l'or et le (mot) derham pour (exprimer) l'argent; et l'on n'a fait l'évaluation en moutarde sauvage que parce qu'elle constitue une espèce unique qui ne varie ni en légèreté ni en pesanteur رزانة, ainsi que l'ont rapporté El Maqrîzy et autres. L'évaluation faite au moyen de cette (graine) est donc d'une régularité constante; [15] il en est tout

[1] Docteur châfé'îte mort en l'année 710 de l'hég.

[2] Voy. El Djabarty, p. 4, note 4, du tirage à part.

[3] Voy. sur ce docteur hanafîte, qui mourut en l'année 710 de l'hég., El Djabarty, p. 4, note 2.

[4] Ce commentaire de la *Hédâyah* d'El Marghînâny a pour titre *El Ghâyah* ou plutôt *Ghâyat el bayân wa nâdérat el aqrân*.

[5] Voy. El Djabarty, p. 4, note 5.

[6] Le *Hâwy* dans lequel serait renfermé ce traité, d'après ce que nous apprend Hadji Khalîfah, ne se trouve pas à la B. nationale.

[7] [8] Voy. El Djabarty, p. 4, note 6, et p. 5, note 2. Notre auteur a eu évidemment entre les mains le *Traité des balances*.

[9] $\frac{4200}{3\text{gr.}, 0898} = 0\text{gr.}, 0007356\frac{2}{3}$.

[10] $0\text{gr.}, 0007356\frac{2}{3} \times 6000 = 4\text{gr.}, 414$.

[11] $\frac{4200}{6000} = \frac{7}{10}$.

[12] $\frac{7}{10} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{5}$.

[13] $3,0898 \times 10 = 4\text{gr.}, 414 \times 7$.

[14] لمثل مساحته.

[15] متّسق مطّرد.

autrement des autres grains : ils sont en effet variables et, par conséquent, il n'est pas valable de s'en servir pour faire une évaluation. Certainement, si les grains appartiennent à une espèce dont la légèreté et la pesanteur sont moyennes, il est permis de les employer à l'évaluation, comme l'ont fait les (jurisconsultes) modernes, mus par le désir d'obtenir un petit chiffre, en évaluant le derham, en (graines de) moutarde rouge des jardins de moyenne grosseur et égales, à mille grains [1]—1000,—en (graines de) *chechm* indien noir arrivées à maturité, de moyenne grosseur et égales, à cent quarante-quatre graines [2]—144,—en (grains d') orge *séparés* اعزل, pleins, moyens, à cinquante grains d'orge et deux cinquièmes [3] —$50\frac{2}{5}$,—et en grains de caroube (*Kharnoûb*) *bien nourris* اصمّ, moyens et égaux, à seize grains et quatre cinquièmes de grain [4]—$16\frac{4}{5}$.

On a également déduit par analogie le metqâl du derham suivant le rapport précédent ; on a fait cela sur le pendant de l'évaluation qui avait été donnée par les Grecs.[5]

Néanmoins personne n'ignore qu'on ne connaît l'état moyen توسّط de légèreté et de pesanteur (des grains) qu'en tenant compte des époques du développement des plantes [p. 3] dans les quatre saisons, comme l'a énoncé Ebn Abî'l fath es-Soûfy [6] dans son traité intitulé *Teuhfat en-neuddâr fî inchâ el 'yâr ;* ce qui parfois n'est pas facile. Or, le moyen le plus sûr, que dis-je ? le seul certain pour la détermination تحرير dont il s'agit, est de recourir à la moutarde sauvage : on en prend cinquante grains—50,—avec lesquels on détermine une *sandjah* صنجة (poids-étalon) destinée à exprimer le cinquième d'un grain de caroube ; [7] avec l'ensemble on

[1] Ce qui donne pour le poids de ce grain 0gr., 0030898.

[2] Le poids de cette graine est donc de 0gr., $0214569\frac{4}{5}$.

[3] Soit pour le grain d'orge 0gr., $061305\frac{5}{5}$, cf. mes *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes* dans le Journal Asiatique.

[4] Le grain de caroube pèse donc 0gr., $1839\frac{1}{5}$. Voy. *Kharroûbah* dans mes *Matériaux*, etc.

[5] وجعلوا ذلك على وزن ما قدّر به اليونان.

[6] L'auteur et l'ouvrage sont inconnus à Hadji Khalîfah.

[7] $\frac{0\text{gr., }1839\frac{1}{6}}{5} = 0\text{gr., }03678\frac{1}{3}$.

compose une *sandjah* pour les deux cinquièmes ;[1] et avec le tout, une *sandjah* pour les quatre cinquièmes.[2] A l'aide de la première *sandjah* et de la troisièmé, on forme une *sandjah* pour la *habbah*, qu'on appelle *qîrât*.[3] L'ensemble des quatre *sandjah* est égal à deux qîrâts et deux cinquièmes ;[4] ce qui représente un septième de derham[5] et (aussi) un dixième de metqâl.[6] On compose ensuite le derham et le metqâl suivant ce rapport, comme il a été dit précédemment. Le metqâl est donc (égal à) vingt-quatre qîrâts[7] et le derham, à seize qîrâts et quatre cinquièmes de qîrât.[8] Le qîrât équivaut à deux cent cinquante grains de moutarde[9]—250.

Les chefs du rite hanafîte l'ont fait de trois cents grains de moutarde[10]—300—; car, ont-ils dit, le metqâl est (égal à) vingt qîrâts—20—, et le derham (à) quatorze qîrâts—14—. C'est là une manière conventionnelle de s'exprimer qui renferme la proportion sans fraction. Prends donc garde.

Il s'est introduit récemment, dans la coutume de Mesr, l'usage de faire le derham *légal* de seize qîrâts et le metqâl, d'un derham et demi. Par suite le qîrât *mesry* pèse deux cent soixante-deux grains de moutarde et un demi-grain[11]—$262\frac{1}{2}$—, et le metqâl (*mesry*) pèse six mille trois cents grains de moutarde[12]—6300—; ce qui le rend supérieur au metqâl légal d'un qîrât mesry et d'un septième de qîrât.[13] Le

[1] 0gr., $0,3678\frac{1}{3}\times 2 = 0,7356\frac{2}{3}$.

[2] 0gr., $0,3678\frac{1}{3}\times 4 = 1,4713\frac{1}{3}$.

[3] 0gr., $0,3678\frac{1}{3}+0,1,4713\frac{1}{3} = 1,8391\frac{2}{3} = 1$ *habbah* $= 1$ *qîrât*, c'est-à-dire le qîrât des Châfé'îtes.

[4] 0gr., $0,3678\frac{1}{3}+0,7356\frac{2}{3}+0,1,4713\frac{1}{3}+0,1,8391\frac{2}{3} = 4,4142\frac{2}{3}$ qîrâts.

[5] 0gr., $4,4142\times 7 = 30,898$ ou le derham *légal*.

[6] 0gr., $4,4142\times 10 = 44,142$ ou le metqâl *légal*.

[7] 0gr., $1,8391\frac{2}{3}\times 24 = 44,142$.

[8] 0gr., $1,8391\frac{2}{3}\times 16\frac{2}{3} = 30,898$.

[9] 0gr., $0,0073\overline{56\frac{2}{3}}\times 250 = 1,8391\frac{2}{3}$.

[10] 0gr., $0,0073\overline{56\frac{2}{3}}\times 300 = 2,2070$. C'est le qîrât des Hanafîtes, qui donnent au metqâl légal 20 qîrâts et au derham, 14, comme le dit Eḍ-Ḍahaby. En effet $0,2207\times 20 = 44,142$ et $0,2207\times 14 = 30,898$. Cf. *Matériaux* etc.

[11] 0gr., $0,0073\overline{56\frac{2}{3}}\times 262\frac{1}{2} = 1,9311\overline{25}$.

[12] 0gr., $0,0073\overline{56\frac{2}{3}}\times 6300 = 46,347$.

[13] 4gr., 6347—4gr., 4142 = 0gr., 2207 (ou 1 qîrât hanafîte). 0gr., 2207 = 0gr., $1931125 + \frac{0\text{gr., }1931125}{7} = 0\text{gr., }1931125 + 0\text{gr., }0275875$.

metqâl légal, exprimé en qîrâts égyptiens, est donc de vingt-deux qîrâts et six septièmes de qîrât,[1] ainsi qu'il résulte de la proportion légale. On trouve quelques *Bondoqys* (sequins de Venise) qui ont ce poids (*meqdâr*) : on les appelle *mochkhas*. On dit que c'est là l'étalon de poids (*me'yâr*) du metqâl légal ; cette opinion a été émise par le Cheikh Es-Safawy.

Le metqâl *mesry* est donc égal à un metqâl légal et au quart du cinquième (ou 20me) de celui-ci,[2] et par conséquent vingt metqâls mesrys en font vingt-un, au metqâl légal.[3]

Quant au derham (*mesry*), tu sais déjà qu'il est légal (*char'y*). Nous l'avons comparé حرّرناه avec le derham d'El Malek el Achraf[4] portant le sceau de ce prince et établi sur le derham légal, et l'avons trouvé identique. Les seize *habbah*,[5] évaluation donnée au derham *mesry*, égalent en poids les seize (*habbah*)[6] et quatre cinquièmes, chiffre auquel est évalué le derham légal, de telle sorte que la *habbah* de celui-là équivaut à une *habbah* et un quart de cinquième de *habbah* de celui-ci, et les soixante-quatre grains de blé قمحة auxquels est évalué le derham *mesry*,[7] égalent en poids les cinquante grains d'orge et deux cinquièmes, qui constituent l'évaluation donnée au derham légal, le grain de blé équivalant ainsi aux trois quarts d'un grain d'orge et trois cinquièmes du quart du quart d'un grain d'orge[8] — $\frac{3}{5}\,\frac{3}{4}\,\frac{}{4}$ (*sic*) — : ce qui est en plus comme nombre se trouve en moins sous le rapport de l'espèce (de grains) et *vice versâ*.[9]

[1] 0gr., $1931125\times22\frac{6}{7}=4$gr., 414.

[2] 4gr., $414+\frac{4,414}{20}=4,414+0,2207=4$gr., 6347.

[3] 4gr., $6347\times20=4$gr., $414\times21=92$gr., 694.

[4] L'auteur désigne ainsi El Malek el Achraf Bersbây (voy. plus loin). Dans le Catalogue du British Museum, t. iv., on trouve deux derhams de ce prince ; mais le plus fort ne pèse que 1gr., 95696. Il s'agirait plutôt ici, ce me semble, d'un poids étalonné.

[5] Ou qîrâts *mesrys*.

[6] Ou qîrâts *châfé'ites*.

[7] Ce qui donne pour le grain de blé $\frac{30898}{64}=0$gr., $0482781\frac{1}{8}$.

[8] Cette fraction représente $\frac{63}{80}$. Les $\frac{63}{80}$ de 0gr., $061305\frac{5}{9}$ (voyez ci-devant) = 0gr., $048278\frac{1}{8}$.

[9] فما زاد فى الكم نقص فى الكيف وعكسه. Litt. "Ce qui a augmenté dans le *combien* a diminué dans le *comment* et vice versa."

Les poids (*maqâdîr*) sont donc égaux, bien qu'il y ait une différence dans les quantités (de grains) فى الكموم. Prends donc garde.

Il est notoire aussi que les cinquante, au poids de Constantinople, font cinquante-un, au poids de Mesr. Conséquemment, le metqâl (de C. P.) est plus fort (que celui de Mesr) de deux cinquièmes de qîrât *mesry* et de deux cinquièmes de cinquième[1] — $\frac{2}{5}\frac{2}{5}$ —; le derham (de C. P.) l'emporte (sur celui de Mesr) d'un cinquième de qîrât (*mesry*) et de trois cinquièmes de cinquième[2] — $\frac{3}{5}\frac{1}{5}$ —; le qîrât (de C. P.) pèse cinq grains de moutarde et un quart de grain de plus[3] (que le qîrât *mesry*); et le ratl (de C. P.) contient deux derhams, sept huitièmes de derham et deux cinquièmes de cinquième de qîrât (*mesry*)[4] — $2\frac{7}{8}$ H $\frac{2}{5}\frac{}{5}$ T[5] — de plus (que le ratl *mesry*). Or, le poids (*meqdâr*) du qîrât de Constantinople étant de deux cent soixante-sept grains de moutarde et trois quarts[6] — $\frac{}{267\frac{3}{4}}$ —, [p. 4] il s'ensuit que le metqâl de Constantinople est plus fort que le metqâl légal de quatre-cent vingt-six grains de moutarde[7] — 426 —; et les cinquante metqâls, au poids de Constantinople, sont

[1] Cette fraction équivaut à $\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{5}$. Si on ajoute au metqâl *mesry* = 4gr., 6347, les $\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{5}$ du qîrât *mesry* ou $\frac{12\times 0\text{gr.},1931125}{25} = 0\text{gr.},092694$, on aura pour le metqâl de C.P. 4gr., 727394.

[2] Ce qui fait $\frac{8}{2}\frac{}{5}$. Le $\frac{8}{2}\frac{}{5}$ de 0gr., 1931125 représentent 0gr., 061796. En les ajoutant à 3gr., 0898 on a pour le derham de C.P. 3gr. 151596. Tillet dans son *Essai sur le rapport des poids étrangers* avec le marc de France (Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, année 1767) fait le derham de C.P. égal à 1 marc 2 onces 3 gros et 28 grains = 3gr., 18899.

[3] $5\frac{1}{4}\times 0\text{gr.},0007356\frac{2}{5} = 0\text{gr.},00386225$; 0gr., 1931125 + 0,00386225 = 0gr., 19697475.

[4] Le ratl *mesry* étant égal à 144 derhams, on aurait pour celui de C.P. $146\frac{7}{8}$ derhams et $\frac{2}{2}\frac{}{5}$ de qîrât mesry, soit en grammes 453gr., 829824. Ce chiffre diffère cependant de celui donné par El Djabarty.

[5] L'*Hâ* est l'abréviation de *Derham* et le *Tâ*, celle de *Qîrât*. C'est par le D et le Q que je les représenterai désormais.

[6] $0\text{gr.},0007356\frac{2}{5}\times 267\frac{3}{4} = 0\text{gr.},19697475$ que nous avons déjà vu.

[7] En effet $267\frac{3}{4}\times 24 = 6426$, et $6426 - 426 = 6000$.

égaux à cinquante-trois, deux cinquièmes et trois quarts de cinquième d'un metqâl, au poids légal[1] — $\frac{3}{53}\frac{2}{4}\frac{}{5}$ —. Prends donc garde.

Sache encore qu'il faut, dans les évaluations légales telles que la quotité imposable (*nésâb*), prévenir de la différence des poids, afin d'éviter toute confusion. La méthode pour obtenir ce résultat, en ce qui regarde le *nésâb*, consiste à diviser sa quantité de grains de moutarde par la quantité qu'en renferme son qîrât : le quotient sera un *nésâb* en qîrâts demandés. On en composera ensuite des derhams ou des metqâls suivant la proportion légale ou coutumière. Ainsi, le quantum (*meqdâr*) du *nésâb* de l'or pur الصّافى, en grains de moutarde, est cent vingt mille[2] — 120,000 —; en qîrâts légaux, quatre cent quatre-vingts qîrâts[3] — 480 —; en qîrâts *mesrys*, quatre cent cinquante-sept et un septième de qîrât[4] — $457\frac{1}{7}$ —; en metqâls légaux, vingt metqâls[5] — 20 —; en metqâls *mesrys* dix-neuf metqâls et un septième de tiers[6] — $\frac{1}{19}\frac{}{7}\frac{}{3}$ —; en derhams légaux ou *mesrys*, vingt-huit derhams et quatre septièmes de derham[7] — $\frac{}{28}\frac{4}{7}$ —.

Le quantum du *nésâb* de l'argent pur, en (grains de) moutarde, est de huit cent quarante mille[8] — 840,000 —; en qîrâts légaux, il est de trois mille trois cent soixante

[1] $50\times4{,}727394 = 53\frac{33}{50}\times4{,}414 = 236$gr., 3697.

[2] $6000\times20 = 120000$. On sait que la quotité imposable pour l'or est de 20 metqâls.

[3] $\frac{120000}{250} = 480$.

[4] $\frac{120000}{262\frac{1}{2}} = 457\frac{1}{7}$. $457\frac{1}{7}\times0$gr., $1931125 = 20\times4$gr., $414 = 88$gr., 28.

[5] $\frac{120000}{6000} = 20$.

[6] $\frac{120000}{6300} = 19\frac{1}{21}$.

[7] $\frac{120000}{4200} = 28\frac{4}{7}$.

[8] $4200\times200 = 840000$. On sait que la quotité imposable pour l'argent est de 200 derhams. Celle de l'or étant de 20 metqâls $= 28\frac{4}{7}$ derhams, on a $28\frac{4}{7}$ *derhams* d'or $= 200$ *derhams* d'argent, d'où 1 *derham* d'or $= 7$ *derhams* d'argent.

qîrâts[1] — 3360 —; en qîrâts *mesrys*, de trois mille deux cents qîrâts[2] — 3200 —; en derhams légaux ou *mesrys*, de deux cents derhams[3] — 200 —; en metqâls légaux, de cent quarante metqâls[4] — 140 —; en metqâls *mesrys*, de cent trente-trois et un tiers de metqâl[5] — $133\frac{1}{3}$ —. On évalue d'après cette analogie le *nésâb* au poids de Constantinople.

A.[6] "Par ces mots : *On évalue d'après cette analogie etc.*, l'auteur veut dire que le *nésâb* de l'or en qîrâts de Constantinople est de quatre cent quarante-huit qîrâts et quarante-huit grains de moutarde[7] — $\frac{Q^{8}}{448\ \overline{48}}$; ce qui, en metqâls (de C. P.), est égal à dix-huit metqâls et deux tiers — $\overline{18\frac{2}{3}}$ —[9] et quarante-huit grains de moutarde — $\overline{48}$ —; en derhams (de C. P.), à vingt-huit derhams et quarante-huit grains de moutarde[10] — $\overline{48}$.

Le *nésâb* de l'argent, en qîrâts (de C. P.), est de trois mille cente trente-sept qîrâts — $\overline{3137}$ —, et soixante-huit grains de moutarde et quart[11] — $\overline{68\frac{1}{4}}$ —; ce qui, en derhams

[1] $\frac{840000}{250} = 3360$.

[2] $\frac{840000}{262\frac{1}{2}} = 3200$.

[3] $\frac{840000}{4200} = 200$.

[4] $\frac{840000}{6000} = 140$.

[5] $\frac{840000}{6300} = 133\frac{1}{3}$.

[6] Tout le passage que je place entre deux A se trouve dans la marge de l'édition lithographiée.

[7] $\frac{120000}{267\frac{3}{4}} = 448$, et il reste 48 (grains de moutarde).

[8] Le texte porte par erreur 480.

[9] $\frac{120000}{6426} = 18\frac{2}{3}$, et il reste 48 (grains de moutarde).

[10] $\frac{120000}{4284} = 28$, et il reste 48 (grains de moutarde).

[11] $\frac{840000}{267\frac{3}{4}} = 3137$, et il reste $68\frac{1}{4}$ (grains de moutarde).

(de C. P.), fait cent quatre-vingt-seize derhams et un demi-huitième de derham — $\overline{196\frac{1}{16}}$ — et soixante-huit grains de moutarde et quart[1] — $\overline{68\frac{1}{4}}$ —; et, en metqâls (de C. P.), cent trente metqâls et un tiers, un quart et un huitième de metqâl — $\overline{130\frac{17}{24}}$ — et soixante-huit grains de moutarde et quart.[2] (Note) suffisante. A.

Cela a lieu ainsi pour le *nésâb* de la monnaie pure (*sâfy*), comme nous l'avons indiqué. Quant au *nésâb* en monnaie contenant de l'alliage (*maghchoûch*), c'est d'après le calcul de cet alliage (*ghechch*), ainsi qu'on le verra dans le tableau des monnaies.

Ce qu'a mentionné le *Cheikh el islâm* à propos du *Charîfy*, qui est le dînâr d'El Malek el Achraf Bersbây, à savoir que son poids est d'un derham légal et un huitième de derham,[3] et que le *nésâb*, en cette monnaie, est de vingt-cinq dînârs, deux septièmes et un neuvième de dînâr — $\overline{25\,\frac{1}{9}\,\frac{2}{7}}$ (*sic*) —, est basé sur ce que le *Charîfy* dont il s'agit ne contient pas d'alliage. Si donc on multiplie le nombre de ce *nésâb* par un derham et un huitième de derham, le produit atteindra le *nésâb* de l'or en derhams,[4] comme on vient de le voir.

Remarque.

Ce qui précède nous apprend que l'alliage n'entre pas dans le calcul du *nésâb* et qu'il n'est pas imposable; qu'on ne

[1] $\frac{840000}{4284} = 196\frac{1}{16}$, et il reste $68\frac{1}{4}$ (grains de moutarde).

[2] $\frac{840000}{6246} = 130\frac{17}{24}$; le reste est $68\frac{1}{4}$ (grains de moutarde).

[3] 3gr., $0898 \times 1\frac{1}{8} = 3$gr.,476025 ou 18 qîrâts égyptiens, ce qui est aussi le poids du sequin de Venise (*bondoqy*) et de celui de Hongrie (*maḍjar*). Le plus fort des *Charîfys* du *British Museum* (Voy. Catalogue, ive vol.) pèse 53 grains anglais = 3gr., 4344. En tenant compte de la tolérance et du frai, on n'est pas loin du poids donné par notre auteur.

[4] En effet $25\frac{1}{9}\,\frac{2}{7}$ ou $25\frac{2}{63}$ multipliés par $1\frac{1}{8} = 28\frac{4}{7} = 88$gr., 28. Ce qui est en derhams (de 3gr., 0898) le poids du *nésâb* de l'or, autrement représenté par 20 metqâls (de 4gr., 414).

complète pas le *nésâb* de l'une des deux monnaies par l'autre, et que l'une d'elles ne peut supporter l'impôt pour l'autre; suivant l'opinion d'Ech-Châfé'y; en effet, la *zakâh* (dîme aumônière) est afférente à la chose même (*'ayn*). Abou Hanîfah et Mâlek professent au contraire qu'il y a lieu, si l'alliage est faible ou si les pièces contenant un alliage passent à l'égal des pièces de métal pur (*sâfy*), de faire entrer l'alliage dans le calcul, et que le *nésâb* de l'une *des deux monnaies* doit se compléter par l'autre.[1] Suivant quelques jurisconsultes قيل, (cela aura lieu ainsi) pour une fraction, comme un demi-nésâb de chacune d'elles; et suivant d'autres قيل, ce sera pour la valeur قيمة, comme cent derhams d'argent et quatre metqâls d'or d'une valeur de cent derhams d'argent.

(Abou Hanîfah et Mâlek professent en outre) qu'il est permis de compléter par l'une des deux monnaies (le *nésâb* de) la *zakâh*,[2] en ayant égard à la valeur; ils autorisent même qu'on complète (le *nésâb* de) la *zakâh* par autre chose que la monnaie, par les aliments [p. 5] et les vêtements, par exemple, en se basant sur la valeur.

Principes dérivés (foroû').

Le *nésâb* est une condition *sine qua non*, même à l'égard des mines; suivant quelques jurisconsultes, tout ce qui en est extrait est passible de la *zakâh*. Ce qui est obligatoire dans la *zakâh* des espèces monnayées (*naqd*), c'est le (payement du) quart du dixième; même (il en est ainsi) pour les trésors en fouis ركاز. D'après quelques-uns, c'est le cinquième qui est obligatoire.

Il n'y a pas *d'interruption*[3] après le *nésâb*; au contraire,

[1] On voit tout de suite quelle différence dans le taux de l'impôt peut produire cette divergence d'opinions entre Ech-Châfé'y et Abou Hanîfah ou Mâlek. Dans les tableaux qu'il nous donnera ci-après, notre auteur, qui est Châfé'îte, fait figurer le nombre de chaque espèce de pièces d'or ou d'argent auquel s'élève le *nésâb*, défalcation faite de l'alliage, c'est-à-dire en ne tenant compte que du métal pur, or ou argent, que ces pièces contiennent.

[2] C'est ce que les Arabes expriment par le mot تزكية.

[3] وقص. L'expression technique *waqas* que je rends par *interruption* signifie qu'une fois le *nésâb* atteint, il faut que la matière imposable s'élève à un certain

ce qui est en plus doit payer au prorata. Abou Hanîfah s'est prononcé pour le *waqas* jusqu'à quarante derhams, pour l'argent: ils doivent alors un derham ; et pour l'or jusqu'à quatre metqâls, qui sont imposés à un dixième de metqâl. Et ainsi de suite pour chaque quarante (derhams) et pour chaque quatre (metqâls).

Complément.

Sur des quantités (maqâdîr) *conventionnelles* (estélâhiyyah).

De ce nombre sont :

L'estâr, égal à quatre metqâls et la moitié d'un metqâl ;[1]

Le *tassoûdj*, que les Hanafîtes font d'un demi-qîrât, soit cent cinquante grains de moutarde[2] — 150 — ;

Et le *dâneq*. Dans l'origine le *dâneq* était le sixième du derham.[3] Dans la suite, on l'a communément considéré comme étant le *sixième du sixième du quart* du qîrât ; ce qui fait la cent quarante-quatrième partie d'un qîrât — $\frac{}{144}$ —.

L'une de ces parties[4] est donc un *dâneq ;* les deux font une *habbah* ;[5] les trois, un demi-qîrât du qîrât ;[6] les quatre, deux *habbah* ;[7] les cinq, une *habbah* et un demi-qîrât ; les six, un qîrât du qîrât, c'est-à-dire le tiers du huitième [ou la 24me partie] de celui ci.[8] On continue à prendre de cette manière le rapport au qîrât jusqu'à ce qu'on arrive à vingt-

chiffre, supérieur, pour être passible du payement d'un impôt *supplémentaire*. Ce chiffre est pour les Hanafîtes, comme on le voit dans ce paragraphe, le cinquième du *nésâb*, et chaque cinquième du *nésâb* est seul soumis à l'acquittement de la dîme aumônière ; le chiffre intermédiaire ne paye rien.

[1] Cet *estâr* est en corrélation avec le ratl de Baghdâd de 90 metqâls ou $128\frac{4}{7}$ derhams. Le ratl compte 20 estârs ; $20\times4\frac{1}{2}=90$. Voy. mes *Matériaux*, IIe partie, sous *Estâr*.

[2] $150\times0\text{gr.}, 0007356\frac{3}{7}=0\text{gr.}, 11035$ ou la moitié de 0gr., 2207, qîrât des Hanafîtes. Voy. mes *Matériaux*.

[3] On donnait aussi ce nom au $\frac{1}{6}$ du dînâr. Voy. mes *Matériaux*, sous *Dâneq*.

[4] C'est-à-dire $\frac{1}{144}$.

[5] $\frac{2}{144}=\frac{1}{72}$.

[6] $\frac{3}{144}=\frac{1/2}{24}$.

[7] $\frac{4}{144}=\frac{2}{72}$.

[8] $\frac{6}{144}=\frac{1}{24}$.

quatre: l'on a alors le qîrât entier.[1] Après quoi, l'on rapporte celui-ci au metqâl et [autres poids] analogues, et on emploie comme signes représentatifs ceux consacrés aux fractions,[2] bien même que la quotité الكمية soit différente. Ainsi le huitième, par exemple, du qîrât est dix-huit dâneqs;[3] celui du metqâl, trois qîrâts;[4] celui du derham d'usage عُرْفِيّ, deux qîrâts;[5] celui du *Bondoqy*, deux qîrâts et un quart de qîrât,[6] et ainsi de suite. Comprends donc.

Les fractions (*kosoûr*) pouvant se confondre les unes avec les autres, on les distingue par un signe علامة, tel que le *Tâ* pour indiquer le *qîrât;* le *Mîm*, pour le *metqâl;* le *Dâl*, pour le derham. Ce qu'il y a de plus commode, c'est de figurer les qîrâts au moyen des chiffres indiens, ainsi qu'on le verra.

Sache encore que le dâneq, dans le sens qu'on lui donne communément, ne peut être exprimé par les balances ordinaires à cause de sa ténuité. Les plus habiles peseurs disent même que tout ce que peuvent marquer les balances destinées au pesage de l'or, c'est le quart d'un grain de blé قمحة, soit neuf dâneqs[7] et tout ce que peuvent indiquer les balances construites pour peser les diamants, c'est le quart du quart d'un grain de blé, ce qui est l'équivalent de deux dâneqs et un quart de dâneq.[8] Il est vrai, lorsque les objets à peser sont nombreux, ce qui était caché se manifeste. Il faut donc, surtout dans les opérations exigeant une limite fixe,[9] telles que le *nésâb*, suivant Ech-Châfé'y, indiquer toutes les

[1] $\frac{24}{24}=1$.

[2] ويرسم برسم الكسور.

[3] $\frac{18}{144}=\frac{1}{8}$.

[4] $\frac{24}{8}=3$.

[5] $\frac{16}{8}=2$.

[6] On verra plus loin que le *Bondoqy* pèse 18 qîrâts. $\frac{18}{8}=2\frac{1}{4}$.

[7] Nous avons trouvé ci-devant pour le grain de blé (*qamhah*) 0gr., 048278125. Le $\frac{1}{4}$ de ce nombre, qui est en même temps les $\frac{9}{144}$ ou $\frac{1}{16}$ du qîrât *mesry* de 0gr., 1931125, est égal à 0gr., 01206953125.

[8] Les $2\frac{1}{4}$ dâneqs, ou $\frac{1}{16}$ du grain de blé $=\frac{0\text{gr.},01206953125}{4}=0\text{gr.},0030173828125$.

[9] في الاعمال التحديدية.

I. TABLEAU DES (DIFFÉRENTES) ESPÈCES (DE MONNAIE) D'OR.

NOTA.—Le metqâl mesry = 4gr., 6347 = 24 Qîrâts mesrys.
Le Qîrât mesry = 0gr., 1931125 = 24 qîrâts.
Le qîrât ou $\frac{1}{24}$ du Qîrât mesry = 0gr., 00804635$\frac{5}{12}$ = 3 *habbah* = 6 dâneqs.
La *habbah* = 0gr., 00268211$\frac{2}{36}$ = 2 dâneqs.
Le *dâneq* = 0gr., 00134105$\frac{6}{72}$ = $\frac{1}{2}$ *habbah*.

Espèces (de monnaies) d'or.	Poids.				Alliage.				Valeur courante.	Titre du metqâl.				Valeur conventionnelle du titre approximativement.		Poids de la pièce en grammes.	Poids de l'alliage en grammes.	Titre en millièmes.
	Q.	q.	h.	d.	Q.	q.	h.	d.	Piastres.	Q.	q.	h.	d.	Piastres.	Paras.	Gr.	Gr.	
Bondoqy*	18	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	65	23	22	2	0	71	24	3,47602500	0,00804635$\frac{5}{12}$	997$\frac{37}{54}$
Madjar†	18	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	56	23	13	1	0	70	27	3,47602500	0,06437083$\frac{1}{2}$	981$\frac{13}{27}$
Fondoqly Mahmoûdy ancien	17$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	54	22	23	0	1$\frac{23}{179}$	68	37	3,37946875	0,144834375	957$\frac{1}{7}$
Guinée Medjîdy	37	0	0	0	2	12	0	0	110	22	9	0	0$\frac{18}{37}$	67	6	7,14516250	0,48278125	932$\frac{16}{37}$
Mahmoûdiyeh ancienne	24$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	1	16	0	0	110	22	8	2	0$\frac{14}{49}$	67	4	4,73125625	0,32185412$\frac{3}{5}$	931$\frac{143}{147}$
Guinée afrandjy	41	0	0	0	3	7	0	6	119	22	1$\frac{1}{2}$	0	1$\frac{22}{141}$	66	9	7,91761250	0,63566197$\frac{1}{12}$	919$\frac{18}{126}$
Portugais ancien	73$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	6	3	0	0	205	21	21	0	0$\frac{18}{49}$	65	16	14,19376875	1,18281406$\frac{1}{4}$	916$\frac{3}{8}$
Portugais nouveau	73$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	6	12	0	0	203	21	15	0	1$\frac{7}{11}$	64	37	14,19376875	1,25523125	911$\frac{183}{147}$
Binto (pièce de 20 francs)	33	0	0	0	3	6	0	0	96	21	0	0	1$\frac{167}{265}$	63	2	6,37271250‖	0,627615625	901$\frac{17}{33}$¶
Guinée égyptienne	44$\frac{1}{6}$	0	0	0	5	12	0	0	124	20	19$\frac{1}{2}$	2	0$\frac{333}{545}$	62	20	8,52913541$\frac{1}{6}$	1,06211875	875$\frac{33}{38}$
[p. 7] Khayriyeh égyptienne nouvelle	3	21$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	0	12	0	0	11$\frac{1}{2}$	20	19	1	0$\frac{1}{31}$	62	17	0,75501623$\frac{57}{216}$	0,09655625	872$\frac{64}{265}$
Sa'diyeh nouvelle	1	17	1	0	0	5$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	4$\frac{1}{2}$	20	18$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0$\frac{1}{4}$	62	16	0,33258263$\frac{8}{9}$	0,04425494$\frac{19}{24}$	866$\frac{29}{31}$
Doublon	140	0	0	0	18	18	0	0	400	20	18	0	1$\frac{1}{3}$	62	12	27,03575000	3,620859375	866$\frac{1}{15}$
Khayriyeh de Constantinople ancienne	9	0	0	0	1	5	0	1	35	20	2$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0$\frac{47}{69}$	62	15	1,73801250	0,23468532$\frac{7}{72}$	864$\frac{137}{162}$
'Adlîyeh ancienne	8	3	0	0	1	7$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	22	20	0	0	0	60	.....	1,56903906$\frac{1}{4}$	0,25346015$\frac{5}{8}$	838$\frac{90}{195}$
Medjîdiyeh	8	0	0	0	1	8	0	0	21	20	0	0	1$\frac{5}{7}$	58	12	1,54490000	0,25748333$\frac{1}{3}$	833$\frac{1}{3}$
Mahboûb Sélîmy Istamboûly	12	6	0	0	2	8	0	0	33	19	10	0	1$\frac{9}{33}$†	57	33	2,365628125	0,45059583$\frac{1}{3}$	809$\frac{77}{147}$
Fondoqly Mahmoûdy nouveau	16	12	0	0	3	6	0	0	45	19	6$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0$\frac{9}{33}$†	57	32	3,18635625	0,627615625	803$\frac{1}{39}$
Mahmoûdiyeh nouvelle	24	12	0	0	4	20	0	0	60	19	6	1	0$\frac{110}{119}$	57	31	4,73125625	0,93337708$\frac{1}{3}$	802$\frac{106}{147}$
Fondoqly Sélîmy	17	12	0	0	3	11	0	0	44	19	6	0	1$\frac{10}{35}$§	57	27	3,37946875	0,66784739$\frac{7}{12}$	802$\frac{8}{21}$
Kayriyeh mesry ancienne	4	12	0	0	1	2	0	0	11	18	5	1	0	54	.....	0,86900625	0,20920520$\frac{5}{6}$	759$\frac{7}{27}$
'Adliyeh nouvelle	8	3	0	0	2	3$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	20	17	15$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0$\frac{17}{65}$	53	.....	1,5690390625	0,41438723$\frac{23}{24}$	735$\frac{39}{39}$
Mahboûb Moustafâwy	12	21	0	0	3	14	0	0	29	17	7	2	0$\frac{14}{103}$	51	39	2,4863234375	0,69198645$\frac{5}{6}$	721$\frac{211}{300}$
Sa'diyeh ancienne	2	0	0	0	0	14	2	0	4$\frac{1}{4}$	16	16	0	0	50	.....	0,38622500	0,11801319$\frac{3}{5}$	694$\frac{3}{5}$
Mahboûb Mahmoûdy nouveau	12	0	0	0	3	21	0	0	25	16	6	0	0	48	30	2,31735000	0,7483109375	677$\frac{1}{12}$
Zarîfeh nouvelle	1	14$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	13	1	0	3$\frac{1}{2}$	15	16$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0$\frac{9}{77}$	47	3	0,30978463$\frac{13}{24}$	0,10728472$\frac{9}{9}$	653$\frac{197}{231}$
Zarîfeh ancienne	2	1	0	1	0	20$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	3$\frac{3}{8}$	13	23$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0$\frac{1}{255}$	42	.....	0,39561241$\frac{23}{72}$	0,16495026$\frac{1}{24}$	583$\frac{3}{59}$

* Bondoqy. $\frac{24\times\frac{1}{24}}{18}=\frac{1}{18}$; 24Q. $-\frac{1}{18}=23\frac{17}{18}=23+\frac{17\times24}{18}=23$Q. 22$\frac{2}{3}$q. $=23$Q. 22q. 2h.

† Madjar. $\frac{24\times\frac{8}{24}}{18}=\frac{8}{18}$; 24Q. $-\frac{8}{18}=23\frac{10}{18}=23+\frac{10\times24}{18}=23$Q. 13$\frac{1}{3}$q. $=23$Q. 13q. 1h. Et ainsi de suite pour les autres. Les calculs de l'auteur sont exacts. Voyez toutefois la note (§) ci-après.

‡ Il faut se rappeler qu'une *habbah* et un *dâneq* $=\frac{1}{2}$ *qîrât*. $\frac{9\times24}{33}=6$q.; le reste est $\frac{18}{33}$. $\frac{18\times3}{33}=1\frac{21}{33}$h.; $\frac{21\times2}{33}=1\frac{9}{33}$d.

§ Lisez $\frac{1}{35}$ au lieu de $\frac{10}{35}$.

‖ On sait que le poids droit de la pièce de 20 francs et 6gr., 45161; le poids fort 6gr., 46451 et le poids faible 6gr., 43871. Le pièce pesée par l'auteur était évidemment usée, ou sa balance, peu juste.

¶ Le titre de nos monnaies d'or et d'argent et de 900 millièmes; la tolérance de titre est de 2 millièmes.

II.

[p. 8.]

Espèces (de monnaies) d'or.					*Nésâb* (Quotité imposable).				Poids du *nésâb*.				Poids du *nésâb*.				Complément du *nésâb* : fraction de dâneq.	Quarantième approximativement.			
					Nombre.	Q.	q.	h.	d.	Metqals mesrys.	q.	h.	d.	Qirats mesrys.	q.	h.	d.		Q.	q.	h.	d.
Bondoqy	18	0	0		25$\frac{4}{6}$	0	16$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	19$\frac{1}{12}$	4$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	458	4$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	$\frac{923}{3017}$	11	6$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0
Madjar	18	0	0		25$\frac{5}{6}$	0	18	1	0	19$\frac{3}{8}$	18	1	0	465	18	1	0	$\frac{230}{371}$	11	15$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
Fondoqly Mahmoûdy ancien	17$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0		27$\frac{1}{4}$	0	17	2	0	19$\frac{7}{8}$	14	2	0	477	14	2	0	$\frac{8}{67}$	11	22	2	0
Guinée Medjîdy	37	0	0		13$\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	1	0	20$\frac{5}{12}$	6	1	0	490	6	1	0	$\frac{122}{161}$	12	6	1	0
Mahmoûdiyeh ancienne	24$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0		20	0	12	0	1	20$\frac{5}{12}$	12	0	1	490	12	1	0	$\frac{553}{959}$	12	6	1	0
Guinée afrandjy	41	0	0		12$\frac{1}{8}$	0	5	0	0	20$\frac{17}{24}$	8	0	0	497	8	0	0	$\frac{96}{181}$	12	10$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
Portugais ancien	73$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0		6$\frac{3}{8}$	2	13	2	0	20$\frac{3}{4}$	16	2	0	498	16	2	0	$\frac{76}{77}$	12	11	1	0
Portugais nouveau	73$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0		6$\frac{3}{4}$	5	8	2	0	20$\frac{7}{8}$	11	2	0	501	11	2	0	$\frac{62}{67}$	12	13	0	0
Binto (pièce de 20 francs)	33	0	0		5$\frac{1}{2}$	1	13$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	21$\frac{1}{2}$	13$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	507	13$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	$\frac{59}{119}$	12	16	2	0
Guinée mesry	44$\frac{1}{6}$	0	0		11$\frac{3}{4}$	3	5	0	0	21$\frac{3}{4}$	4	0	0	522	4	0	0	$\frac{24}{59}$	13	1	1	0
Khayry mesry	3	21$\frac{1}{2}$	1		134	0	6$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	21$\frac{3}{8}$	4	0	1	524	4	0	1	$\frac{2203}{3437}$	13	20	2	0
Sa'diyeh nouvelle	1	17	1		306	0	7	1	0	21$\frac{23}{24}$	7	1	0	527	7	1	0	$\frac{148}{301}$	13	3$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0
Doublon	140	0	0		3$\frac{3}{4}$	2	20	0	0	21$\frac{23}{24}$	20	0	0	527	20	0	0	$\frac{24}{97}$	13	4$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0
Khayriyeh de C.P.	9	0	0		58$\frac{2}{3}$	0	12	0	1	22	12	0	1	528	12	0	1	$\frac{865}{7847}$	13	5	1	0
'Adliyeh ancienne	8$\frac{1}{8}$	0	0		67	0	20	0	1	22$\frac{17}{24}$	5	0	1	545	5	0	1	$\frac{107}{763}$	13	15	0	1
Medjîdiyeh	8	0	0		68$\frac{1}{3}$	0	13	2	0	22$\frac{5}{6}$	13	2	0	548	13	2	0	$\frac{2}{7}$	13	17	0	1
Mahboûb Sélîmy	12$\frac{1}{4}$	0	0		34$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0$\frac{3}{5}$	0	0	23$\frac{1}{3}$	16$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	564	16$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	$\frac{11}{17}$	14	20$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0
Fondoqly Mahmoûdy (nouveau)	16$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0		23$\frac{1}{6}$	1	17	2	0	23$\frac{17}{24}$	6$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	569	6$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	$\frac{5}{371}$	14	5$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
Mahmoûdiyeh nouvelle	24$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0		32$\frac{5}{6}$	0	23$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	23$\frac{17}{24}$	7	2	0	569	7	2	0	$\frac{234}{4113}$	14	5$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0
Fondoqly Sélîmy	17$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0		133$\frac{3}{4}$	0	18	0	1	25$\frac{1}{12}$	17$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	569	17$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	$\frac{133}{357}$	15	1$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0
Khayriyeh mesry	4$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0		76$\frac{5}{6}$	0	23$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	25$\frac{7}{8}$	15	0	1	602	15	0	1	$\frac{13}{41}$	15	12$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0
'Adliyeh nouvelle	8$\frac{1}{8}$	0	0		49$\frac{1}{6}$	0	10	1	0	26$\frac{3}{8}$	4$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	621	4$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	$\frac{923}{2109}$	15	20	0	1
Mahboûb Moustafâwy	12$\frac{7}{8}$	0	0		329	0	6$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	27$\frac{5}{12}$	10$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	633	10$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	$\frac{585}{1561}$	16	11	0	0
Sa'diyeh ancienne	2	0	0		56$\frac{1}{4}$	0	3$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	28$\frac{1}{8}$	6$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	658	6$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	$\frac{1}{7}$	16	21	0	1
Mahboûb Mahmoûdy	12	0	0		435	1	12$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	29$\frac{1}{8}$	3$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	675	3$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	$\frac{67}{91}$	17	11	2	0
Zarîfeh nouvelle	1	14$\frac{1}{2}$	0															$\frac{90}{151}$				
Zarîfeh ancienne	2	1	1		382	1	19	0	1	32$\frac{5}{8}$	8$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	784	8$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	$\frac{23}{43}$	19	14	2	0

* Le texte donne la fraction $\frac{32}{47}$, ce qui est une faute d'impression.

† D'après mes calculs la fraction de dâneq serait $\frac{85}{15879}$.

‡ Le texte porte لمع ل =15Q. 14$\frac{1}{2}$q. et 1h.; il faut remplacer le signe ل =14q. par ك =22q.; la fraction entière devient alors 22$\frac{1}{2}$q. et 1h. Elle se trouve correctement imprimée dans le tableau suivant.

§ Mes calculs me donnent $\frac{2000}{2297}$ et non $\frac{2005}{2297}$.

III. TABLEAU DES (DIFFÉRENTES) ESPÈCES (DE MONNAIE) D'ARGENT.

[p. 9.]

Espèces (de monnaie) d'argent.	Poids.				Alliage.				Valeur courante.	Titre du derham.				Valeur conventionnelle du titre approximativement.		Poids de la pièce en grammes.	Poids de l'alliage en grammes.	Titre en millièmes.
	Q.	q.	h.	d.	Q.	q.	h.	d.	Piastres.	Q.	q.	h.	d.	Piastres.	Paras.	gr.	gr.	
Riâl Sinko (Ecu de 5 francs)	128	0	0	0	11	21$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	24	14	12	0	1$\frac{7}{8}$	2	29	24,7184000‖	2,29723411$\frac{11}{24}$	907$\frac{49}{768}$
Riâl Abou medfâ (*Ecu au canon*, d'Espagne)	140	0	0	0	15	21	0	0	27	14	4	1	0$\frac{26}{35}$	2	27	27,0357500	3,06566093$\frac{3}{4}$	886$\frac{51}{84}$
Riâl Medjîdy	125	0	0	0	18	18	0	0	22	13	14	1	0$\frac{25}{35}$	2	23	24,1390625	3,62085937$\frac{1}{2}$	850
Riâl Abou tâqah (Ecu à la fenêtre)	144	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	26	13	8	0	0	2	20	27,8082000	4,63470000	833$\frac{1}{3}$
Piastre mesry	7	6	0	0	1	5	0	0	1$\frac{1}{4}$	13	8	0	0	2	20	1,40006561$\frac{1}{4}$	0,23334427$\frac{1}{12}$	833$\frac{1}{3}$
Riâl linân	142	0	0	0	24	14$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	23	13	5	1	0$\frac{56}{119}$	2	20	27,4219750	4,75137213$\frac{13}{24}$	826$\frac{623}{652}$
Grand riâl émir	139	0	0	0	25	0$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	22	13	2$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0$\frac{37}{139}$	2	19	26,8426375	4,83183567$\frac{17}{24}$	819$\frac{829}{834}$
Ancien Bechlik	135	0	0	0	35	18$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	20	11	18	0	0$\frac{23}{46}$	2	9	26,0701875	6,90779505$\frac{5}{24}$	735$\frac{5}{162}$
Téliq Hamîdy	118	12	0	0	50	8$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	13	9	4	2	0$\frac{26}{79}$	1	30	22,88383312$\frac{1}{2}$	9,72401901$\frac{1}{24}$	575$\frac{50}{111}$
Riâl Châl	146	0	0	0	63	21	0	0	16	9	0	0	0	1	28	28,1944250	12,33506093$\frac{3}{4}$	562$\frac{1}{2}$
Témichlik	33	12	0	0	15	9	0	0	4$\frac{1}{2}$	8	15	2	0$\frac{28}{67}$*	1	25	6,46926871$\frac{1}{2}$	2,96910468$\frac{3}{4}$	541$\frac{3}{17}$
Qet'ah Mahmoûdy	77	0	0	0	40	3	0	0	9	7	15$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0$\frac{29}{77}$	1	18	14,8696625	7,74863906$\frac{1}{4}$	478$\frac{69}{77}$
Yâlimliq (*sic*) Sélîmy	17	0	0	0	8	21	0	0	3	7	15$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0$\frac{1}{17}$	1	18	3,2829125	1,71387343$\frac{3}{4}$	477$\frac{16}{17}$
Atliq	129	12	0	0	69	14	0	0	12$\frac{1}{2}$	7	9	2	0$\frac{6}{77}$	1	16	25,00806871$\frac{1}{2}$	13,43741145$\frac{5}{6}$	462$\frac{526}{777}$
Yuzlik	150	0	0	0	80	15	0	0	14	7	9$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0$\frac{3}{5}$	1	16	28,9668750	15,56969531$\frac{1}{4}$	462$\frac{1}{2}$
Telsiq	68	0	0	0	38	0	0	0	6$\frac{1}{2}$	7	1	1	0$\frac{8}{17}$	1	13	13,1316500	7,33827500	441$\frac{3}{17}$
Téliq Medjîdy	66	5	0	0	37	17$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	6	6	21	0	1$\frac{949}{1589}$†	1	12	12,78565677$\frac{1}{12}$	7,28597369$\frac{19}{24}$	430$\frac{230}{1589}$
Sîsy Medjîdy	15	22$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0‡	9	9$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	1$\frac{1}{2}$	6	13	1	0$\frac{2305}{2297}$§	1	10	3,08041258$\frac{49}{72}$	1,81713498$\frac{47}{216}$	410$\frac{230}{2297}$
Piastre Stambouline	15	0	0	0	11	9	0	0	1	3	20	2	0$\frac{4}{5}$	0	30	2,8966875	2,19665468$\frac{3}{4}$	241$\frac{5}{7}$
Bechlik nouveau	71	12	0	0	56	16	0	0	3$\frac{1}{4}$	3	7$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0$\frac{141}{1413}$	0	25	13,80754371$\frac{1}{2}$	10,94304166$\frac{3}{4}$	207$\frac{197}{429}$
'Achrîniyeh Medjîdy	7	15	2	0	6	10	1	0	0$\frac{2}{8}$	2	13	0	1$\frac{533}{551}$	0	20	1,47784704$\frac{31}{36}$	1,24182065$\frac{35}{36}$	159$\frac{311}{551}$
Mille *feddah* Medjîdy	808	0	0	0	745	0	0	0	13	1	5$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0$\frac{65}{101}$	0	10	156,0349000	143,8688125	77$\frac{98}{101}$
Et un *feddah*	0	19	1	0$\frac{44}{125}$	0	17$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0$\frac{35}{125}$	$\frac{1}{2}$ para		.....			.....		0,1560349	0,1438688$\frac{1}{8}$	.....

* Le texte donne la fraction $\frac{3}{47}$, ce qui est une faute d'impression.

† D'après mes calculs la fraction de dâneq serait $\frac{85}{15889}$.

‡ Le texte porte لمع ل =15Q. 14$\frac{1}{2}$q. et 1h.; il faut remplacer le signe ل =14q. par ك =22q.; la fraction entière devient alors 22$\frac{1}{2}$q. et 1h. Elle se trouve correctement imprimée dans le tableau suivant.

§ Mes calculs me donnent $\frac{2000}{2297}$ et non $\frac{2005}{2297}$.

‖ On sait que notre pièce de 5 francs pèse 25 grammes. En les divisant par 128 Qîrâts, on obtiendrait pour le Qîrât égyptien 0gr., 1953125 au lieu de 0gr., 1931125. Mais avec le Qîrât déduit du poids de 25 grammes, on aurait pour le derham 0gr., 1953125 × 16 = 3gr., 125, chiffre qui est supérieur à 3gr., 0898. Notre auteur n'a donc tenu aucun compte du poids légal et la pièce pesée par lui se sera trouvée au dessous de celui-ci par suite de la tolérance et du frai. Une remarque analogue a été fait (voir ci-devant) pour notre pièce de 20 francs.

IV. SUITE DU TABLEAU DES (DIFFÉRENTES) ESPÈCES (DE MONNAIE) D'ARGENT.

[p. 10.]

Espèces (de monnaie) d'argent.				*Nésâb*.					Poids du *Nésâb*.					Poids du *Nésâb*.			Complément du *nésâb* ; fraction de dâneq.	Quarantième approximativement en nombre rond.			
		q.	h.	Nombre.	Q.	q.	h.	d.	Derhams.	Q.	q.	h.	d.	Qirats mesrys.	q.	h.	d.		Q.	q.	h.	d.
Ecu de cinq francs	128	0	0	27$\frac{1}{2}$	7	20	2	0	220	10$\frac{1}{2}$	20	2	0	3527	20	2	0	$\frac{4324}{5573}$	88	4	1	0
Ecu *au canon*	140	0	0	25$\frac{3}{4}$	4	6	1	0	225	13$\frac{1}{2}$	6	1	0	3609	6	1	0	$\frac{46}{131}$	90	5	2	0
Ecu Medjîdy	125	0	0	30	14	8	1	0	235	6	8*	1	0	3764	8	1	0	$\frac{11}{17}$	94	2	2	0
Ecu *à la fenêtre*	144	0	0	26$\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	0	0	240	0	0	0	0	3840	0	0	0	.....	96	0	0	0
Piastre égyptienne	7	6	0	529$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	0	240	0	0	0	0	3840	0	0	0	.....	96	0	0	0
Riâl linan	142	0	0	27$\frac{1}{4}$	1	3$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	241†	21	15$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	3870	15$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	$\frac{936}{1127}$	96	18$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
Riâl émir	139	0	0	28	10	11	0	1	243	21	11	0	1	3902	11	0	1	$\frac{1705}{2371}$	97	12$\frac{1}{16}$	0	0
Bechlik	135	0	0	32$\frac{1}{6}$	11	1	1	0	272	1$\frac{1}{2}$	13	1	0	4353	13	1	0	$\frac{2144}{4763}$	108	20	0	1
Téliq Hamîdy	118$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	46$\frac{7}{8}$	9	20	1	0	347	18	12$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	5564	12$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	$\frac{997}{3271}$	139	2$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0
Riâl Châl	146	0	0	38$\frac{7}{8}$	13	3	1	0	355	12	21	1	0	5688	21	1	0	.....	142	5	1	0
Temechlik	33$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	176$\frac{1}{2}$	1	17$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	369	15	11$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	5914	11$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	$\frac{15}{59}$	147	20	2	0
Qet'ah Mahmoûdy	77	0	0	80$\frac{3}{4}$	2	6	2	0	417	15	0	2	0	6682	0	2	0	$\frac{52}{59}$	167	1	1	0
Yarimliq	17	0	0	393$\frac{3}{4}$	1	15	0	1	418	10$\frac{1}{2}$	9	0	1	6695	9	0	1	$\frac{5}{13}$	167	9	1	0
Atlik	120$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	53$\frac{1}{3}$	9	14$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	432	6	6$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	6916	6$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	$\frac{183}{719}$	172	21$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0
Yuzlik	150	0	0	46$\frac{1}{2}$	4	0	0	0	432	9	22	0	0	6918	22	0	0	$\frac{15}{37}$	172	23$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
Telsiq	68	0	0	106$\frac{2}{3}$	0	0	0	0	453	7$\frac{1}{2}$	8	0	0	7253	8	0	0	.....	181	8	0	0
Téliq Medjîdy	66	5	0	112$\frac{1}{3}$	1	22$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	464	22$\frac{1}{2}$	8$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	7439	8$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	$\frac{411}{1567}$	185	23	2	0
Sîsy	15	22$\frac{1}{2}$	1	489	2	17$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	487	15	23	1	0	7802	23	1	0	$\frac{1}{12}$	195	0$\frac{1}{16}$	1	0
Piastre Stambouline	15	0	0	882$\frac{2}{3}$	1	9	0	0	827	13$\frac{1}{2}$	9	0	0	13241	9

ou que l'espèce (*sanf*) en est prohibée (*mahdjoûr*). Si non, on a égard à la valeur courante, ainsi que nous venons de le dire, quand même celle-ci serait contraire à la déduction analogique. Tel est le cas pour la valeur de la *Mahmoûdiyeh ancienne* qui vaut plus que la pièce française de vingt francs (*binto*), quoique le poids et le fin (*sâfy*) de cette dernière soient plus élevés, comme on va le voir. Prends donc garde.

Nous avons aussi représenté pour chaque espèce le nombre de pièces formant le *nésâb*, ainsi que la pesanteur de celui-ci en poids *mesry*: metqâls, derhams et Qîrâts. Nous avons dressé le tableau en faisant passer la première, successivement, l'espèce du titre le plus élevé, comme on l'apprendra de la diminution du titre (*'yar*) et de l'augmentation du *nésâb*. Nous avons mentionné le complément (*tamâm*) du *nésâb* en fractions du dâneq, et l'avons placé à la fin, pour qu'il se rapporte à tout ce qui le précède. Enfin nous avons fait figurer le quart du dixième[1] du *nésâb* approximativement.

Dieu est celui qui assiste pour faire bien. Voici la la représentation du tableau.

[p. 11.] REMARQUE.

Le moyen de connaître le titre (*'yâr*) et le *nesâb* (quotité imposable) consiste à employer le rapport géométrique. En ce qui regarde le titre, on prend le rapport de l'alliage de l'espèce (de monnaie) au poids de celle-ci, et on retranche du metqâl[2] ou du derham[3] dans cette proportion. Le reste est le titre du metqâl ou du derham de cette espèce (de monnaie).

Pour ce qui concerne le *nésâb*, on cherche le rapport de l'alliage de la monnaie à son fin (*sâfih*) et on ajoute au *nésâb* le fin dans la même proportion. Le total représente le *nésâb* de cette monnaie. S'il est inférieur au *nésâb*, on complètera

[1] C'est-à-dire le quarantième, ce qui est le montant de l'impôt auquel le *nésâb* est soumis.

[2] S'il s'agit de monnaies d'or.

[3] Quand le calcul s'applique à des pièces d'argent.

celui-ci à l'aide d'une autre monnaie et on payera en chaque espèce (de monnaie) le quarantième de ce qui en existe; ou bien on payera, en l'une des monnaies, non le quarantième du total, mais une quantité de fin égale à ce qui est dû, car le fin contenu dans le total sera inférieur à ce qui est dû, quand l'espèce employée à l'acquittement (de la *zakâh*) contient plus d'alliage que le restant, et il y sera supérieur lorsque cette monnaie renferme moins d'alliage que le solde. Prends donc garde.

Voici la démonstration de ce (qui précède) relativement au *bondoqy* et au *madjar* :

Le rapport de l'alliage du *bondoqy*, qui est six dâneqs,[1] à son poids qui est de dix-huit Qîrâts mesrys, est du sixième du huitième d'un neuvième, $\frac{1}{6\ 8\ 9}$.[2] On retranche donc du metqâl dans cette proportion,[3] et il reste un metqâl moins huit dâneqs :[4] c'est là le titre du metqâl de l'espèce (de monnaie dite) *bondoqy*, c'est-à-dire son fin. Le rapport de l'alliage du *bondoqy* à son fin étant un quatre cent trente-unième, on ajoutera aux Qîrâts du *nésâb* de l'or[5] dans cette proportion :[6] le total sera quatre cent cinquante huit Qîrâts, un sixième de Qîrât, cinq dâneqs et neuf cent vingt-trois parties de trois mille dix-sept parties d'un dâneq. C'est le *nésâb* du *bondoqy* en Qîrâts. On en compose des metqâls mesrys : on obtient dix-neuf metqâls, un demi-sixième de

[1] Le qîrât, comme on l'a vu, est égal à 3 *habbah* et la *habbah*, à 2 dâneqs; d'où 1 qîrât = 6d.

[2] Le Qîrât mesry = 24 qîrâts = 72 habbah = 144 dâneqs. Les 18 Qîrâts mesrys égalent donc $144 \times 18 = 2592$. Or $2592 : 6 :: 1 : x = \frac{6}{2592} = \frac{1}{432} = \frac{1}{6 \times 8 \times 9}$.

[3] Le metqâl mesry se composant de 24 Qîrâts mesrys, on retranchera de ces 24 Qîrâts $\frac{24}{432} = \frac{1}{18}$. On aura ainsi 24 Qm. $-\frac{1}{18} = 23\frac{17}{18}$ Qm. = 23 Qm. 22q. 2h.

[4] Le Qîrât est égal à 144 dâneqs; d'où les 8 dâneqs $= \frac{8}{144} = \frac{1}{18}$ de Qîrât. La proportion $18 : 6 :: 24 : x$ donne également $x = 8$ dâneqs.

[5] On a vu ci-devant que le *nésâb* (quantité imposable) de l'or est de $457\frac{1}{7}$ Qîrâts mesrys.

[6] Ajoutons à $457\frac{1}{7}$ son $\frac{1}{431}$; nous aurons $457\frac{1}{7} + \frac{457\frac{1}{7}}{431} = 457\frac{1}{7} + 1\frac{1838}{3017} = 458 + \frac{6144}{3017} = 458$ Qm., $\frac{1}{6}$ de Qm., 5 dâneqs et $\frac{2283}{3017}$ de dâneq, ou soit encore 458 Qm. $4\frac{1}{2}$ qîrâts, 1 habbah et $\frac{2283}{3017}$ de dâneq.

metqâl et la fraction qui précède.[1] En les réduisant en *bondoqys*, tu as vingt-cinq *bondoqys*, quatre neuvièmes de *bondoqy*[2] et la fraction qui précède.

La rapport de l'alliage du *madjar*, qui est un tiers de Qîrât,[3] à son poids ou dix-huit Qîrâts est un sixième de neuvième, $\frac{1}{6\ 9}$. On retranche donc du metqâl dans cette proportion : il reste un metqâl moins quatre neuvièmes de Qîrât.[4] C'est le titre du *madjar*. Prends maintenant le rapport de son alliage à son fin : tu trouveras un cinquante-troisième. Tu augmenteras le *nésâb* dans cette proportion, et le total sera quatre cent soixante-cinq Qîrâts, trois quarts de Qîrât, une habbah et deux cent trente parties de trois cent soixante et onze parties d'un dâneq.[5] En les réduisant en metqâls, on obtient dix-neuf metqâls, trois huitièmes de metqâl et la fraction prédédente.[6] En compose-t-on des *madjars*, on a vingt-cinq *madjars*, cinq sixièmes de *madjar* et la fraction précédente.[7]

Si la somme devant acquitter l'impôt se composait de vingt *bondoqys* et de vingt *madjars*, le fin de l'ensemble serait de sept cent douze Qîrâts et un demi-Qîrât — $712\frac{1}{2}$ —.[8] [p. 12.] Or il nous faut payer pour la zakâh un nombre de

[1] $458:24 = 19\frac{1}{6}$ metqâls mesrys.

[2] Il suffit pour cela de diviser 458 par 18, nombre des Qîrâts mesrys que pèse le *bondoqy*.

[3] Ou 8 qîrâts. Cf. le 1er tableau.

[4] 1 metqâl mesry (ou 24 Qm.)—$\frac{3}{5}\frac{4}{4}$ Qm. = 1 metqâl mesry—$\frac{4}{5}$.

[5] $457\frac{1}{7}+\frac{457\frac{1}{7}}{53}=465$ Qm. $\frac{3\ 8\ 5}{3\ 7\ 1}=465$ Qm.$+\frac{3}{4}$ de Qîrât mesry (ou 18 qîrats de Qîrât mesry)$+1$ habbah$+\frac{2\ 3\ 0}{3\ 7\ 1}$ de dâneq.

[6] On n'a qu'à diviser le nombre des metqâls par 24. $465\frac{3\ 8\ 5}{3\ 7\ 1}:24=19\frac{3}{6}+\frac{3\ 8\ 5}{3\ 7\ 1}$.

[7] $465\frac{3\ 8\ 5}{3\ 7\ 1}:18=25\frac{5}{6}+\frac{3\ 8\ 5}{3\ 7\ 1}$.

[8] En effet nous venons de voir que le metqâl mesry du *bondoqy* contenait $23\frac{17}{18}$ de fin. Or ce metqâl se composant, comme nous le savons, de 24 Qîrâts mesrys et le *bondoqy* en pesant 18, nous obtiendrons le fin contenu dans cette monnaie par la proportion $24:23\frac{17}{18}::18:x=17\frac{3\ 3}{2\ 4}$ Qm. Appliquant le même raisonnement au *madjar*, dont le fin contenu dans le metqâl mesry est égal à $23\frac{5}{8}$ Qîrâts mesrys, nous avons la proportion $24:23\frac{5}{8}::18:x=17\frac{3}{8}$ Qm. Les 20 *bondoqys* contiendront par conséquent $17\frac{3\ 3}{2\ 4}\times 20=359\frac{1}{8}$ Qm.

et les 20 *madjars*, $17\frac{3}{8}\times 20=353\frac{1}{3}$,,

Total conforme $712\frac{1}{2}$

pièces dont le fin [1] représente exactement le quarantième de la somme, c'est-à-dire dix-sept Qîrâts, trois-quarts de Qîrât et un demi-huitième de Qîrât, — $17\frac{18}{24}\ \frac{1/2}{8}$ —.[2]

On *sortira* donc dix-huit Qîrâts, moitié en *bondoqy* et moitié en *madjar;* ou bien on payera en *madjar* dix-huit Qîrâts, un huitième de Qîrât, trois dâneqs et vingt-une parties de cinquante-trois parties d'un dâneq ; —ou encore on sortira du *bondoqy* dix-sept Qîrâts, cinq sixièmes de Qîrât, une habbah et quatre cent dix parties de quatre cent trente-une parties d'un dâneq.

En effet; le fin (*sâfy*), dans les trois hypothèses, après la soustraction طرح de l'alliage, qui est, dans le premier cas, les trois huitièmes du quart du neuvième, $\frac{3}{8\ 4\ 9}$ (ou $\frac{1}{96}$), comme le rapport du total de l'alliage tant du *bondoqy* que du *madjar* aux deux (fins réunis) ;[3] dans la deuxième hypothèse, le sixième du neuvième $\frac{1}{6\ 9}$ (ou $\frac{1}{54}$), rapport égal à celui de l'alliage du *madjar* au poids total de la pièce ;[4] et dans le troisième cas, le sixième du huitième du neuvième (ou $\frac{1}{432}$), qui représente le rapport de l'alliage du *bondoqy* à son poids entier ;[5] le fin, disons nous, sera exactement égal à ce qui est dû, sans augmentation. Il en serait tout autrement si on se bornait à donner en payement un *madjar*, car le fin de cette pièce serait inférieur à ce que nous venons d'établir comme étant dû, d'un huitième de Qîrât et trois dâneqs ;[6] et l'inverse se produirait si on acquittait la *zakâh*

[1] فيجب اخراج ما صافيه الخ, litt. "il faut sortir, etc."

[2] $712\frac{1}{2} : 40 = 17\frac{85}{80} = 17\frac{18}{24}$ et $\frac{1/2}{8} = 17\frac{3}{4}$ et $\frac{1}{16}$.

[3] L'alliage du *bondoqy* étant $\frac{1}{24}$, et celui du madjar, $\frac{1}{9}$, on a pour le total des deux alliages $\frac{3}{8}$. D'un autre côté, le total des deux fins est représenté par $17\frac{23}{24} + 17\frac{2}{3} = 35\frac{5}{8}$; $35\frac{5}{8} + \frac{3}{8} = 36$. Le rapport de $\frac{3}{8}$ à 36 est bien $\frac{3}{8\times4\times9} = \frac{1}{96}$.

[4] L'alliage du *madjar* égale $\frac{1}{9}$; son fin $= 17\frac{2}{3}$; $\frac{1}{9} + 17\frac{2}{3} = \frac{54}{3}$. Le rapport d'$\frac{1}{9}$ à $\frac{54}{3}$ est $\frac{1}{54}$.

[5] L'alliage du *bondoqy* $= \frac{1}{24}$; son fin $= 17\frac{23}{24} = \frac{431}{24}$; $\frac{1}{24} + \frac{431}{24} = \frac{432}{24}$. $\frac{1}{24} : \frac{432}{24} :: 1 : x = 432$.

[6] En effet $17\frac{3}{4}$ et $\frac{1}{16} - 17\frac{2}{3}$ (ou $17\frac{30}{48} - 17\frac{32}{48}$) $= \frac{7}{48}$; $\frac{6}{48} = \frac{1}{8}$, et $\frac{1}{48} = \frac{3}{144} = 3$ dâneqs.

avec un *bondoqy* entier, attendu que son fin serait d'autant supérieur à la dite quotité dûe.[1] La méthode générale pour cette opération consistera à ajouter au fin des espèces que l'on possède le rapport de l'alliage de l'espèce en laquelle on veut payer à son fin. On aura alors un total qui sera comme s'il existait de cette espèce (de monnaie); et on payera en cette monnaie, le quarantième du total obtenu, qu'il soit petit ou grand. Fais donc attention.

Complément.

Sur les opérations concernant les fractions.[2]

Dans la soustraction,[3] l'addition[4] et la division,[5] on *développe* les fractions à l'aide des dénominateurs pour qu'elles deviennent du même ordre.[6] Ensuite, dans l'addition, on divise le total du développement[7] par le dénominateur commun: le quotient[8] est la réponse; dans la soustraction, on soustrait le plus petit des deux développements[9] du plus grand et on prend le rapport du reste au dénominateur commun: le quotient est la réponse; dans la division, on divise le plus fort des *développements* par le plus faible ou *vice versâ*: le quotient est la réponse dans les deux cas. Ce qu'on veut par la division, c'est de faire connaître l'unité entière. Si donc il y là un entier,[10] *développe*-le comme tu viens de le voir et

[1] $17\frac{3}{34}-17\frac{3}{4}$ et $\frac{1}{16}$ (ou $17\frac{46}{48}-17\frac{39}{48}$) $=\frac{7}{48}=\frac{1}{8}$ de Qîrât+3 dâneqs.

[2] في اعمال الكسور.

[3] الطرح.

[4] الجمع.

[5] القسمة.

[6] فيبسط فيها الكسور من جنس المقامات لتصير متماثلة.

[7] مجموع البسط. C'est-à-dire, la somme des deux nouveaux numérateurs.

[8] الخارج.

[9] اقلّ البسطين. C'est-à-dire, le plus petit des deux nouveaux numérateurs.

[10] فان كان ثم صحيح.

achève l'opération. Dans la multiplication,[1] on *développe* les fractions de chaque côté à l'aide de leurs dénominateurs (respectifs) ; on multiplie ensuite le *développement* du multiplicande par celui du multiplicateur et on divise le produit[2] par les dénominateurs des deux côtés :[3] le quotient est la réponse. Si c'était un entier, réduis-le à un dénominateur commun avec son côté et achève l'opération.

Si l'on (te) disait, par exemple : "Additionne une demie et un tiers," tu diviserais cinq, *développement* des deux fractions,[4] par six, dénominateur commun (*maqâm*) des deux fractions : le quotient serait cinq sixièmes.

On te dit : "Soustrais un tiers d'une demie." Tu retrancheras deux de trois et prendras le rapport de l'un restant à six : ce sera un sixième.

Si l'on te disait : "Divise une demie par un tiers ou *vice versâ*," tu diviserais, dans le premier cas, trois par deux : tu aurais un et demi. Dans le second cas, tu prendrais [p. 13] le rapport de deux à trois : ce serait deux tiers.

Si l'on te disait : "Multiplie un quart de metqâl, par exemple, et un cinquième par un tiers de metqâl et un septième," tu multiplierais neuf, *développement* du premier côté (multiplicande), par dix, *développement* du second côté (multiplicateur) et tu diviserais le produit, qui est quatre-vingt-dix, par les quatre *maqâmât* (dénominateurs) : le résultat serait six septièmes du quart d'un metqâl, soit cinq Qîrâts et un septième de Qîrât. Comprends donc.

Ratls et mesures de capacité.[5]

Le *ratl* de Baghdâd est, suivant l'opinion préférée par le

[1] الضرب.

[2] الحاصل.

[3] مقامات الطرفين.

[4] C'est-à-dire, la somme des deux nouveaux numérateurs.

[5] المكاييل. Comp. ces poids et mesures avec ceux d'El Djabarty et de Mar Eliyâ, *Roy. As. Soc. of Great Britain and Ireland*, mai 1878 et janvier 1880. Voy. aussi mes *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes*, parties ii. et iii. (inédites).

Cheikh En-Nawawy, de cent vingt-huit derhams et quatre septièmes de derham,—$128\frac{4}{7}$—; ce qui, en metqâls légaux, correspond à quatre-vingt-dix metqâls,—90—, et, en metqâls mesrys, à quatre-vingt-cinq, deux tiers et un septième du tiers d'un metqâl,—$85\frac{2}{3}$ et $\frac{1}{7\,3}$.

Le ratl mesry est de cent quarante quatre derhams,—144—, poids équivalant, en metqâls mesrys, à quatre-vingt-seize metqâls,—96—, et, en (metqâls) légaux, à cent (metqâls) et quatre cinquièmes de metqâl—$100\frac{4}{5}$—. Le ratl mesry comprend donc un ratl de Baghdâd et trois cinquièmes du cinquième d'un ratl,[1] et les vingt-cinq, au ratl mesry, en représentent vingt-huit au ratl de Baghdâd.[2]

Le poids (*meqdâr*) des deux *qollah*, en ratls de Baghdâd, est de cinq cents ratls,—500—, et, en mesrys, de quatre cent quarante-six ratls et trois septièmes de ratl—$446\frac{3}{7}$—.[3]

Le *meudd*, pour Ech-Châfé'y et Mâlek, est égal à un ratl et un tiers, au dit ratl de Baghdâd[4] et, en (ratl) mesry, à un ratl, un sixième et un septième de sixième—$1\ \frac{1}{7}\ \frac{1}{6}$.[5]

Le *sâ'* contient quatre *meudds*. Il égale donc, au (ratl) de Baghdâd, cinq ratls et un tiers—$5\frac{1}{3}$—,[6] et, au (ratl) mesry, quatre ratls, deux tiers et deux septièmes de tiers—$4\frac{2}{3}\ \frac{2}{7\,3}$.[7]

Le *wasq* comprend soixante *sâ'*. Il pèse, au (ratl) de Baghdâd, trois cent vingt ratls—320—[8] et, au (ratl) mesry, deux cent quatre-vingt-cinq et cinq septièmes de ratl—$285\frac{5}{7}$—.[9]

Le *nésâb* se compose de cinq *wasq*; ce qui fait, au (ratl) de Baghdâd, mille six cents ratls—1600—[10] et, au (ratl) mesry, mille quatre cent vingt-huit et quatre septièmes de ratl—$1428\frac{4}{7}$—.[11]

[1] $128\frac{4}{7}+\frac{128\frac{4}{7}}{2\frac{3}{5}}=128\frac{4}{7}+15\frac{3}{7}=144$ derhams $=444$gr., 9312.

[2] $144\times25=128\frac{4}{7}\times28$.

[3] $446\frac{3}{7}\times144=500\times128\frac{4}{7}$.

[4] Ce *meudd* pèse donc $128\frac{4}{7}\times1\frac{1}{3}=171\frac{3}{7}$ derhams.

[5] Soit $1\frac{8}{4\,2}$. $144\times1\frac{8}{4\,2}=171\frac{3}{7}$ derhams.

[6] $128\frac{4}{7}\times5\frac{1}{3}=685\frac{5}{7}$.

[7] $144\times4\frac{1\,6}{2\,1}=685\frac{5}{7}$.

[8] $685\frac{5}{7}\times60=128\frac{4}{7}\times320=41142\frac{8}{7}$ derhams.

[9] $144\times285\frac{5}{7}=41142\ \frac{6}{7}$ derhams.

[10] $128\frac{4}{7}\times1600=205714\frac{2}{7}$ derhams.

[11] $144\times1428\frac{4}{7}=205714\frac{2}{7}$ derhams.

Cela est ainsi lorsque les grains (*hoboûb*) mesurés au *meudd* et au *sâ'* sont nettoyés et d'une espèce moyenne comme légèreté et pesanteur,[1] ainsi que l'a dit le *cheikh el islâm*, que le grain soit petit ou grand, le volume de la mesure étant le même dans les deux cas. Mais si les grains ne sont pas tels, leur poids (*wazn*) diffère de ce qui vient d'être mentionné et il faut recourir alors au mesurage légal,[2] car c'est l'étalon (*mé'yâr*) pour les grains; le pesage de ceux-ci n'est qu'un moyen de facilitation, alors que toutes les conditions voulues sont remplies.[3] Toutefois si l'on ne connaît pas la mesure légale,[4] on la déduira, par le pesage, de la moutarde sauvage ou des grains d'espèce moyenne au nombre desquels sont les lentilles, comme s'est exprimé El Bandanîdjy. Ainsi on en pèsera la quantité (*meqdâr*) ci-dessus indiquée pour le *meudd* et on en remplira une *Kîlah*;[5] celle-ci servira d'étalon (*mé'yâr*) pour le *meudd* légal. Puis on en composera le *sâ'*, le *wasq* et le *nésâb* et l'on s'en servira pour éprouver les mesures usuelles[6] [p. 14], comme le *qadh*;[7] elles varient en effet suivant les usages conventionnels. Du temps d'El Qamoûly,[8] le *qadh* contenait deux *meudd*;[9] d'où le *sâ'* était égal à deux *qadh*,[10] et le *nésâb*, à six cents *qadh*[11]—600—,

[1] خفةً و رزانةً.

[2] الكيل الشرعيّ.

[3] للاستظهار عند توفر الشروط.

[4] المكيال الشرعيّ.

[5] D'après Mahmoud Bey, cette mesure contient théoriquement 16 litres, 4790 et, pratiquement, 16 litres, 7169, mesure comble.

[6] المكاييل العرفيّة. Ce sont celles qui ne sont pas *légales*.

[7] Cf. mes *Matériaux*.

[8] El Qamoûly est l'auteur du *Bahr el mohît* et du *Djawâher el bahr*. Son nom entier est Nadjm ed-dîn Abou'l 'Abbâs Ahmad ebn Mohammad. Il mourut en 777 (Comm. 2 juin 1375) et, d'après Orient. ii. p. 345, en l'a. 727 (Comm. 27 nov. 1326). Voy. Hadji Khal. ii. p. 616; iv. p. 28; v. p. 9; vi. p. 5 et 437; vii. p. 929.

[9] Notre auteur étant Châfé'îte, le *meudd légal* contenait pour lui $171\frac{3}{7}$ derhams et par conséquent le *qadh*, $342\frac{6}{7}$.

[10] $342\frac{6}{7} \times 2 = 685\frac{5}{7}$ derhams.

[11] $342\frac{6}{7} \times 600 = 205714\frac{2}{7}$ derhams = 635k. 616.

lesquels font six ardebs et un quart d'ardeb.[1] A l'époque d'Es-Seubky,[2] le *qadh* contenait deux *meudd* et un septième de *meudd*.[3] Le *sâ'* répondait donc à deux *qadh* moins deux septièmes de *meudd*[4] et le *nésâb*, à cinq cent soixante *qadh* —560—,[5] qui font six ardebs moins un sixième d'ardeb.[6]

Du vivant de mon maître 'Abd Allah el Menoûfy, le *qadh* contenait trois *meudd*;[7] ce qui faisait le *sâ'* égal à un *qadh* et un tiers de *qadh*,[8] et le *nésâb* égal à quatre cents *qadh* — 400[9] —, ou soit quatre ardebs et un sixième d'ardeb.[10]

Enfin, de notre temps, ainsi que l'a établi le Cheikh Ech-Charqâwy, le *qadh* contient trois *meudd* et un huitième.[11] Conséquemment, le *sâ'* est égal à un *qadh* et sept huitièmes de *qadh*,[12] et le *nésâb*, à trois cent quatre-vingt-quatre *qadh* — 384[13] —, correspondant à quatre ardebs.[14] L'ardeb est donc actuellement le quart d'un *nésâb*,[15] et son poids, pour les grains remplissant les conditions précédemment indiquées, est égal à quatre cents ratls, au (ratl) de Baghdâd — 400[16] —

[1] $205714\frac{2}{7} : 6\frac{1}{4} = 32914\frac{2}{7}$ derhams = 101k. 698 . . .

[2] Taqy ed-dîn 'Aly ebn 'Abd el Kâfy Es-Seubky composa un nombre considérable d'ouvrages (il est mentionné 83 fois par Hadji Khalîfah). Il mourut en l'a. 756 (Comm. 16 janvier 1355). Cette date donne lieu de croire que c'est en l'année 727 que mourut El Qamoûly.

[3] $171\frac{3}{7} \times 2\frac{1}{7} = 367\frac{17}{49}$.

[4] $367\frac{17}{49} \times 2 = 734\frac{34}{49}$, et $734\frac{34}{49} - \frac{2}{7}$ de $171\frac{3}{7}$ c'est-à-dire $-48\frac{48}{49} = 685\frac{5}{7}$ derhams.

[5] 560 qadh de $367\frac{17}{49} = 205714\frac{2}{7}$ derhams.

[6] $205714\frac{2}{7} : (6 - \frac{1}{6}) = 35265\frac{25}{49}$ ou l'ardeb de Mesr du temps d'Es-Seubky.

[7] $171\frac{3}{7} \times 3 = 514\frac{2}{7}$ derhams.

[8] En effet $514\frac{2}{7} + \frac{514\frac{2}{7}}{3} = 685\frac{5}{7}$ ou le *sâ'*.

[9] 5 $\frac{2}{7} \times 400 = 205714\frac{2}{7}$ derhams.

[10] $\frac{205714\frac{2}{7}}{4\frac{1}{8}} = 49371\frac{3}{7}$ d. ou l'ardeb de Mesr du temps d'*Abd Allah el Menoûfy.

[11] $171\frac{3}{7} \times 3\frac{1}{8} = 535\frac{5}{7}$ derhams.

[12] Le texte lithographié porte ici par erreur بد au lieu de قد. $535\frac{5}{7} + \frac{7}{8}$ de $171\frac{3}{7} = 535\frac{5}{7} + 150 = 685\frac{5}{7}$ d. ou le *sâ'*.

[13] $535\frac{5}{7} \times 384 = 205714\frac{2}{7}$ derhams.

[14] $\frac{205714\frac{2}{7}}{4} = 51428\frac{4}{7}$ derhams = 158k., 904.

[15] En effet $51428\frac{4}{7} \times 4 = 205714\frac{2}{7}$ derhams ou le *nésâb*, ou 300 *sâ'* de $171\frac{3}{7}$ derhams, ou cinq *wasq*.

[16] $128\frac{4}{7} \times 400 = 51428\frac{4}{7}$ derhams.

et à trois cent cinquante-sept ratls et un septième de ratl — $357\frac{1}{7}$ —, au ratl mesry.[1]

Remarque.

Le *meudd*, suivant l'opinion d'Abou-Hanîfah, est égal à deux ratls de Baghdâd;—ce ratl se compose, d'après l'évaluation préférée par Abou Ishâq, de cent trente derhams — 130 —; et le *sâ'*, à huit ratls, au dit ratl: le poids (*meqdâr*) du *sâ'* en derhams sera de mille quarante derhams — 1040 —. Le poids (*wazn*) du *nésâb* dépassera donc celui exprimé ci-dessus de huit cent vingt-six ratls, au (ratl) de Baghdâd préféré par En-Nawawy.[2] Prends donc garde.

Complément.

Sur des ratls et quantités (maqâdîr) *de convention.*[3]

Au nombre des ratls sont:

Le ratl des habitants d'ʿOrfah,[4] de deux mille quatre cents derhams — 2400 —;

Le ratl d'Antioche, de mille cinq cent soixante derhams — 1560 —;

Le Tahâwy,[5] de mille deux cent derhams, — 1200 —;

Le Soyoûty et le Tahtâwy, de mille, — 1000;

Le Jérusalémitain, de huit cent soixante-quatre derhams, — 864[6] —;

L'Alépin, de sept cent vingt derhams, — 720;[7]

Le Tripolitain, de six cent trente derhams, — 630 —;

Le Damascain, de six cents derhams, — 600 —;

[1] $144 \times 357\frac{1}{7} = 51428\frac{4}{7}$ derhams.

[2] Ce ratl est, comme on l'a vu, de $128\frac{4}{7}$ derhams. $1040 \times 300 = 312000$ derhams. $312000 - 205714\frac{3}{7} = 106285\frac{4}{7}$; $106285\frac{5}{7} : 128\frac{4}{7} = 826\frac{3}{8}$. Le texte a omis la fraction.

[3] Ces expressions démontreraient que l'auteur considère le ratl de Baghdâd comme le seul légal; c'est ce que je crois aussi.

[4] Nom moderne de l'ancienne Edesse des Grecs et des Croisés, Er-Roha des arabes.

[5] Tahâ est une ville du Sâʿîd d'Egypte, près d'Osyout, elle est célèbre par la naissance du jurisconsulte hanafîte Et-Tahâwy.

[6] El Djabarty et le *Guide du Kâteb* disent 800 derhams.

[7] Le *Guide du Kâteb* ne lui donne que 480 derhams.

Le Mahally,[1] de quatre cents derhams, — 400 ;

Le Foûwwy,[2] de trois cent soixante derhams, — 360 ;

Le ratl de Damiette, de trois cent trente derhams, — 330 ;

Celui de Samannoûd,[3] de trois cents derhams, — 300 ;

Le *Harîry*[4] (ratl de la soie), de cent soixante-deux derhams, — 162 — ;

Le ratl de Fâs (Fez) et de Tunis, de cent soixante derhams, — 160 — ;

Le Folfoly (ratl du poivre) et le Qal'y (de l'étain), de cent [p. 15] cinquante derhams, — 150 — ;

L'Afrandjy (des Francs), de cent vingt-huit derhams, — 128 — ;

Le *Roûmy*,[5] de cent deux derhams et demi et six septièmes de derham, — $102\frac{6}{7}$ —.

Parmi les *quantités* (*maqâdîr*),[6] nous citerons :

Le *mann* égal à deux ratls ;

La *kaylah*, égale à un *mann* et sept huitièmes de *mann* ;

Le *makkoûk*, qui se compose de trois *kaylah* ;

Le *qafîz*, équivalant à huit *makkoûk* ;

Le *karastoûn* كرستون égal à deux *qafîz* ;

La *rotaylah* ("petit ratl") pour la soie, de trois cent vingt-quatre derhams, — 324 — ;

La *ladrah* du Maghreb, de cent trente-trois derhams et un tiers, — $133\frac{8}{24}$ — ;

La *ladrah roûmiyeh*, de cent soixante-seize derhams, — 176 — ;

Le *farq*, vase contenant seize ratls ;

Le *faraq*, mesure (*mékyâl*) d'une contenance de quatre-

[1] El Mahallah, autrement appelée Mahallat ed-daqala et aujourd'hui Mahallat el Kebir, est une ville d'Egypte, dans la province de Gharbiyeh.

[2] Foûwwah, petite ville près d'Alexandrie et une des localités célèbres dans les livres anciens.

[3] Ville d'Egypte. C'est *Samannoûdy* qu'il faut sans doute lire dans El Djabarty, au lieu de Samanoûry.

[4] Et non *djazîry*, comme le porte El Djabarty, qui lui assigne d'ailleurs le même poids.

[5] Ce mot signifie à la fois romain (Grec Byzantin), du pays de Roûm ou Asie Mineure, grec (moderne) et, dans les Etats Barbaresques, Européen.

[6] L'auteur se sert de cette expression pour désigner, comme on va le voir, des poids autres que le ratl, et des mesures de capacité.

vingts ratls ou, suivant d'autres, de soixante ou de trente-six ;

Le *qentâr*, qui est égal à cent ratls ;

L'*oque*, égale à deux ratls et sept neuvièmes de ratl ; d'où le *qentâr* se compose de trente-six *oques*. Toutefois il est de notoriété maintenant que l'oque égale deux ratls et trois quarts de ratl ;

Et l'once الأُوقِيَّة, qui est le demi-sixième du ratl ;[1] par conséquent le nombre de ses derhams varie suivant qu'il en entre plus ou moins dans les ratls correspondants, ainsi que personne ne l'ignore. Dieu est plus savant.

L'auteur de ce traité, l'ostâḍ à qui Dieu fasse miséricorde, a dit : " Il a été écrit à la fin de *ḍou'l hedjdjeh* de l'année 1272 de l'hégire (1856), sur le fondateur de laquelle soient la prière et le salut les plus parfaits ainsi que sur sa famille et ses *Compagnons*, aussi longtemps que ce qui a été créé périra et que durera ce qui est de toute éternité.

(Dans un triangle, formant la fin de la quinzième page, on lit :)

L'impression de ce petit écrit a été achevée au milieu du mois de chawwâl de l'année 1283, à l'imprimerie de Mohammad Efendi Onsy, que Dieu lui soit en aide matin et soir ! aux frais de son *moltazem* le jeune homme vertueux le Sayyed Ahmad Abou Yousef el Qarby, que Dieu le protége dans sa religion et dans ses biens terrestres !

[1] Sur tous ces poids et mesures, conf. El Djabarty, Mar Eliya et mes *Matériaux*.

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ART. XIX.—*The Vaishṇava Religion, with special reference to the Śikshā-patrī of the modern sect called Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa.* By MONIER WILLIAMS, C.I.E., D.C.L., Boden Professor of Sanskṛit, and Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.

IT is a remarkable circumstance that the Queen of Great Britain rules over two hundred millions of people, who though deeply religious, possess a religion which cannot be designated by any one name. Most of the religions of the world, as, for example, Christianity, Muhammadanism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, are called by the names of their founders, though without the sanction of the founders themselves.

But the religion of the Hindūs has no special founder. The only name for it recognised by the Hindūs themselves is Ārya-dharma—the Āryan system—the word Dharma being a vague and comprehensive term, which may include religion, law, caste, and usages of all kinds.

It is a creed which encourages an endless development of every conceivable religious thought. Based on an original simple dogma declaratory of the Unity of God and of all being, it has branched out into an intricate and impenetrable jungle of polytheistic superstitions. A new doctrine, or new view of doctrines previously in vogue, is promulgated by some man of earnestness and originality. A number of followers gather round him. His influence and authority become unbounded, and his opinions are speedily spread in many directions. So long as he himself lives, he is able to restrain his teaching

within bounds, and to prevent foolish extravagances in his disciples. It is only when he dies that his doctrines are pushed to extremes never intended by himself. Eventually they expand into a monstrous overgrown system, the internal rottenness of which disgusts its own adherents. In fact the progress of religious thought in India may be compared to the growth of the sacred Fig-tree of India—which first roots itself deeply in the soil, and then from a single stem sends out innumerable branches, each branch descending to the ground and becoming a new tree, till the parent-stock is lost in a dense labyrinth of its own off-shoots.

A complete scientific analysis in a short compass of a system so complicated would be no easy task, and happily I am not now called upon to undertake it.

On previous occasions I have attempted to trace the development of Indian religious thought through four principal phases, designated by the terms Vedism, Brāhmanism, Śaivism, and Vaishṇavism.

Our present concern is with the last of these only, but it is essential to the comprehension of this fourth side of Hindūism that I should explain its relationship to the other three.

First then, Vedism—as most people now know—was the earliest form of the religion of the Indian branch of the Āryan family—the form which was represented in the songs, invocations, and prayers, collectively called Veda, and attributed to the Ṛishis, or supposed inspired leaders of religious thought in India. It was the worship of the deified forces or phenomena of nature, such as Fire, Sun, Wind, and Rain, which were sometimes individualized or thought of as separate powers, sometimes gathered under one general conception and then personified as one god under different names—as, for example, Varuṇa, 'the investing Sky'; Aditi, 'the infinite Expanse'; Dyaus-pitar, 'the Father of Heaven.'

Secondly, Brāhmanism grew out of Vedism. It taught the merging of all the forces of nature in one universal spiritual Being—the only real Entity—which, when un-

manifested and impersonal, was called Brahmă (neuter); when manifested as a personal creator, was called Brahmā (masculine); and when manifested in the highest order of men, was called Brāhmaṇa.

This system developed into two chief phases of its own,—the ritualistic and the philosophical. Buddhism then intervened, and spread itself with great rapidity. Originating in Behar and Oudh, and radiating to every quarter of the country, its influence was maintained for about a thousand years, and seemed likely to become paramount in every part of India, till two energetic champions of the old system appeared. The great Mediæval reviver of ritualistic Brāhmanism was Kumārila, and of philosophical Brāhmanism was Śankara. In the present day Brāhmanism is rather a philosophy than a religion, and one of its most remarkable characteristics is that it teaches a kind of triple trinity,—that is to say, a trinity of co-eternal essences, constituting the one universal impersonal Spirit,—a trinity of material envelopes, investing, and personalizing that one Spirit, and a trinity of essential qualities dominating, and, as it were, fettering or binding that one Spirit when personalized.

Let me endeavour to make this more intelligible. The root-dogma of Brāhmanism is, as already stated, the belief in one infinite all-pervading impersonal Spirit, supposed to underlie everything in the Universe. And this one impersonal Spirit is held to be composed of three co-eternal impersonal Essences, namely, Existence (sat), Knowledge or Thought (ćid), and Joy (ānanda). Again, when this impersonal Spirit wills to assume personality,—that is, when it wishes to exist in any object, to know anything, or be joyful about anything,—it is supposed to associate itself with the power of Illusion (māyā), and to invest itself with three corporeal envelopes:—1st, the causal body (kāraṇa-śarīra), identified with Ajnāna or Ignorance;[1] 2ndly, the subtle

[1] The Kāraṇa-śarīra is not only identified with Ignorance (Ajñāna or Avidyā), but also with Illusion (Māyā). Both Ignorance and Illusion are the sole cause of the separation of the personal God and the personal human Soul from the Universal Soul. In the same way they are the cause of every existing thing.

body (linga-śarīra); and 3rdly, the gross material body (sthūla-śarīra). With the first of these the impersonal Spirit is converted into a personal God, and becomes the Supreme Lord (Īśvara, Parameśvara, etc.), who is the personal Ruler of the world.

To be strictly accurate, however, it ought to be stated that the Vedānta theory makes the assumption of these three bodies involve the assumption of three distinct divine personalities, each of which is supposed to invest a particular condition of spirit. With the first or causal body, the impersonal Spirit becomes the Supreme Lord (Parameśvara), supposed to represent the mystical aggregate of causal bodies investing the mystical totality of *dreamless* human spirits; with the second or subtle body it becomes Hiraṇya-garbha (or Sūtrātmā, 'Thread-soul'), supposed to represent the aggregate of subtle bodies investing the totality of *dreaming* human spirits; and with the third or gross body it becomes Virāj (nom. Virāṭ), otherwise called Vaiśvānara, supposed to represent the aggregate of gross bodies investing the totality of *waking* human spirits. This third condition of spirit, or that of being wide awake, though with us considered to be the highest state, is by Hindū philosophers held to be the lowest, as furthest removed from unconscious spirit. In fact, higher than all three conditions of spirit is the fourth (turīya), or that of the impersonal Spirit itself.[1] It must be borne in mind that ordinary philosophic thinkers keep clear of these higher subtleties, or at least abstain from taking any account of them. The great mass of Hindū thinkers are practically Pantheists, but they confine themselves to believing in one impersonal Spirit, who, by association with Illusion, becomes one Supreme personal God (Parameśvara). And this personal God, be it noted, whenever he engages in the creation, preservation, and dissolution of the Universe, is held to be dominated by one or other of three Qualities (Guṇas), which, balancing each other in perfect equipoise, are the

[1] See the Māṇḍūkya Upanishad.

supposed constituents of his causal body.[1] Be it noted, too, that these three qualities or conditions are the same as those which in the Sānkhya system are the constituents of Prakṛiti, namely, Activity, Goodness, and Indifference (Rajas, Śattva, Tamas).[2] They are those which in the later doctrine of the Purāṇas are held to separate the one Supreme personal God into the three divine personalities of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra-Śiva, each accompanied by his own consort.[3] Dominated by Activity (Rajas) the Supreme Being is Brahmā the Creator; by Goodness (Śattva), he is Vishṇu, the Preserver; by Indifference (Tamas), he is Rudra, the Dissolver.

Whoever believes in this three-fold trinity—to wit, in three spiritual essences, three corporeal envelopes and three dominating qualities, together constituting the Supreme personal God, and constituting also every individual human personality—is an adherent of orthodox Brāhmanism.[4]

Thirdly, Śaivism grew out of Brāhmanism. It was a doing away with the triune equality of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, and the merging of the former two gods in the latter god. Śiva, in fact, becomes the one Supreme Lord. He is no longer the separate personification of the forces of dissolution. He represents to his worshippers the gathering into one personality of every conceivable divine force and function.

The destructive energies of wind and storm, once personified in the Vedic gods Rudra, and the Maruts, the all-consuming voracity of time, the fertilizing properties of dew and rain, the mighty agencies operating in creation, generation and regeneration, the mystic potency of self-mortification and penance, the mysterious efficacy of learning

[1] In other words, the Kāraṇa-śarīra, or illusory corporeal disguise (upādhi) of the impersonal Spirit Brahmā, consists of Ignorance, and is bound by the three Guṇas. By reason of this investing envelope and triple bond it becomes the personal God Parameśvara, who is thence called Saguṇa (associated with the Guṇas). In its impersonal state the Spirit is nirguṇa.

[2] Sometimes regarded as equivalent to Passion or Pain, Purity or Happiness, and Apathy or Ignorance.

[3] In the later mythology the expression S'akti is substituted for Māyā, for Prakṛiti, and for Ajnāna, and represents the wife of the personal God.

[4] Such orthodox holders of the true Brāhmanical doctrine are regarded as followers of S'ankara and called Smārtas.

and meditation,[1] the occult power of magic (māyā), the terrific malignancy of demons—all these are centralized in one god, whose chief name is Śiva, "the Blessed one," whose person is supposed to be half male and half female, whose triple eye and trident probably symbolized his combining in himself the triple trinity of Brāhmanism, and whose five faces probably typified the five collections (Saṃhitās) of the Vedas.

In short, Śiva is all in all to his worshippers. He is both Brahmă and Brahmā. He is the one personal God, and the one impersonal Spirit. He is the Paramātmā and Māyā of the Vedānta philosophy, while in his character of half male half female he represents the Purusha and Prakṛiti of the Sānkhya system. Even to this day Śaivism is followed by some as a system of philosophy rather than as a religion.

Fourthly, Vaishṇavism grew out of Śaivism. It was a merging of Brahmā and Śiva in the god Vishṇu—originally a personification of the Sun. In fact, Vaishṇavism was a necessary consequence of Śaivism. It was a reaction from its pantheism, from its philosophical dualism, from its demonolatry and mother-worship. It was a protest against the tyranny of fear as the sole engrossing motive of religion. Not that Vaishṇavism ever succeeded in neutralizing the natural dread of the forces of dissolution and the superstitious terror of demoniacal malice. To this day millions of worshippers at the shrines of Śiva deprecate his anger and propitiate his favour.

Vast numbers, too, are addicted to the worship of different forms of his Śakti or consort, either as symbolizing maternity, or as the dark goddess (Kālī) who delights in destruction; and still greater numbers worship his son Gaṇeśa—the lord of the demon host. Yet it is remarkable that those who select the male God Śiva as their chosen personal divinity, in whose mantra they are initiated, to whom they look for salvation, and to whose heaven they hope to be

[1] S'iva is the great ascetic (the counterpart of Buddha), the great philosopher who became incarnate in S'ankarāćārya, and the revealer of Grammar to Pāṇini.

transported, are comparatively few. They are chiefly religious mendicants, Yogīs and Gosāins.

In fact, Śaivism is too severe and cold a system to exert exclusive influence over the generality of minds. Who can doubt that a more genial, human and humane god was needed,—a god who could satisfy the yearnings of the heart for a religion of faith and love, rather than of knowledge and works? Such a God was Vishṇu. The God who evinced his sympathy with mundane suffering, his interest in human affairs, and his activity for the welfare of all created things in his frequent descents (avatāra) on earth, not only in the form of men, but of animals and even of plants and stones.

I will not here enter on the question of the connexion of Vishṇu-worship with Sun-worship, but we must bear in mind that the name Vishṇu properly means a Penetrator or Pervader. And it seems not improbable that the so-called incarnations of Vishṇu typify the periodical descents of the penetrating rays of Solar light and heat, and the apparently divine efficacy of these forces, not only as sources of health and vigour, but as the mainspring of all vegetable and animal life, of all human effort and industry.

Vaishṇavism then is the abolition of the triune equality of Brahmā, Śiva and Vishṇu in favour of Vishṇu, especially as manifested in his two human incarnations, Kṛishṇa and Rāma. It is the only real religion of the Hindūs. Vedism was little more than reverential awe of the forces of Nature. and a desire to propitiate them. Brāhmanism and Śaivism are simply philosophies. Śāktism and—to coin a new expression—Gaṇeśism, both of which were grafted on Śaivism, are mere amalgams of mysticism, licentiousness and demonolatry.

Buddhism, which was a reformation of Brāhmanism and in its philosophy not dissimilar to Brāhmanism, gained many followers by its abolition of caste distinctions, but in its negations and theories of the non-existence of a Supreme Being and the non-eternity of soul, is no religion at all, and in this respect never commended itself generally to the Indian mind. Vaishṇavism alone possesses the essential

elements of a genuine religion. For there can be no true religion without personal devotion to a personal God—without trust in Him—without love for Him.

Still it cannot be doubted that one great cause of the spread of Vaishṇavism in India was the fact that it could accommodate itself to other creeds and appropriate to itself the religious ideas of other systems.

It could, like Buddhism, preach liberty, equality, fraternity. It could inculcate universal benevolence, and abstinence from injury. It could be tolerant, comprehensive, elastic, all-receptive, many-sided. It could be pantheistic, monotheistic, dualistic, polytheistic. It could proclaim Buddha or any other great teacher to be an incarnation of Vishṇu. It could look with sympathizing condescension on Christianity itself, and hold it to be a development of its own theory of religion suited to Europeans.

It was thus that the worship of Vishṇu, especially in his human incarnations of Kṛishṇa and Rāma, became the one popular religion of India. And be it noted that Kṛishṇa and Rāma were both Kshatriyas—both kings and heroes. It is usual to assert that the Brāhmans are the highest objects of worship and honour among the Hindūs. This is not the case among the countless adherents of the Vaishṇava religion. The mass of the people of India exalt the divine right of Kings and the divine right of Government above all other forms of divine power, and worship every great and heroic leader as an incarnation of the deity.

Yet with all its tolerance of other systems, Vaishṇavism is not an example of a house at peace within itself. It has split up into various sects, which display no little of the odium theologicum in their opposition to each other. Possibly antagonism of some kind is a necessary condition of religious vitality, and it is not unlikely that Vaishṇavism owes much of its continued activity to its own internal contentions.

Before adverting to the distinctive features of the more important sects, let me invite attention to certain general characteristics common to the Vaishṇava religion everywhere.

First, then, the bible of all worshippers of Vishṇu in his

most popular manifestation—that of the hero Kṛishṇa, with his favourite wife Rādhā—consists of two chief books, the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa and the Bhagavad-gītā.

Those who worship the other popular manifestation of Vishṇu—the hero Rāma, the great Indian pattern of filial and marital virtue, the story of whose fidelity to his wife Sītā is on every Hindū's lips—also acknowledge two special bibles in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, and in the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsī Dās. Undoubtedly these four books, if any, ought to find a prominent place among the "Sacred Books" of our Indian Empire.[1]

Secondly, a common and general characteristic of the Vaishṇava religion is a belief in a plurality of incarnations, but a point to be noted is that, although ten principal incarnations are described in the Purāṇas, only those of the heroes Kṛishṇa and Rāma—the two divine heroes who most closely resemble human beings—are generally worshipped. Nor are any idols set up in shrines and temples as objects of admiration except those which resemble human forms.[2]

These images are supposed to be subject to all the conditions and necessities incident to living humanity. Hence in the daily ritual they are washed, dressed, adorned, and even fed like human beings, food being daily placed before them, and its aroma, according to popular belief, nourishing the god present in the image.

We shall not be surprised, therefore, to find that another marked feature of all the sects is the worship of existing religious teachers who are supposed to be embodiments, not only of divine wisdom, but of the very essence of divinity.

[1] How is it that we have two or three scientific prose translations of the Bhagavad-gītā, while we have none of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, nor of the two Rāmāyaṇas, and, still more strangely, none of the Saṃhitās of the Vedas? Another translation of the Bhagavad-gītā has just been published as one of the series of "Sacred Books of the East." With it are printed two episodes (with an index as full as a concordance), which occupy much space, but are scarcely entitled to be called "Sacred Books." It is a pity that the utility of these translations (good as some of them are) is seriously impaired by the un-English system of transliteration adopted.

[2] S'aivas, on the other hand, worship symbols and monstrous shapes like those of Gaṇeśa and Kālī.

In the foremost rank must always come the original Āćārya or founder of each particular sect. He is regarded as little inferior to Kṛishṇa himself, and may even be identified with him. The Guru, or living teacher, if not elevated to equal rank, is a greater reality. He receives homage as a visible and tangible mediator between earth and heaven. He is to the mass of Vaishṇavas even more than a mediator between themselves and God. He is the living embodiment of the entire essence of the deity (sarva-deva-mayaḥ). Nay, he is even more. He is the present God whose anger is to be deprecated, and whose favour is to be conciliated, because they make themselves instantly felt.

Next, all the sects agree in requiring a special ceremony of initiation into their communion, accompanied by the repetition of a short formula of words, such as, "Reverence to Kṛishṇa" (Om Kṛishṇāya namaḥ), "Reverence to Rāma" (Om Rāmāya namaḥ), or the eight-syllabled formula, "Great Kṛishṇa is my refuge" (Śrī Kṛishṇaḥ Śaraṇam mama).

Children are admitted to the religion of Vishṇu at the age of three or four years. A rosary or necklace (kaṇṭhī) of one hundred and eight beads,[1] made of tulsī wood, is passed round their necks by the officiating priest or Guru, and they are taught the use of one of the foregoing formulas, which is repeated by the Guru, very much as the sacred words "In Nomine Patris," etc., are repeated by the priest at the Christian rite of baptism.

Then, at the age of twelve or thirteen, another rite is sometimes performed, corresponding to our confirmation. With the Vallabha sect it is obligatory and is called Dedication (Samarpaṇa) of body, soul, and substance (*tan, man, dhan*) to Kṛishṇa. The formula taught is to the following effect:—"I here dedicate to the holy Kṛishṇa my bodily organs, my life, my inmost soul, and its faculties, with my wife, my house, my children, with all the wealth I may acquire here or hereafter, and my own self. O, Kṛishṇa, I am thy servant."

[1] This is because there are 108 chief names given to Kṛishṇa as the Supreme Being.

Again, all the sects maintain that devotion to Vishṇu supersedes distinctions of caste.

All, too, believe that every faithful worshipper of Vishṇu is transported to the heaven of Vishṇu, called Vaikuṇṭha, or to that of Kṛishṇa, called Goloka (instead of to the temporary Svarga or paradise of orthodox Brāhmanism), and that when once admitted there, he is not liable to be born again on earth.

Another general characteristic of Vaishṇavism is tenderness towards animal life. In this it contrasts favourably with Śaivism. No life must be taken by a worshipper of Vishṇu, not even that of the most minute insect, and not even for sacrifice to a deity (as for example to Kālī), and least of all must one's own life be taken. It is usual for missionaries to speak with horror of the self-immolation alleged to take place under the Car of Jagannāth (Kṛishṇa). But if deaths occur, they must be accidental, as self-destruction is wholly opposed both to the letter and spirit of the Vaishṇava religion.

Lastly, it should be noted that the several sects agree in adopting peculiar perpendicular marks on the forehead, called *tilaka* or *puṇḍra*, made every morning after bathing with coloured earths or pigments — red, white, and black, especially with a white earth called gopī-ćandana. By these vertical marks all Vaishṇavas are distinguished from Śaivas, whose frontal marks are horizontal. The Vaishṇava vertical marks are supposed to denote the impress of Vishṇu's foot. They are believed to possess great prophylactic efficacy, and if made in the morning are supposed to insure the God's favour and protection during the entire day.

Taking now the four principal Vaishṇava sects—namely, that founded by Rāmānuja, by Madhva, by Ćaitanya and by Vallabha—in successive order, let us first notice a few characteristics of the system inaugurated by the great Vaishṇava leader Rāmānuja, born about the twelfth century at Strī (Śrī) Parambattūr, a town about twenty-six miles west of Madras. He is known to have taught at Kāñćī-puram (Conjīvaram), and to have resided towards the end of his life at

Śrīrangam, on the river Kaverī, near Trichinopoly, where for many years he worshipped Vishṇu in his character of Śrīranganāth. His teaching was in some respects a modification of that of the Brāhmanical revivalist and opponent of Buddhism, Śankara, who lived three or four centuries before. That great teacher was, as we have seen, a strict Pantheist. He asserted that the one Universal Spirit (Brahmă) is the only real existing essence, and that the existence of everything else as distinct from Brahmă is all illusion.

Rāmānuja, on the other hand, contended that the external world has a real separate existence, and that the souls of men as long as they reside in the body are really different from the Universal Soul. In support of his doctrine of the diversity of souls he appealed to a text of the Ṛig-veda (i. 164. 20): "Two birds—the Supreme and Individual Souls—always united, of the same name, occupy the same tree (abide in the same body). One of them (the Individual Soul) enjoys the fruit of the fig (or consequence of acts), the other looks on as a witness."

Nevertheless, Rāmānuja admitted the dependence of the human soul on the divine, and its ultimate oneness with the Supreme Being identified with Vishṇu. He held, in fact, the non-duality (*a-dvaita*) doctrine of the Vedānta philosophy, but gave it a special interpretation of his own, calling it, "qualified non-duality" (*viśishṭādvaita*). Probably his theory of the Universe differed little from the view expressed in the lines

> The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills and the plains,
> Are not these, O Soul, the vision of him who reigns?
> Is not the vision He? though He be not that which He seems?
> Dreams are true while they last, and do we not live in dreams?[1]

After Rāmānuja's death, his numerous followers, as usual, corrupted his teaching. Two great antagonistic parties resulted—one called the northern school, Vada-galai, or (Vada-kalai, Sanskrit *kalā*), the other the southern school,

[1] Quoted by Mr. Growse, C.S., in his interesting Memior of Mathurā, p. 182.

Ten-galai (Ten-kalai). They are far more opposed to each other than both parties are to Śaivas. The northern school accept the Sanskrit Veda. The southern have compiled a Veda of their own, called "the four thousand verses" (Nālāyira), written in Tamil, and held to be older than the Sanskrit Veda, but really based on its Upanishad portion. In all their worship they repeat selections from these Tamil verses.

An important difference of doctrine, caused by different views of the nature of the soul's dependence on the god Vishṇu, separates the two parties into two hostile camps. The view taken by the Vada-galais corresponds, in a manner, to the Arminian doctrine of "free-will." The soul, say they, lays hold of the Supreme Being by its own will and effort, just as the young monkey clings to its mother. This is called the monkey-theory (markaṭa-nyāya). The view of the Ten-galais, on the other hand, resembles that of the Calvinists. It is technically styled "the cat-hold theory" (mārjāra-nyāya). The human soul, they argue, remains passive and helpless until acted on by the Supreme Spirit, just as the kitten remains passive and helpless until seized and transported, nolens volens, from place to place by the mother-cat.

Again, the Ten-galais maintain that the Śakti or wife of Vishṇu is a created and a finite being, though divine, and that she acts as a mediator or minister (purusha-kāra), not as an equal channel of salvation; whereas the Vada-galais regard her as, like her consort, infinite, and uncreated, and equally to be worshipped as a channel or means (upāya) by which salvation may be attained.

No Arminians and Calvinists have ever fought more rancorously over attempts to solve insoluble difficulties than have Vada-galais and Ten-galais over their struggles to secure the ascendency of their own theological opinions. The fight has ended in a drawn battle. Their disputes are now confined to insignificant questions. It is the old story repeated. The Sibboleths are intolerant of the Shibboleths. The Vada-galais contend that the frontal mark of the sect ought to represent

the impress of Vishṇu's right foot only (the supposed source of the divine Ganges), while the Ten-galais maintain that equal reverence is due to both the god's feet. The Vada-galais make a single white line between the eyes, curved to represent the sole of one foot, with a central red mark emblematical of Lakshmī, terminating at the bridge, while the Ten-galais employ a more complicated device symbolical of both feet, which are supposed to rest on a lotus throne, denoted by a white line drawn half down the nose. The complete Ten-galai symbol has the appearance of a trident, the two outer prongs (painted with white earth) standing for Vishṇu's two feet, the middle (painted red or yellow) for his consort Lakshmī, and the handle (or white line down the nose) representing the lotus throne.

Another point which distinguishes the Ten-galais is, that they prohibit their widows from shaving their heads. Every married woman in India is careful to preserve her hair intact. In the case of men, regular shaving is a religious duty. But for women to be deprived of any portion of their hair is a shame. A shorn female head is, except with the Ten-galais, the chief mark of widowhood.

A peculiarity common to both Rāmānuja sects is the strict privacy with which they eat and even prepare their meals. No Indians like to be looked at while eating. They are firm believers in the evil influence of the human eye (*drishṭi-dosha*). The preparation of food is with high-caste natives an affair of equal secrecy. The mere glance of a man of inferior caste makes the greatest delicacies uneatable. The Rāmānujas carry these ideas to an extravagant extreme. They carefully lock the doors of their kitchens, and protect their culinary and prandial operations from the gaze of even high-caste Brāhmans of tribes and sects different from their own.

A noticeable point with regard to the Ten-galais is that they boast one of the finest temples in India—the great Pagoda of Śrīrangam, near Trichinopoly. This I visited in 1877. Śrīrangam is, indeed, rather a sacred city than a temple. Hundreds of Brāhmans reside within its precincts,

thousands of pious pilgrims throng its streets, myriads of worshippers crowd its corridors and press towards its sanctuary. No sight is to be seen in any part of India that can at all compare with the unique effect produced by its series of seven quadrangular inclosures formed by seven squares of massive walls, one within the other, every square pierced by four lofty gateways, and each gateway surmounted by pyramidal towers rivalling in altitude the adjacent rock of Trichinopoly. The idea is that each square of walls shall form courts of increasing sanctity, which shall conduct the worshipper by regular gradations to a central holy of holies of unique shape and proportions.[1] In fact, the entire fabric of shrines, edifices, towers, and inclosures, is supposed to be a terrestrial counterpart of Vishṇu's heaven (Vaikuṇṭha), to which his votaries are destined to be transported. No wonder, then, that millions of rupees have been spent upon its construction, and that at various times pious Kings have given up large portions of their revenues for its maintenance and enlargement.

In the centre of the inner wall of the temple, near the interior shrine on the north side, is a narrow door called heaven's gate. I was at Śrīrangam the day of the great festival celebrated at the end of the year. On this day the gate is opened, and on the occasion of my visit the opening took place at four o'clock in the morning. First the jewelled idol was borne through the narrow portal, followed by eighteen images of Vaishṇava saints. Then came innumerable priests chanting Vedic hymns or the thousand names of Vishṇu; then dancing-girls and bands of musicians. Finally, thousands upon thousands of people crowded for hours through the contracted passage, amid deafening shouts and vociferations, beating of drums, and discordant sounds of all kinds of music, under the firm conviction that the passage of the earthly Heaven's gate, kept by the priests and unlocked at their bidding, would be a sure passport to Vishṇu's heaven after death.

[1] The central shrine is shaped to represent the form of the sacred syllable Om.

The second most important of the Vaishṇava sects is that of the Mādhvas, founded by a Kanarese Brāhman named Madhva. He was born about the year 1200, at a place called Udupī, on the western coast (sixty miles north of Mangalore), and was educated in a convent at Ananteś-var. The chief aim of his teaching was opposition to the pantheistic A-dvaita (non-duality) doctrine of Śankarā-cārya, the great Vedāntist. Madhva is thought to owe some of his ideas to the influence of Christianity, which had made itself felt in the south of India before the thirteenth century.

And this leads me to declare my conviction that the Vaishṇava religion, especially that of the Mādhva school, has far more common ground with Christianity than any other non-Christian religion in the world, not excepting Muham-madanism. And I make this assertion with a full knowledge of the hideous idolatry with which Vaishṇavism is associated, but which does not belong to its esoteric teaching. Madhva taught that the one God—of course identified with Vishṇu—is supreme, that the Supreme Soul is essentially different from the human soul and from the material world, and that all three have a real and eternally distinct existence, and will remain eternally distinct. Yet the elements of the world, though existing from all eternity, were shaped, ordered, and arranged by the power of the Supreme.

The Madhva sect, like the Rāmānujas and other Vaish-ṇavas, lay great stress on branding or marking the body indelibly with the circular discus-shaped weapon and shell of Vishṇu. The idea probably is that the trust of the god's followers in his power to deliver them from the malignity of evil demons ought to be denoted by some outward and visible sign. When I was at Tanjore, I found that one of the succes-sors of Madhva had lately arrived on his branding-visitation. He was engaged throughout the entire day in stamping his disciples, and receiving fees from all according to their means.

The third principal division of Vishṇu-worshippers are those found in Bengal. They are the followers of a

celebrated teacher named C'aitanya, whose biography, as given by native writers, is, as usual, chiefly legendary. Only scattered elements of truth are discoverable amidst a confused farrago of facts, fiction, and romance. Indeed, what respect for biographical accuracy can be expected in a people who are firmly convinced that their own existence and that of every one else is all illusion?

I believe it is tolerably certain that C'aitanya was born at Nadīya (=Navadvīpa), in Bengal, in the year 1485 of our era. He was held, as usual, to have been an incarnation of Kṛishṇa, and of course various prodigies marked his first appearance in the world. Soon after his birth, at the end of an eclipse, a number of holy men arrived at the house of his parents to do homage to the new-born child, and to present him with offerings of rice, fruits, gold, and silver. In his childhood he resembled the young Kṛishṇa in condescending to boyish sports (*līlā*). Yet his intellect was so acute, that he rapidly acquired a knowledge of Sanskṛit grammar and literature, especially of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.

Yet C'aitanya, notwithstanding his studious habits and pious frame of mind, was opposed to asceticism and celibacy. Most great religious teachers in India owe their influence to the fact of their having abjured marriage. But C'aitanya, like his contemporary Vallabha in the north-west, made it a religious duty to marry, and even married again when his first wife died. It was not till the age of twenty-five (A.D. 1509) that he resolved to abandon all worldly ease, and devote himself to the propagation of religious truth.

Just about the time when Luther was agitating the minds of men in Europe, C'aitanya was stirring the hearts of the people of Bengal. His success as a preacher was remarkable. Even his enemies were attracted by the persuasiveness of his manner and the magnetic power of his eloquence. The lower classes flocked to him by thousands. Nor was their admiration of him surprising. The first principle he inculated was that all the faithful worshippers of Kṛishṇa (=Vishṇu) were to be treated as equals. Caste was to be subordinated to faith

in Kṛishṇa.[1] "The mercy of God," said C'aitanya, "regards neither tribe nor family."

A leading feature of C'aitanya's teaching was that devotion of the soul to Vishṇu was symbolized under the figure of human love. "Thou art dear to my heart, thou art part of my soul," said a young man to his loved one; "I love thee, but why, I know not." So ought the worshipper to love Kṛishṇa, and worship him for his sake only.

To bring about this condition of intense religious fervour, various expedients were enjoined—such as incessant repetition of the deity's name (*nāma-kīrtana*), singing (*sankīrtana*), music, dancing, or movements similar to dancing.[2] C'aitanya was himself in the constant habit of swooning away in a paroxysm of ecstatic emotion, and his biographers assert that in one of these fits he was translated directly to Vishṇu's heaven about A.D. 1527.

As C'aitanya was none other than very Kṛishṇa incarnate, so his two principal disciples, Advaita and Nityānanda, were believed to be manifestations of portions of the same deity. These three leaders of the sect are called the three great lords (*Prabhus*), and constitute a kind of sacred triad of this phase of Vaishṇavism. A fourth, named Hari-dās, who was a companion of C'aitanya, is worshipped as a separate divinity in Bengal. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind, that, just as in every other phase of Vaishṇavism, all the living successors and the present leaders of the sect, called Gosāins, are venerated as little less than deities.

The fourth great Vaishṇava sect is that founded by Vallabha, or, as he is commonly called, Vallabhāćārya, said to have been born in the forest of C'ampāraṇya about the same time as C'aitanya. Like the great teacher of Bengal he was believed to have been an embodiment of a portion of

[1] This was his theory, but among his numerous followers of the present day the doctrine of equality does not overcome caste-feeling and caste-observances, except during religious services. The food presented to the idol of Jagannāth is distributed to all castes alike, and eaten by all indiscriminately at the annual festival.

[2] These correspond to the Zikr and religious dancing of the Muhammadan dervishes. For even cold Islām has its devotees who aim at religious ecstasy and resort to expedients very similar to those of the C'aitanyas.

Kṛishṇa's essence, and various miraculous stories are fabled about him. For instance, his intelligence is alleged to have been so great that when he commenced learning at seven years of age, he mastered the four Vedas, the six systems of Philosophy, and the eighteen Purāṇas in four months. After precocity so prodigious, he was able at the age of twelve to formulate his own view of the Vaishṇava creed. This view was not altogether new. It was to a certain extent derived from a previous teacher named Vishṇu-svāmī.

Vallabha's chief works were a commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā, and on the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, especially its tenth book—descriptive of the early life of Kṛishṇa—which last is the chief authoritative source of the doctrines of the sect. In philosophy Vallabha maintained Vedāntist doctrines, and called his system "pure non-dualism" (*Śuddhāvaita*), to distinguish it from the "qualified non-dualism" (*Viśishtādvaita*) of Rāmānuja. He left behind him 84 disciples who disseminated his doctrines. But the real successor to his Gādī or chair was his second son Viṭṭhalnāth (sometimes called Gosāin-jī). This Viṭṭhalnāth had seven sons, each of whom established a Gādī in different districts, especially in Bombay, Kutch, Kāthiāwār, and Malwa. The influence of Vallabhāćārya's successors became so great, particularly among the merchants and traders called Baniyas and Bhātiyas in Bombay, Gujarāt and Central India, that they received the title Mahā-rāja,[1] "great king," as well as Gosāin (a corruption of Gosvāmin—lord of cows—an epithet of Kṛishṇa).

Vallabha's view of religion and of the true way of salvation has been called *Pushṭi-Mārga*, the way of eating, drinking and enjoying oneself. What he really taught was that life was a blessing given to every man to be enjoyed, and that the Deity did not require fasting, self-mortification, or suppression of the passions, and of the natural appetites. Like C'aitanya, he considered that human love typified the union of the soul with Kṛishṇa. He therefore enjoined

[1] I believe the full title is Mahārājādhirāja.

marriage, and was himself married. His successors have gone far beyond their leader. They are the Epicureans of India. They are not only married men and men of the world. They dress in the costliest raiment, feed on the daintiest viands, and abandon themselves to every form of sensuality and luxury. The god worshipped is the Kṛishṇa incarnation of Vishṇu, as he appeared in his boyhood, when, as a mere child, he gave himself up to childish mirth, and condescended to sport with the Gopīs or cowherdesses of of Mathurā (Muttra). According to the higher teaching of Vallabha, the love of the Gopīs, and especially of Rādhā for Kṛishṇa, was to be explained allegorically, and symbolized the longing of the human soul for union with the universal Soul (Brahma-sambandha). But the followers of Vallabha interpreted that attachment in a gross and material sense. Hence, their devotion to Kṛishṇa has degenerated into the most corrupt practices, and their whole system has become rotten to the core. Their men have brought themselves to believe that to win the favour of their god, they must dress like females. Even the Mahārājas, or spiritual chiefs, are accustomed to dress like women when they lead the worship of their followers.

But far worse than this, these Mahārājas have come to be regarded as representatives of Kṛishṇa upon earth, or rather as actual incarnations or impersonations of the god. So that in the temples where the Mahārājas do homage to the idols, men and women do homage to the Mahārājas, prostrating themselves at their feet, offering them incense, fruits, and flowers, and waving lighted lamps before them. One mode of worshipping the boyish Kṛishṇa is by swinging his images in swings. Hence, women are accustomed to worship not Kṛishṇa, but his human representative, by swinging him in pendant seats. The Pān-supārī ejected from his mouth, the leavings of his food, and the very dust on which he has trod, are eagerly devoured by his devotees, while they also drink the water rinsed from his garments, and the very washings of his feet.

Nay, infinitely worse than all this; it is believed that the

best mode of propitiating the god Kṛishṇa in heaven is by ministering to the sensual appetites of his vicars upon earth. Body and soul are literally made over to them, in the rite called Self-devotion, and women are taught to believe that the highest bliss will be secured to themselves and their families by delivering up their persons to Kṛishṇa's representatives.[1]

No wonder that a corruption of the Vaishṇava faith so abominable should have led to the modern Puritan movement, under the reformer Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa. This remarkable man, whose proper name was Sahajānanda, was a high-caste Brāhman. He was born at Chapāī, a village one hundred and twenty miles to the north-east of Lucknow, about the year 1780. Disgusted with the manner of life of the Vaishṇava Brāhmans of his own time and neighbourhood, whose precepts and practice were utterly at variance, and with the, so to speak, Augean stable of Vallabhāćāryan licentiousness, he determined to attempt the Herculean task of cleansing it from its impurities. To this end he himself renounced marriage and a secular life. He was nevertheless a follower of the great leader Vallabha and a Vaishṇava to the back-bone. His only opposition was to the corrupt practices, which he contended were wholly incompatible with a right interpretation of the doctrines promulgated by Vallabha.[2]

About the year 1800, Sahajānanda took up his abode at Jūnagarh in Kāthiawār (where there is still a Maṭha, or monastery of the Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa sect). There he placed himself under the guidance and protection of a Guru named Rāmānanda Svāmī. About the year 1804, his protector removed to Ahmedābād, and Sahajānanda followed him.

In a large and populous city, a man like Sahājānanda, of evident ability and conspicuous sanctity of life, could not fail

[1] The profligacy of the Mahārājas was exposed in the celebrated trial of the Mahārāja libel case, which came before the Supreme Court of Bombay, on the 26th of January, 1862. The evidence given, and the judgment of the judges, have acted as some check on the licentious practices of the sect.

[2] It ought to be mentioned, however, that Dayānanda Saraswatī Svāmī, who is the leader of a new Theistic sect, called the Ārya-Samāj, at Bombay, has written two treatises in Sanskrit and Gujarātī to show that Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa's teaching is quite as objectionable in its tendency as that of Vallabhāćārya.

to attract attention. Soon he collected a little band of disciples, which rapidly multiplied into an army of devoted adherents. At first he confined himself to making proselytes of those who were willing to abandon all intercourse with the world. Such men were enjoined to keep aloof from the adherents of every other system (para-dharma). Eventually all who accepted the Reformer's doctrines were freely admitted into the pale of the sect. Probably his success was due to a remarkable fascination of manner combined with consistency of moral character, and other qualities which singled him out for a leader. His persuasive eloquence acted like a spell on all who heard it. Some alleged that he had a power of mesmerizing his followers, which enabled him to throw them into a kind of a trance, and make them fancy they saw visions of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa. And without doubt his faculty of working himself up into a kind of ecstatic fervour may have had a fascinating and sympathetic effect on his disciples. At any rate they increased so rapidly that the Brāhmans of Ahmedābād began to be jealous of his popularity. He was obliged to fly, and sought refuge at Jetalpur, twelve miles south of Ahmedābād. There he invited all the Brāhmans of the neighbourhood to the performance of a great sacrifice. The native officials no sooner heard of the proposed assemblage than, fearing a collision between his followers and other religious parties, they had him arrested on some frivolous pretext and thrown into prison. Such an act of tyranny defeated its own object. It excited universal sympathy, and increased his influence. He was soon released. Hymns were composed in praise of his merits. Verses were written descriptive of his sufferings. Curses were launched at the heads of his persecutors. Jetalpur then became the focus of a great religious movement. Thousands flocked to the town and enrolled themselves as the followers of Sahajānanda, who, from that time forward, took the name of Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa.

Bishop Heber, in his Indian Journal, gives an interesting account of an interview with him at this period of his career. It is here abbreviated :—

"About eleven o'clock I had the expected visit from Svāmi-

Nārāyaṇa. The holy man was a middle-sized, thin, plain-looking person, about my own age, with a mild and diffident expression of countenance, but nothing about him indicative of any extraordinary talent. He came in somewhat different style from all I had expected, having with him nearly two hundred horsemen. The guards of Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa were his own disciples and enthusiastic admirers, men who had voluntarily repaired to hear his lessons, who now took a pride in doing him honour, and who would cheerfully fight to the last drop of blood rather than suffer a fringe of his garment to be handled roughly. In my own parish of Hodnet there were once, perhaps, a few honest country-men who felt something like this for me, but how long a time must elapse before a Christian Minister in India can hope to be thus loved and honoured."

It soon became clear that the success of Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa's future operations would depend on the consolidation of his party. He therefore retired with his followers to the secluded village of Wartāl, where he erected a temple to Nārāyaṇa (otherwise Kṛishṇa, or Vishṇu, as the Supreme Being), associated with the goddess Lakshmī. It was from this central locality that his efforts to purify the Vallabhāćaryan system were principally carried on. The keynote of his teaching seems to have been "devotion to Kṛishṇa—as the Supreme Being—with observance of duty, chastity, and purity of life."

He was in the habit of making periodical tours through portions of Gujarāt, especially Kāthiāwār, like a bishop visiting his diocese. It was in one of these tours, on the 28th of October, 1829, that Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa was struck down by fever and died, when he was about 49 years of age. His disciples, of course, very soon deified him as an incarnation of Vishṇu. They now number more than 200,000 persons, and are divided into two great classes—Sādhus,[1] "holy men," and Gṛihasthas, "householders." These correspond to clergy and laity, the former, who are all celibates, being supported by the householders, who are only allowed

[1] Sādhu is a general term for a man who has given up the world for the practice of religion. The title Sannyāsī—properly applicable only to Brāhmans—is usually confined to S'aiva ascetics.

one wife. Those Sādhus who are Brāhmans are called Brahmaćārīs. Of these there are about 300 at Wartāl, the whole body of Sādhus, or holy men, numbering about 1,000. A still lower order is called Pāla. Of these there are about 500.

There are two principal temples of the sect; one at Wartāl (for *Vṛittālaya*, or, as some say, for *Vratālaya*, "abode of religious observances"), about four miles to the west of the Boravi Station of the Baroda Railway; another at Ahmedābād. The former is the most important and best endowed, but both are presided over by Mahārājas, neither of whom is willing to yield precedence to the other. This looks as if the sect were already following the usual law of internal division and disagreement, to be followed in due course by a separation into two antagonistic parties. In 1875 I visited the Wartāl temple, on the day of the Pūrnimā, or full moon of the month Kārtik[1]—the most popular festival of the whole year. I was conducted by the Mahārāja through a crowd of at least ten thousand persons, in which the conspicuous absence of women was to an European very remarkable. The throng was packed closely in the large quadrangle, and filled up all the approaches to the temple. They were waiting to be admitted to the one ceremony of the day, and the one object that had drawn so many people to one spot—the privilege of *Darśana*, or a sight of the principal idol. It was a moment of tremendous excitement. Every countenance seemed set with an expression of intense eagerness in the direction of the temple door. Let a man but catch a glimpse of the jewelled image on this anniversary, and the blessing of the god attends him for the whole year. The vast concourse swayed to and fro like the waves of a troubled sea, each man vociferating and gesticulating in a manner quite appalling to an Englishman unaccustomed to such exhibitions of religious enthusiasm.[2] Nevertheless, the ten thousand

[1] According to the Prem-sāgar, it was on the night of the full moon of this month that Krishṇa first danced with the Gopīs the circular dance called Rāsa-Maṇḍala.

[2] Almost all grown-up males in India have stentorian voices, and are in the habit of talking loud, even in ordinary conversation. This is amusingly illus-

people were docile as children. At a signal from the Mahārāja, they made a lane for us to pass, and we entered the temple by a handsome flight of steps. The interior is surrounded by idol-shrines, containing various representations of Vishṇu and his consort.

The first shrine contains three images—that on the left of the spectator is of Kṛishṇa (as son of Vasudeva); Dharma (a name of Vasudeva) is in the centre, and Bhakti (Kṛishṇa's mother Devatī) on the right. There is also an image of Vishṇu's vehicle Garuḍa in this shrine. One of the principal shrines, or that next in order, has three figures; that on the left of the spectator is an idol of Kṛishṇa in his character of Ran-chor ('fight-quitter'). This is a form of Kṛishṇa specially worshipped at Dwārakā. Some interpret the name to mean 'sin-deliverer,' but it may have reference to his declining to take part in the great war between the sons of Paṇḍu and Dhṛitarāshṭra. In the middle is an image of Nārāyaṇa or of Vishṇu as the Supreme Being, while Lakshmī, consort of Vishṇu, is on the right. A gong is suspended before the shrine, which is struck in the performance of pūjā and ārti.

Another principal shrine has Kṛishṇa in the middle, his favourite Rādhā on the right, and Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa, the founder of the sect, on the left. He is here worshipped as a kind of tenth incarnation of Vishṇu. Sometimes in this character he is called the Narāvatāra, or Man-incarnation (the tenth being properly the Kalky-avatāra, sometimes called Aśvāvatāra, horse-incarnation). Another shrine contains the bed and clothes once used by Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa. On one side is the print of his foot and on the other are his wooden slippers. The remaining shrines represent various incarnations of Vishṇu, such as the fish, the man-lion, and the boar. Under a central dome are representations of the Rama incarnations, and in the centre of the floor is a well-

trated at railway stations, where the native passengers collect in crowds long before the arrival of the trains. It is equally common at religious gatherings, and no idea of irreverence seems to be connected with the practice of shouting to each other on such occasions.

carved marble turtle, which probably has reference to the Tortoise incarnation of Vishṇu. On the occasion of the present festival the principal images were almost concealed from view by rich vestments and jewelry.

I was next conducted to the Sabhā-maṇḍapa, or great hall of assembly, on one side of the quadrangle. Here about two thousand of the chief members of the sect, including a number of the Sādhus, or clergy, were waiting to receive us. Chairs were placed for us in the centre of the hall, and before us, seated on the ground, with their legs folded under them in the usual Indian attitude, were two rows of about thirty of the oldest Sādhus, three or four of whom had been actually contemporaries of Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa. These old men were delighted when I questioned them as to their personal knowledge of their founder. The only inconvenience was that they all wanted to talk together. I found the Paṇḍits among them well versed in Sanskṛit. One or two astonished me by the fluency with which they spoke it, and by their readiness in answering the difficult questions with which I tested their knowledge.

The Mahārāja's last act of courtesy was to conduct me to an adjacent building, used as a lodging-house, or asylum (dharma-śālā), for the clergy. On the present anniversary at least six hundred of these good men were collected in long spacious galleries, called Āśramas (places of retreat). They were all dressed alike in plain salmon-coloured clothes, each man being located in a small separated space, not more than seven feet long, by three or four broad. Above his head, neatly arranged in racks, were his spare clothes, water-jar, etc.

When I was introduced to the six hundred Sādhus, they all stood upright, motionless, and silent. At night they lie down on the hard ground in the same narrow space. These holy men are all celibates. They are supposed to have abandoned all worldly ties, that they may go forth unencumbered to cheer, support, and keep watch on each other. They travel on foot, undergoing many privations and hardships, and taking nothing with them but a staff, the clothes

on their back, their daily food, their water-jar, and their book of instructions. They may be seen here and there interspersed among the crowds which throng the towns of Western India, attracting attention by their salmon-coloured garments, and apparently striving to win disciples by personal example and self-denying habits, rather than by controversy.

What I saw of their whole system convinced me that the Svāmi-Nārāyaṇas are a shrewd, energetic body of men, and their sect an advancing one. Notwithstanding the asceticism of their clergy, the Mahārājas are, I believe, married men, and the leading members of the community have a keen eye to the acquisition of money, land, and property.

After my discussion with some of their Paṇḍits, I was presented with their Śikshā-patrī, or manual of instructions, written in Sanskrit (with a long commentary), constituting the religious directory of the sect. It is in the form of an epistle written by their Founder, with the aid of a learned Brāhman named Dīna-nāth, and is a collection of two hundred and twelve precepts—some original, some extracted from Manu and other sacred Śāstras.

Every educated member of the sect appeared to know the whole collection by heart. Specimens of the verses were recited to me by the Paṇḍits, with the correct intonation, in the original Sanskṛit.

Without doubt the tendency of the doctrines inculcated is towards purity of life and conduct. Salvation is to be attained not merely by entire devotion of the soul to the Supreme Being, under his names of Nārāyaṇa, Vishṇu, and Kṛishṇa, but by a faithful discharge of the duties (dharma) of religion, and by control of the passions, and purity of conduct.

Eight sacred books are enumerated as inspired authoritative guides, and of these the two especially used are the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa and the Bhagavad-Gītā. The philosophy enjoined is that modified form of the Vedānta system, called 'qualified non-quality' (Visishṭādvaita), as taught by the first great Vaishṇava leader Rāmānuja. In fact it is clear that, with the exception of the substitution of Vishṇu or Kṛishṇa

and his consorts for Brahman, the philosophical doctrines of the sect differ very little from pure Brāhmanism.

I have prepared a printed edition of the whole Directory with an English translation, both of which will appear in a subsequent number of this Journal, and will, I hope, give a fair idea of the purer side of modern Vaishṇavism.

The system is doubtless saturated with the grossest idolatry and superstition, but it will be seen that many of its precepts contain high moral sentiments, some of which are even worthy of Christianity.

At any rate they prove that in their earnest efforts to purify the corrupt creed of the Mahārājas, the Svāmi-Nārāyaṇas are worthy of commendation and encouragement. I can testify to the good they have effected in Western India, where the immoralities of the successors of Vallabha have for a long time scandalized every respectable member of the community.

As a reforming sect, the followers of Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa will, in my opinion, increase and extend their influence for a time; but their system lacks the true vivifying regenerating force which can alone maintain it in vigour, and, like other Indian reformations and religious revivals, is, I fear, destined in the end to be drawn back into the all-absorbing vortex of corrupt Hindūism.

ART. XX.—*Further Note on the Apology of Al-Kindy.* By Sir W. MUIR, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D.

WITH reference to my paper on the Apology of Al-Kindy, I have received the following letter from Professor Ignatius Guidi, dated Rome, 24th February:—

"You will be glad to hear that in the Propaganda Library (*Museo Borgiani*) I found a MS. of the Apology of Al-Kindî, together with the letter of his Moslem friend. The amanuensis was, I think, a Jacobite (the MS. is written in Karshuni character), hence he says (page 5, line 18 of the printed text): والنسطورية وهم اكفر القوم الخ .... واما اليقوبية الصحابك الخ[1] The Roman MS. is apparently of the same family with the Paris MS. as described by Zotenberg, *Catalogue des MSS. Syriaques de la Biblioth. Nationale*, Nos. 204, 205."

In a subsequent communication, dated 12th March, M. Ign. Guidi adds:—

"The Propaganda MS. of Al-Kindy's Apology has, at the end of the letter of the Moslem, a note which states that a certain Abuna Salîbâ ابونا الخوري صليبا abridged the letter of the Moslem; then a certain Mûsâ transcribed, from the copy of Abûnâ Salîbâ, the MS. now in the Propaganda, in the year of the Greeks 1957, corresponding with 1052 of the Hegira (1642–3 A.D.).

"The MS. is in octavo, and has 18 lines in every page; the letter of the Moslem occupies 16 pages; it seems therefore *to be a little* shorter than the printed text."

[1] That is to say, the Moslem advocate is made to represent the Nestorian as the worst, and the Jacobite the best, form of the Christian religion. The Arabic MSS. reverse this statement, and make Al-Kindy a Nestorian, which no doubt he was.

The notices referred to above from Zotenberg's Catalogue are as follows, pp. 155, 156:

"204. No. 8 (fol. 124*v*.) Apologie de la religion chrétienne, par un chrétien Jacobite (JACQUE AL KINDI) addressée, sous le forme de lettre, à un Musulman qui l'avait attaquée. En Carschouni; . . . .

"205. Apologie de la religione chrétienne, par JACQUES le Kindien, Jacobite, en réponse à une attaque d'un Musulman de la famille de Haschim. En Carschouni . . . . Le préface est suivi de la lettre abrégée du Musulman. L'ouvrage proprement dit commence ainsi . . . . Cet exemplaire ne renferme pas la conclusion qui se trouve dans l'autre copie.

"Ce MS. a été exécuté en 1934 des Grecs (1619 de J.C.). La copie fut commencée par la diacre Salibi, de Damas, qui à abrégé lui-même la lettre Mahométane, et qui ajouté plusieurs notes marginales. La transcription a été continuée et terminée par son frere, le diacre Joané, et deux autres diacres, Serge et Moise.

". . . . . Il est à croire que l'ouvrage n'était pas designe par un titre particulier."

The Apology thus reaches us through the medium of MSS. belonging to two distinct families. *First*, the Arabic proper, handed down by the Nestorian section of the Church, which I take to be the original form in which the Apology appeared. *Secondly*, the Karshuny, or Arabic in Syriac character, handed down by the Jacobite Church;—which explains the appellation which I took to be a mistake in M. de Sacy's article (see p. vi of my paper).

The Karshuni family of MSS. is shown by Prof. Guidi's notes to have existed in a separate and independent form, at any rate Two and a half centuries ago.

Art. XXI.—*The Buddhist Caves of Afghanistan.*

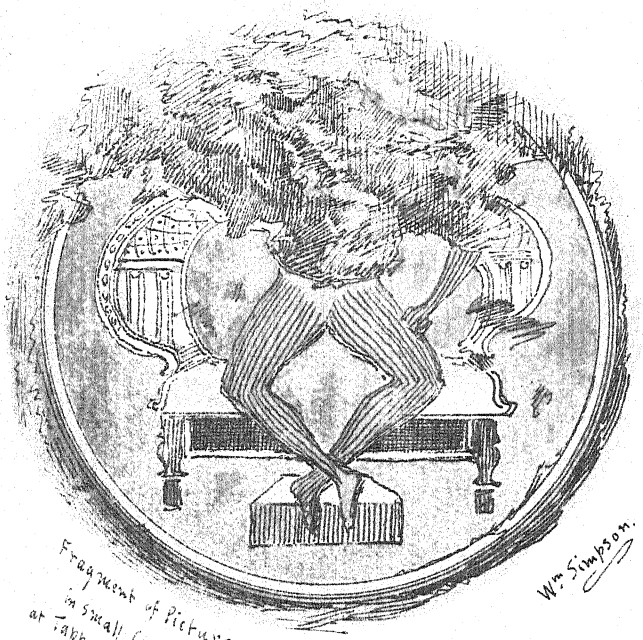
By William Simpson.

In going through the Khyber Pass I saw numerous recesses in the rocks which struck me as places which might have been used by ascetics, but they indicated no signs of having been excavated, hence nothing definite could be assumed regarding them. In the scarp under the Ishpola Tope there is one of these rude niches which would be a very desirable spot for a holy man to retire to, who wished to give up the things of this world, but who at the same time had some intention that his light should not be hid under a bushel, for if an ascetic ever made it his residence, every passer-by must have seen him, high above the road, with little more than a fair allowance of space in which to sit cross-legged. From the immense number of caves I afterwards saw which had been excavated, indicating that a very large monastic population had existed, I have now little doubt that during the fervour of asceticism in the Buddhist period, most of these rocky niches had been thus occupied at one time or another. At Daka there are a few caves which have been excavated, but they are little more than holes.

It was at Basawul, the next march beyond Daka, that we came upon the first large group of caves. They may number about one hundred, and have been excavated, close to the village of Chicknoor, at varying heights along the base of a rocky hill, known as the Koh-be-Doulut, or "The Worthless Mountain," for nothing will grow on its steep rocky sides. This is on the left bank of the Kabul River, and I was indebted to General Macpherson for the means of crossing to see them. A large raft floating on inflated bullock-hides was procured, and on it, a party, including the General and a guard of Ghoorkhas, were ferried over. The Pushtoo word for cave is *sumutch*, but pronounced very

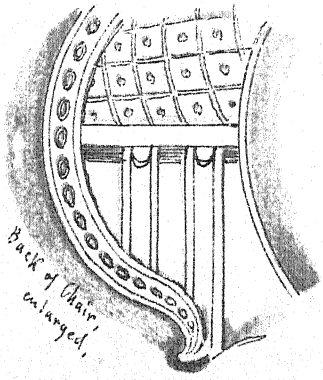
nearly as if written *smutch*; the natives previous to our going over had given us a wonderful account of these caves; describing them as extending far into the mountain, a hundred miles and more, we were told, and that through one of them there was a road to Kashmir. They also stated that many of them were inhabited, and that the people kept large flocks in them. From these statements some of the officers took over lanterns so as to be able to explore these labyrinthine recesses, and revolvers were not forgotten in case of attack. It was rather remarkable to receive such extravagant accounts with the caves themselves within sight. A traveller passing along might have learnt all this, and recounted it again in perfect good faith, and the marvellous caves of Chicknoor might have been much talked about.

A visit across the river dispelled the illusion. There was not a living thing found in any of them, and their extent was limited to about 20 or 30 feet of penetration into the rock; they were all very similar, each having a circular roof, from which they might be described as not unlike a series of small railway arches, their width being perhaps 10 or 12 feet. In one case two of the caves were connected by a passage behind, but the passage was not longer than the caves themselves. These excavations might be divided into two groups, the largest being at the east end of the Koh-be-Doulut, near to Chicknoor; the caves here were probably the oldest, for some of them were in a very dilapidated condition,—while on those higher up the river a few fragments of plaster were visible. Although we found no one in the caves, it turned out that the Koochis, who are a migratory tribe with camels and flocks, come down to the lower regions in the winter, and occupy the caves, leaving them again about April. In some parts of the Jelalabad valley we found a large population of these people in Caves, and the result has been not only the destruction of the plaster, but also the blackening of it, so that all inscriptions, paintings, or colour of any kind, wherever it existed, has in almost every case ceased to be visible. This is much to be regretted; the Caves seem to have been all

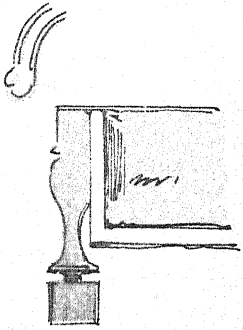


Fragment of Picture in Small Cave, at Takka Zangaram Hada.

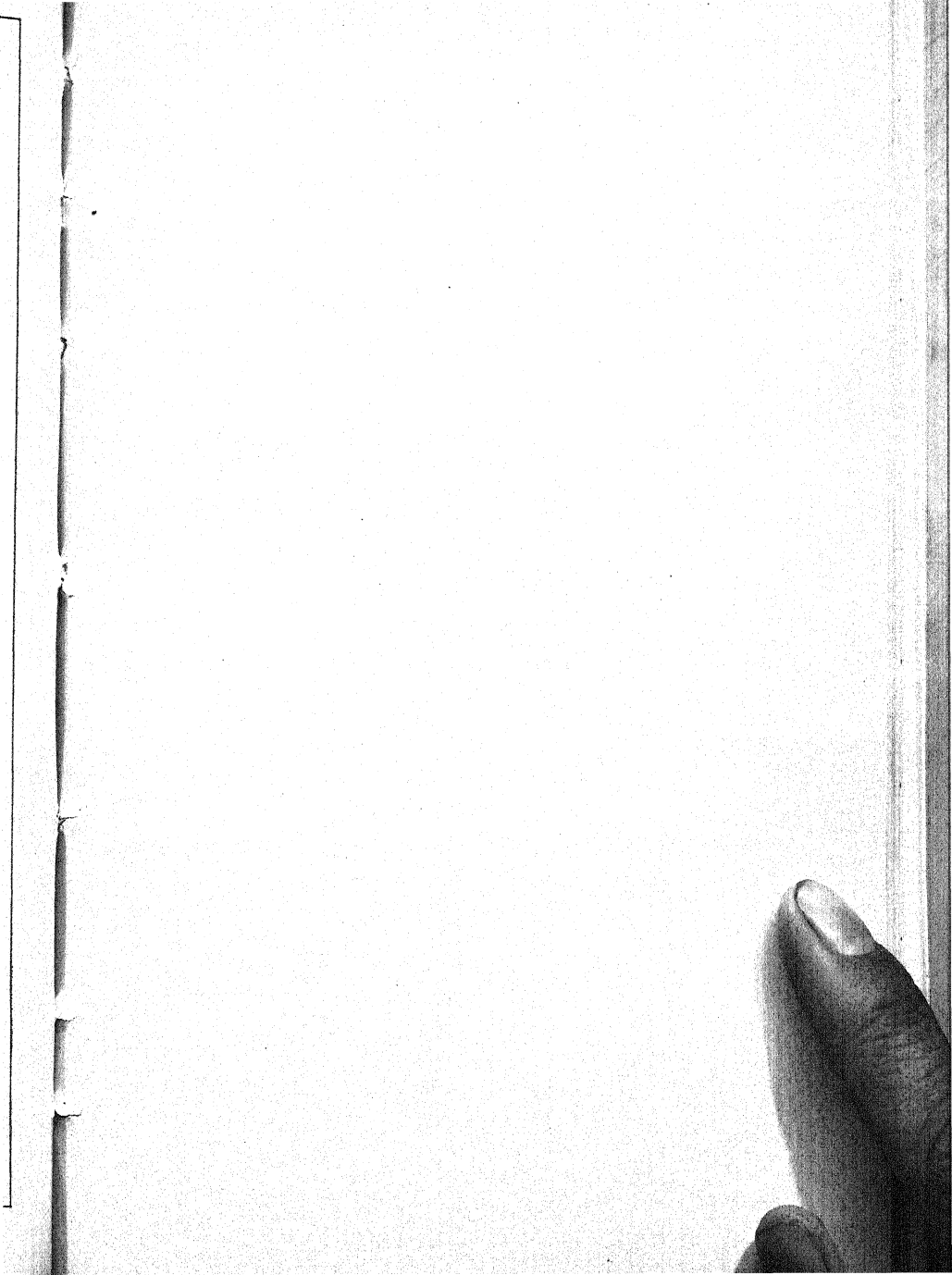
Wm. Simpson.

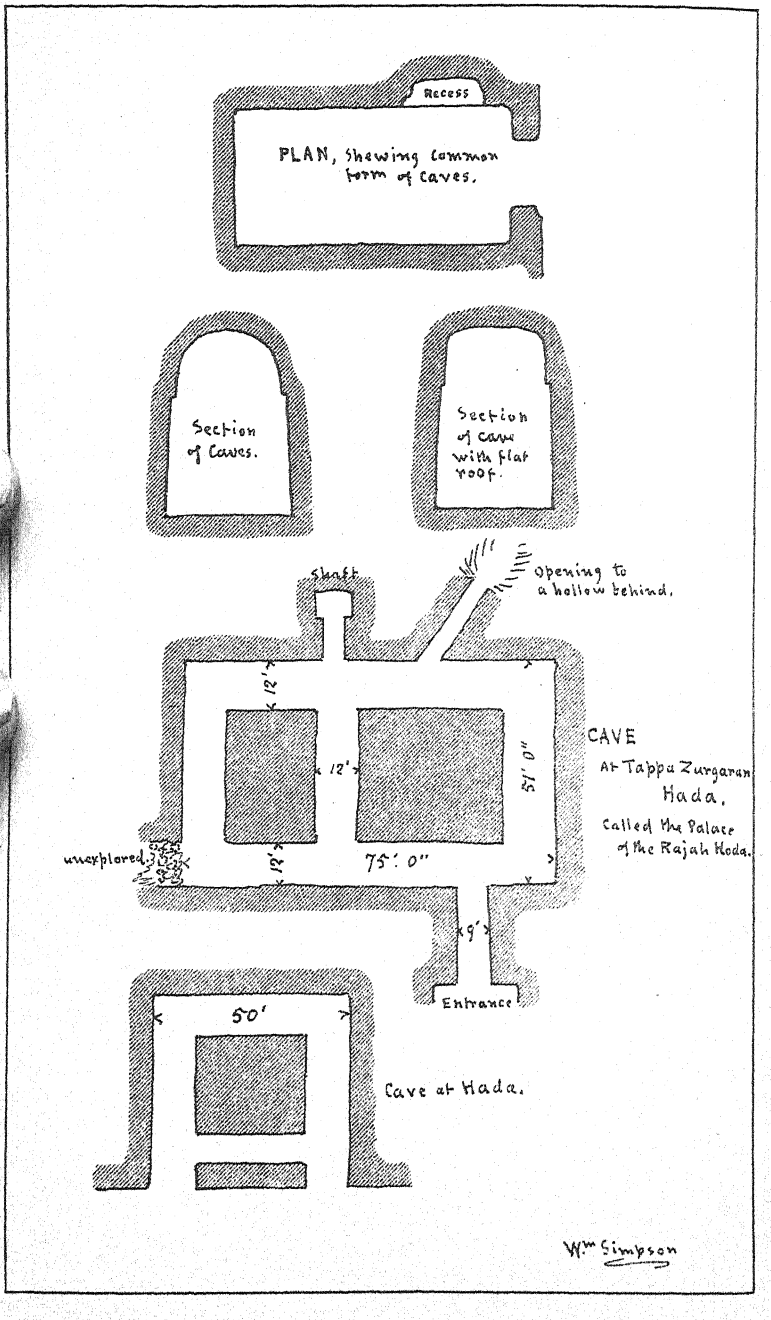


Back of Chair enlarged.



Leg of Chair Enlarged.





THE BUDDHIST CAVES IN AFGHANISTAN.

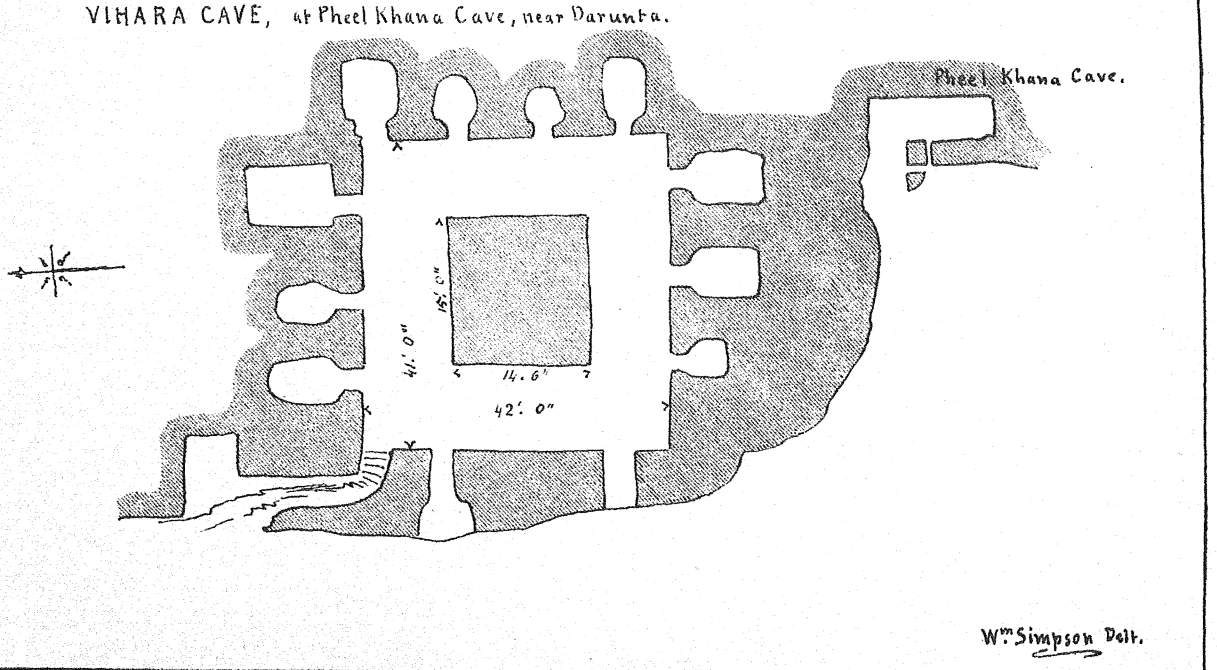
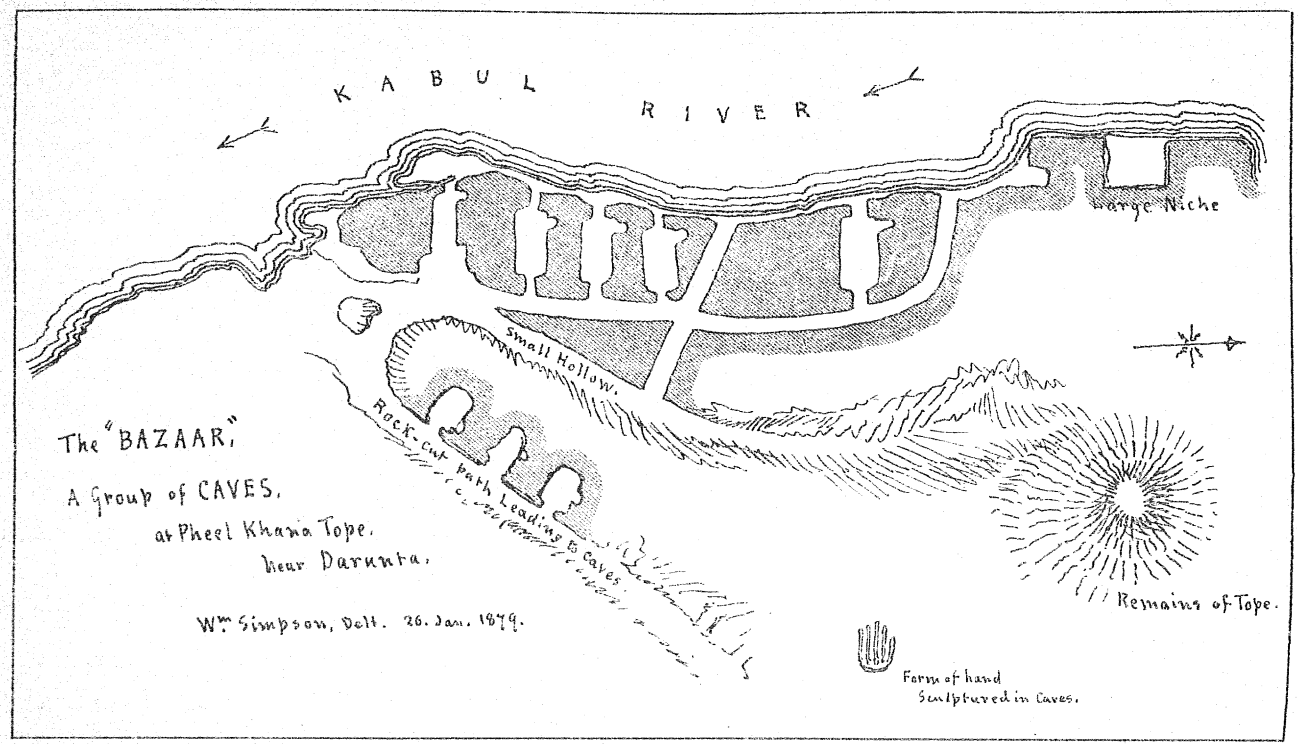
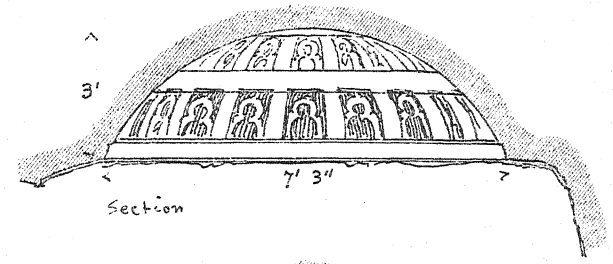


PLATE 3.

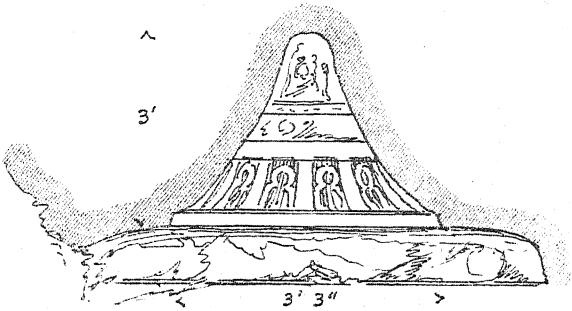
THE BUDDHIST CAVES IN AFGHANISTAN.



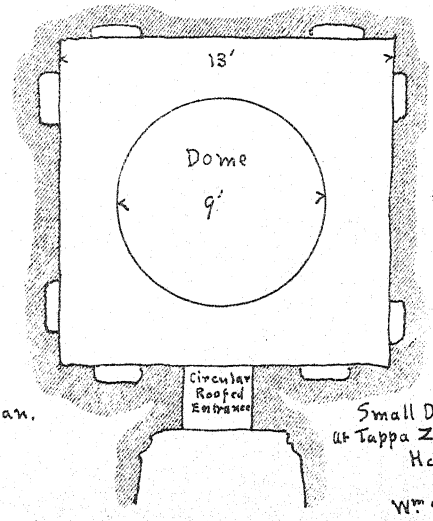
THE BUDDHIST CAVES IN AFGHANISTAN.



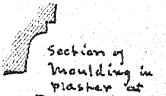
Section



Section.



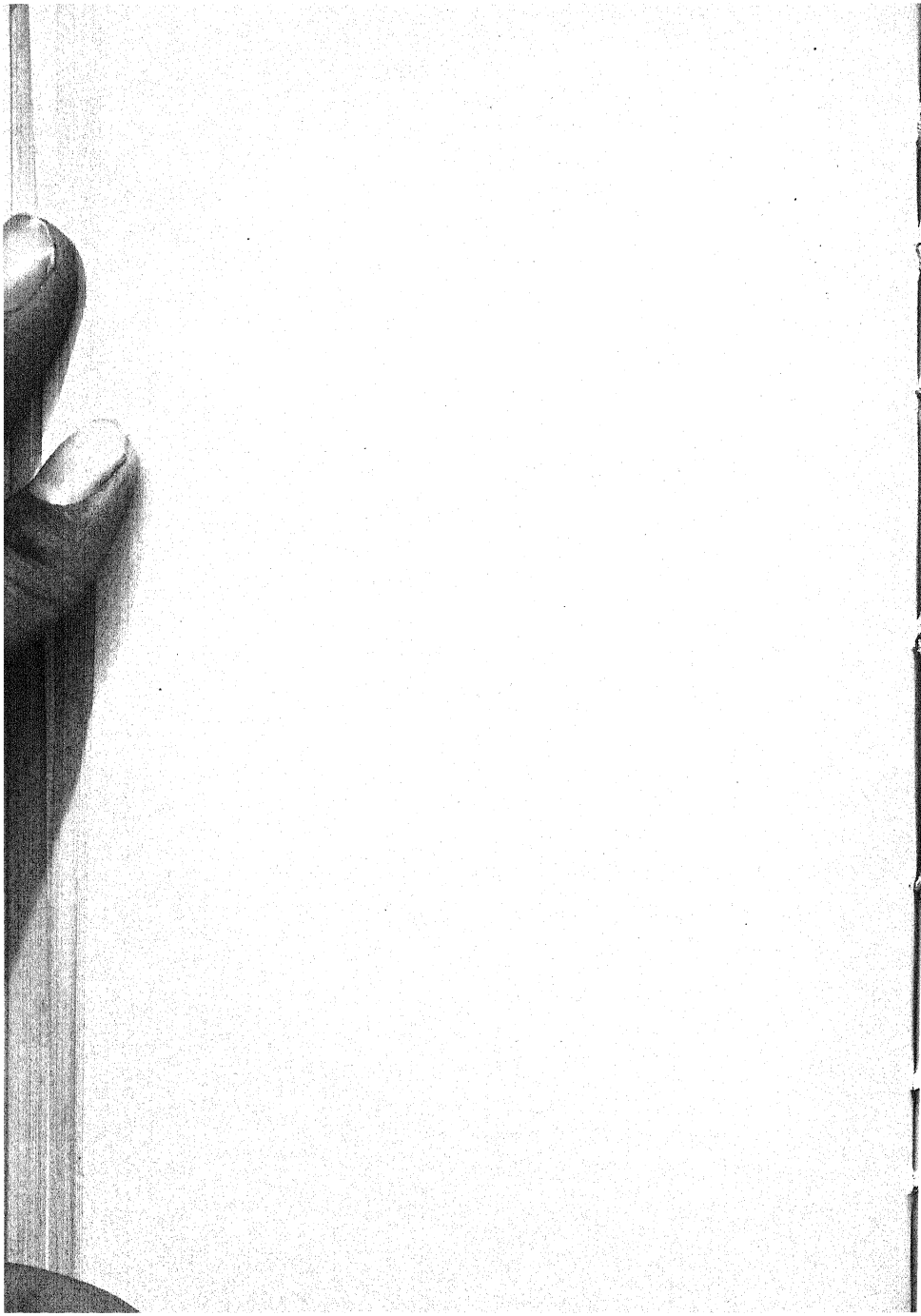
Plan.



Section of Moulding in plaster at Base of dome.

Small Domed Caves at Tappa Zurgaran, Hada.

Wm. Simpson.



covered with plaster; many of them were no doubt painted, but of this only some few remains were found, the little that is left suggesting, however, that a great quantity of valuable material has been destroyed by the Koochis utilizing the Caves.

As the Afghanistan Caves were all but new to me, it was necessary to be careful in coming to any conclusion as to who their constructors had been. At first, that is, so far as the Chicknoor Caves threw light on the subject, the origin of the Caves was far from being evident. The Koochis living in these recesses with their flocks made it possible that they had been excavated for dwelling in; this was the general idea among the party who had gone over to see them. I rather suspected their Buddhist origin, and the repetition of the circular roof in them all, as well as their uniform size and shape, led me to think that some type had been rigidly followed as a pattern. It struck me that if they had been originally constructed as habitations, more variety would have been given to them from the varied requirements of different individuals. It was only after seeing the vast quantity of Caves in the Jelalabad valley, that their origin became a certainty in my mind. Their constant association with topes, and mounds of Buddhist remains, made it evident that there was some connection between them. In almost every case where there was a scarp of rock under the mounds, Caves existed in it; and as in most cases the Topes had been erected on elevated spots, there were few remains near which the Caves were not found. The remains of structural Viharas could often be distinguished from that of the Topes, and it may be a point worth noting, that Caves and Viharas existed together.

What these two very different kinds of residences implied I cannot pretend to determine; but they naturally suggest that some point of distinction is indicated. It is quite possible that they have a chronological sequence; that the Monks dwelt in Caves at first, and that the Viharas came into use afterwards; or the opposite may have been the case. Unfortunately, from the decayed condition of the Caves, and the complete demolition of the Viharas, nothing can as yet be said as to the probable date of either. There is another question which

often came into my mind when on the spot, and that was as to whether the Caves or the Topes had come into existence first. It may have been that, when a Tope was erected, the Caves and Viharas were constructed for the attendant Monks; or it is equally possible, and if anything I think it is the most likely of the two theories, that the Caves and the Monks first existed at these spots, and that, if any of them attained to a high reputation for sanctity, he would most probably have been honoured with a Tope containing his ashes, and thus begun the group above, which is now represented by the mound. Beyond a surmise of this kind, I have no evidence to offer on the subject.[1]

There were some marked exceptions as to the form of the Caves, but the great mass of them were similar to those at Chicknoor;—they are simply oblong recesses, and in nearly every case with a circular roof. They vary in dimensions, but as an average size I would say they are about 20 ft. in length, 10 feet wide, and about 12 feet high (see *plate* 2). In a great many of them there was a small rude recess cut on one side, on the level of the floor, or only a few inches above it. From their size, these recesses suggested that their purpose had been for sleeping in, and from their rough, irregular appearance, it is possible that they were not excavated at the same time as the Caves; if this has been the case, it would imply a change at some time in the habits, or rules, of the Monks who dwelt in them. In this I assume that these Caves were used as cells by the ascetics, but from what I have seen of the Buddhists in Tibet, and elsewhere, I have no doubt but each Cave would be at the same time a place in which religious services would be performed, and that pilgrims and pious individuals would visit them on account of the sanctity of their inmates. The Caves, although small, were, we may suppose, much larger than the cells of the ordinary Viharas, and were therefore capable of being

[1] Hiouen-Thsang, in *Vie et Voyages*, p. 274, and in the *Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 214, describes two chambers cut in the rock of Khavandha, near the Pamir plateau. In each chamber there was a *Lo-han*, or Arhat, "plongé dans l'extase complete." So far as this example goes, it indicates that each Cave would be the habitation of one monk.

used as chapels. According to Hardy's Eastern Monachism, the space allowed for the Buddhist ascetics of Ceylon was 12 spans long by 7 spans wide,—now that would be about the size of the recesses just described. If I recollect right, the Caves of Ceylon are single, like those in Afghanistan, thus contrasting in their arrangement with the groups round a larger central Cave, such as we find in Western India. The oldest Caves in India are those near Buddha Gaya in Bengal, and they are also of the single kind; showing that this was the first type in use by the Buddhist ascetics. The groups round a central cell, or chapel, now known as "Vihara Caves," were a later development; it thus becomes evident that if the Afghanistan Caves were derived from India, it must have been at an early date, when the single cell was the rule. The great resemblance between the Afghanistan Caves and those at Buddha Gaya suggests that there had been a following of the model either on the one side or the other, and one naturally concludes that the Bengal group is the oldest. As our knowledge of dates in the one case is a blank, this can only be put as an assumption, and we must wait with patience in hopes that further light may be brought to bear on the subject.[1]

The Caves of India were derived, so far as their forms are concerned, from the wooden architecture of the period, and the early examples of Barabar and Rajgir are no exceptions to the rule; in the case of those last named this is evident from the doorway of the Lomas Rishi Cave, in which the wooden forms are very beautifully copied in the rock. From this it is assumed that the circular roof of that Cave, as well as of the others in the same locality, were derived from the round wooden roofs of the houses of the period, and as this circular roof is common to the Afghanistan Caves, it becomes an evidence in favour of the idea that the Bengal type was the model which had been carried to the North-West. There are other links of evidence in addition to this. In some of

[1] In the Bengal Archæological Survey Reports, vol. i. p. 48, General Cunningham says that an inscription in the Viswa Mitra Cave, at Barabar, gives the date of its dedication in the 12th year of the Raja Priyadasi, or Asoka, or 252 B.C.

the Bengal Caves there is a drip under the circular roof, and this I found in one of the Caves at Hada. To this there is still another feature of identification;—in the doorway of the Lomas Rishi Cave it will be noticed that the jambs slope inwards above; this is also found at Bhaja and among the older of the Western Caves. The peculiarity belongs also to the remains of Buddhist Architecture in Afghanistan, and in the Cave at Tappa Zurgaran at Hada, where the plaster remained in some parts in a tolerably perfect state, and where the drip just mentioned was quite perfect,—the inward slope of the walls upwards was also a distinct feature (see section of Cave in *plate* 2). It may be mentioned that some of the Caves had flat roofs, but these were the exception,—as an instance there is one in a group, near to Darunta; the group is called, from there being a number of Caves connected by a very long communicating tunnel, the "Bazaar," to be afterwards described. The roof in this case may perhaps have been originally very slightly curved in the centre, it is connected with the perpendiculars on each side by a well-defined curve, the whole outline of the roof appearing to be a very flat ellipse. I have a section of a roof from a small Cave at Tappa Zurgaran which is of this form (see section in *plate* 2).

I came upon only one Cave which resembled the Rock-cut Viharas of Western India. This is in the same cliff as the Pheel-Khana Cave, to which it adjoins. There was a stair which led up to the Cave, which is now all but gone, some worn remains of a few of the steps are still to be seen; a large square chamber has been formed, about 42 feet by 41 feet: a large square mass has been left as a support in the centre, 14 feet square. On three sides there are cells, three on two of the sides and four on the other, making ten in all, and on the fourth side there are two apertures which open out to the cliff to let in light. The whole Cave is very rudely formed,—a cornice perhaps existed round the central support, but it is all so rough, this is uncertain; the cells are, if anything, still ruder,—the better formed ones being round in the roof like the other Caves of the region,—some of them being little better than holes; still these recesses, primitive as they are,

are very different from those in the other Caves already described,—the difference consisting in their greatest dimension being at right angles to the Cave, and in their widening out in the inside, this giving them the character of a *cell* in contradistinction to a *recess*. This peculiarity of the cells, as well as the general character of the whole Cave, led me to the idea that it had been excavated from a description by some one who had seen the Vihara Caves of Western India. If this is the case, it gives us a limit for the antiquity of its date.

On the right of this Cave is the one known in the present day as the Pheel-Khana Cave, and which gives the name used by the natives to the whole group of Caves, mounds, and remains of at least one Tope,—the "Tope Gudara" of Masson. This Cave is so exceptional in its character that it might be doubted if it belonged to the Buddhists, for none of the peculiarities of their excavations are found in it. It has a large opening, perhaps about 20 feet high, narrow at the top and wide below, like a pointed Gothic arch, only these words suggest an architectural character which would mislead in this case; the Cave turns from the entrance at right angles to the south, from which there is a narrow passage to the outside, where it meets a similar passage from the entrance. The place is large enough to have kept an elephant, which is implied by its name, which is "Elephant House"; and as the site for Nagarahara, the ancient capital of the district, which I have proposed, was on the other side of the Kabul River,[1] exactly opposite, it is quite possible that in former times it may have been used for this purpose. A plan of the Vihara and the Pheel Khana Cave is given in *plate* 3.

Judging by the remains at this place, there must have been a large colony of Monks about it during the Buddhist period. On the west side there is a high cliff overhanging the Kabul River, and in the most prominent part of it there is a large niche, in which, I came to the conclusion, there had been at one time a colossal figure of Buddha. No remains of the

[1] See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April, 1881.

statue are now visible, for it may have been formed only of mud and covered with a thin coating of *Chunam*, which was the material of which a fragment of a large figure was made I came upon in my explorations at the Ahin Posh Tope. The reason for supposing this niche had a figure in it, was owing to there being no means of reaching the recess. On the south of the niche are five Caves similar to the other Caves in this locality;—they were inaccessible from the river, so a long tunnel had been cut behind them, thus making a means of communication. As this tunnel with its openings into the Caves has the appearance of an underground street, it has received the name of the "Bazaar." There is a shorter tunnel which crosses the long one at an angle, and its object is not quite clear, but I think it may have been to give light to the larger tunnel, or it was formed as a passage to a balcony, or ledge, which had been cut in the cliff in front of the Caves. The remains of what I take to have been the ledge are so decayed that I can only put this as a guess, but the longest tunnel is continued beyond the last of the Caves, when it turns towards the river, and at this point the ledge still exists, and leads to a small recess in a corner of the cliff. If it existed thus far, the natural conclusion is that it went round to the front of the great niche where the figure of Buddha sat, so that the devotees could pass round and make their obeisance before it. This extension of the tunnel beyond the Caves shows that its principal object was not so much to lead to them as to the colossal statue. A plan of this curious group of Caves will be found in *plate* 4.

The rock is very soft sandstone, with layers of conglomerate, and the five Caves are excavated partly in both, the conglomerate being in the lower part of the Caves, and the sandstone above. The last, although very soft, has stood the effects of time better than the harder conglomerate, except in the roofs, where it has fallen down in flat masses. This made the original form of the roofs doubtful, but one of them I thought must have been flat, and has already been alluded to. The Caves may be about 12 or 13 feet wide and about 20 feet long, and each had the usual small recess on the

side. They must have formed very pleasant places to reside in, looking out over the river towards the Siah Koh, or Black Mountain, along the base of which there were numerous Topes and Viharas about a mile and a half distant.

Above these Caves, among many mounds and remains, is the Pheel Khana Tope, and still higher than it is another excavation which ought to be described. It is a rude, square niche, perhaps about 15 or 20 feet high. It has openings to the south and the west, so that the figure, which, from the height of the niche, I suppose to have been a standing one, could have been seen from the two sides. The niche presents no architectural features, unless it be that of the trefoil arch, so peculiar to the trans-Indus structures, and this was so very rudely done, that the intention of the maker might pass unnoticed. In this niche were some hands, of a very primitive style of art, cut in the soft sandstone; similar hands were also on the walls of the Caves below. My first impression was that they were modern, but noticing that the sandstone, soft as it was, had been more durable than the conglomerate, I am now inclined to believe that they may be as old as the Buddhist period. The existence of somewhat similar hands on the sculptures at Bharhut tends to confirm this. A sketch of one of these hands is given in *plate* 4.

This does not exhaust the rock-cut excavations at this place. Low down in the cliff under the "Bazaar" can be seen some small tunnels; these were aqueducts, and the current of the river has carried the rock away in many places, thus making them seem numerous, but there is more than one tunnel, and they are not all on the same level, which probably implies that the water was taken from different heights, at separate points of the river, to irrigate the higher as well as the lower parts of the plain of Besud, opposite Jelalabad. In the cliffs still lower down the river the continuation of these aqueducts can also be seen, and one which gets its supply below the Pheel Khana Cave still carries water to Besud. It would be important to know if these aqueducts are as old as the Buddhist period, but that point cannot be settled with certainty. The remains of an aqueduct with a tunnel through a hill at Girdi

Kas is associated by the people there with the Badshahs of Delhi; but our Engineer officers reported to me the existence of "Buddhist masonry" in it,—this, as well as other considerations, inclines me to believe that these hydraulic works are all older than the Mahomedan era. Amongst these considerations, it may be mentioned that at Hada there is a rock-cut conduit under the mounds at that place, and we may safely assume its date to be as far back as the Buddhist period.

At Hada, the *Hilo*, or *Hidda* of Hiouen Thsang, there are numerous examples of Topes and mounds with Caves beneath them in the conglomerate cliffs. About half a mile to the west of the great mass of remains at that place is an irregular elevation in the plain covered with mounds, where cliffs are pierced with a very interesting group of Caves. Masson gives the spot the name of *Tappa Zurgaran*, or "The Goldsmith's Mound." The largest Cave in this group is known at the present day by the name of the "Palace of the Hoda Rajah"—Masson calls him Hudi or Udi,[1]—who seems to be a very legendary character. General Cunningham says that Khairabad opposite Attock on the Indus is believed by the people in that locality to have been "the stronghold of Raja *Hodi* or *Udi*."[2] According to the present inhabitants of Hada this Cave is of interminable extent, and the Chicknoor legend was also affirmed about it, that it communicated with Kashmir. Colonel Tanner, who was on the Survey Department with General Sir Samuel Browne's column, had some excavations made into it, and the general character was brought to light. A plan of it will be found in *plate* 2. The only part that was not explored was at the south-east corner, where a continuation is blocked up by stones. This most probably only communicated with another entrance

[1] See *Ariana Antiquæ*, p. 105.

[2] Archæological Survey of India, Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 64, where it will be seen that the fame of this legendary Rajah extends from Jelalabad to the Punjab. Lowenthal derives the name of *Udi* from *Udyâna*; but General Cunningham identifies it with "the great Indo-Scythic race of *Yuti* or *Yuchi*." Macgregor, in his papers on Central Asia and Afghanistan, states that in Kaffiristan "their kings are named Oda and Odashooh." We have here perhaps the most probable origin of the name.

from the front. One continuation behind terminated where a perpendicular shaft exists; and another which branches off obliquely comes out again into a hollow, thus forming a sort of "back-door" to the place. The ramifications of this Cave it will be seen from the plan, where the dimensions are given, makes it, with the exception of the "Bazaar," already described, the largest of the Caves I had seen in the Jelal-abad Valley. At the entrance of this Cave the plaster was left in tolerably fair condition, and the section with circular roof, given in *plate* 2, is taken from it. In the rubbish at the entrance there were found some pieces of a Corinthian capital, and a fragment of a round stone ornamented with lotus leaves, which had probably been the base of a statue. These had no doubt tumbled down from some structures above, of which the foundations were visible.

To the north of the Palace of the Hoda Rajah, and in the same cliff, are a number of Caves, three or four of which are exceptional in their form. They are square in plan, with flat roofs, but the roofs have domes in their centres. The domes are round in all except one, which is conical, or of a tent shape (see *plate* 5). These Caves are very small, the one with the conical dome is of very restricted dimensions, being about 6 feet square; the dome is 3 feet 2 inches diameter, and about the same in height; the circular formed dome, given in *plate* 5, is 7 feet 3 inches diameter, and its height is 3 feet. The Cave, of which a plan is given in same plate, was larger; still it is only 13 feet square, and the dome is 9 feet diameter. This had eight small niches, two near each corner: these were about 2 feet 6 inches wide, and about 3 feet high, arched at the top. In one of these Caves part of a circular base was found under the dome. There was not enough left to determine whether it was the pedestal of a statue, or the base of a small Tope; so that that point is left uncertain. I am inclined to think that this exceptional form of cave was excavated to contain Topes.

We have no counterpart to these Caves in India, that I can remember, except it be the circular inner recess of the Lomas Rishi, Viswa Mitra, and the Sudama Caves at Barabar,

the recesses of which are domed, and were supposed to have contained Topes. Although these square Caves at Hada are in some respects widely different from those at Barabar, still I am struck while writing by the case of having to recur again to the Bengal examples for the type of the Afghanistan excavations.

This last group of Caves being so small they have escaped the ruinous results of having been occupied by the Koochis, and some traces of paintings are still visible on them. The domes seem to have had one or two belts of panels all round represented in colour, and in each panel was a figure, little more than a head and shoulders, the background being either a trefoil arch, or a nimbus round the head,—the effort to represent them in *plate* 5 makes them far too distinct, for what is left of them is very shadowy. The smallest of the Caves,—that with the tent-shaped dome, from its littleness, seems to have escaped all the influences of smoke, and there is in it a fragment of a painting in which the colours are still very bright, particularly a background which is of emerald green,—if that colour was known to the painters of the period. The plaster has been knocked off in large patches, and this picture has not escaped. The background of green is a circle about 18 inches diameter; the upper part is damaged, but there is still left the lower part of a human figure, sitting on a chair, with the feet resting on a footstool,—the one ankle resting over the other: the left hand resting on the thigh. No costume is visible. *Plate* 1 gives a sketch of the painting, with enlarged details of the chair. The legs of the chair are so like those of *Charpoys*, to be seen in India at the present day, that we may suppose they have been turned on a lathe. The perpendicular bars are made in imitation of the "Buddhist Railing." There are chairs and sofas represented in the Amaravati Sculptures; these are no doubt thrones, as royal or important personages sit on them; but even now Rajahs do not sit on chairs, the throne is a *Gadi*, or pad. This implies a very curious change in India since the Buddhist period. Chairs or seats are not unknown in India,—late European influences are

outside of the point here,—but it might be stated that almost the whole population of India are without such articles of furniture. It would be important if some one could explain the influences which have produced such a change.

If all the Caves in Afghanistan were painted, and the chances are that they were, we may be certain that a vast mass of valuable knowledge has been destroyed with them. These small Caves were the only places in which I saw any fragments of painting. Vestiges of colour were visible on some of the Topes, and on the sculptures upon them; a figure which came to light at the Ahin Posh Tope had evidently been painted yellow. The late Sir Vincent Eyre has mentioned to me that he saw paintings at Bamian, and I think Lady Sale also alludes to them, and says something about her daughter and herself having tried to copy some of them. This implies that the subjects had some importance thus to attract the ladies to make copies.

One day a man came in from Hada and told the late Sir L. N. Cavagnari that he knew a Cave that was much larger than that of the Hoda Rajah's Palace. At his request I went out to Hada with the man, and the result shows how little one ought to trust to people living on the spot about matters of this kind. In *plate* 2 a plan of this Cave is given, mainly to show the form of one of the exceptional Caves, but it will be seen that it is much smaller than the one the man compared it with. Its length in one direction is 50 feet. The sides and roof were in a tumble-down condition. There were some remains of plaster on the circular roof.

ART. XXI*.—*The Identification of the Sculptured Tope at Sanchi.* By WILLIAM SIMPSON.

THE Sculptured Tope in plate xxviii. fig. i. of *Tree and Serpent Worship* suggested, from its height, to Mr. Fergusson, that it was formed after the Afghanistan models. He also hinted the possibility of the figures, who are performing *pujah* round it, being a race from the North, and perhaps from the Kábul Valley. The Rev. Mr. Beal has just added some most interesting evidences which tend to confirm the original suggestion. As the point is of great importance in many ways, the following additional evidence may be worth giving:— In the early part of 1879, when General Sir Samuel Browne's column was at Jelalabad, Mr. Jenkyns, who afterwards lost his life in the massacre at Kábul, somehow picked up a man from Kaffiristan. He had been born a Kaffir, but had been caught by the Mahomedans, and converted, — such persons are called "Nimchas." He lived somewhere close to the borders of Kaffiristan, and Mr. Jenkyns commissioned him to return to his own district and bring back a couple of pure unconverted Kaffirs. Mr. Jenkyns' object in this was to study their language, and learn as much as he could as to their customs and other matters. The man promised to do this, and he was to bring them to Peshawer, or wherever Mr. Jenkyns was quartered. I went by appointment to make a sketch of this man, and I noticed that he did not leave his shoes on the outside of the tent-door; he doubled his legs under him, but after a little I noticed that his shoes were pieces of leather tied about his feet, and bound by thongs round the ankles. This explains why the "*jooti dustoor*" does not exist in Kaffiristan. Colonel Tanner, who was then on the Survey Department, caught some Chugunis, who belonged to the Northern slopes of the Ram Koond; this tribe is Mahomedan, but their district is not far from Kaffiristan.

Braham Khan,
A Chugini.
Jellalabad, 7. March, 1879.
Wm Simpson

I have a sketch of one of them, and the thongs of his leather shoes are also wound round his legs above the ankle. This arrangement is very similar to what is represented in the Sculpture at Sanchi. If we assume that this mode of tying the shoes is a continuation of the old method which has remained in the regions about Kaffiristan, it forms a strong confirmation of Mr. Fergusson's original theory. That old types do remain in this out-of-the-way region we have evidence in the peculiar dagger which the Nimcha as well as the Chugunis carried; this was identical with one found on a piece of Buddhist sculpture discovered at Hada,—the Hidda, or Hilo, of Hiouen-Thsang. It is quite distinct in its form from the *Charra* or knife of the modern Afghan.

The evidence that wearing bandages round the legs was a common custom of the Northern Himalayas does not end here. When in Kashmír, I made sketches of two musicians belonging to the Maharaja's Balti-ke-pultan, and they are cross-gartered from the ankles to the knees in blue and yellow, in a style which Malvolio would have delighted in.

I have still another illustration to give of wearing bandages round the legs in the trans-Indus region. In making my preparations for following the operations in the late Afghan War, I did what I found others doing, and I bought for myself, as well as for each of my servants, long stripes of woollen cloth, "putties" I think they were called; these were wound round the legs from the ankle to the knee. I understood it was an Afghan custom, for the cold weather. This peculiar kind of legging will be seen in some of my sketches sent to the *Illustrated London News* at the time. As such articles of costume were unknown to the plains of Hindostan at any period, they form a strong probability in favour of the figures in the Sanchi Sculpture being men from a Northern and a cold climate. All these examples of leggings apply also to the Yavana warrior, sculptured in the Rani Ka Nur cave at Katak.

It may be worth mentioning here that the Russian soldiers wear, as a substitute for stockings, a piece of cloth wound round the feet and ankles. I speak of this from dead bodies

I saw on the battle-field of Inkerman, where not one of them had stockings under their boots. As the Russians are closely connected with the Turanians of Central Asia, it is possible we have here a hint as to the ethnic origin of this custom.

Most of the figures in the Sanchi Sculpture wear a fillet round their heads, with the ends hanging down behind. An inspection of the old coins found in Afghanistan will show that this was another peculiarity of that region in the Buddhist period. The Sanchi figures have a cloak, fixed on the breast, and thrown over the shoulders, and hanging down behind, leaving the arms clear. A costume of this kind, worn in the same fashion, is a marked feature of the figures on the Indo-Scythian coins. Bandages on the legs are also indicated on some of these coins.

In the left-hand corner of the Sanchi Sculpture there are two men blowing horns of a long ogee form. These horns terminate like a drooping flower, but they are more probably intended for serpents' heads. Instruments of the same ogee form, but without the peculiar termination, are yet to be found in the region of the Northern Himalaya. I have sketches of these horns made at Chini, on the Sutlej, where I saw them used at the *pujahs* in that village. The performers held them aloft exactly as represented in the Sanchi Sculpture. Simple pipes or whistles, cut with a knife, such as those on these sculptures, are also common among the shepherds of the Himalaya,—I speak of the region of the Sutlej, where I have often heard their notes echoing through the valleys. A faint recollection clings to my mind that I one day saw a man playing on two pipes as represented at Sanchi, —I have no sketch, and it is so long ago, I do not feel justified in giving this as evidence to be relied on.

The illustration accompanying this is from a sketch of one of Col. Tanner's Chuginis, and it is only given to illustrate the thongs round the legs; the other parts of the costume are not remarkable,—the headdress being the *loongi* worn by all Afghans.

Figure 1

Borrowing from the Archaic Phœnician

	The Archaic Phœnician	The Same Reversed	Indian: Nana Ghat	Maurya	Cave
1	𐤀		𑁒	𑁒	𑁒
2	𐤁		𑁓	𑁓	𑁓
3	𐤂		𑁔	𑁔	𑁔
10	𐤉		𑁕		𑁕
10	𐤉		𑁕		𑁕
20	𐤊	𐤊	𑁖		
100	𐤒	𐤒	𑁗		
200	𐤓	𐤓	𑁘		

Figure 2

Borrowing from Bactrian Numerals

	Bactrian Numerals	The Same Reversed	Indian: Maurya	Cave
4	𐨤	𐨤	𑁙	
20	𐨨	𐨨		𑁚
100	𐨩	𐨩		
200	𐨪	𐨪		

Figure 3.

Borrowing from Bactrian Alphabet

	Nana Ghat Numerals	Letters of the Bactrian Alphabet	Transliteration of the Same
4	𑁙	𐨤	chh.
5	𑁛	𐨥	"p:"
6	𑁜	𐨦	"g."
7	𑁝	𐨧	"a:"
8	𑁞	𐨨	"b:"
9	𑁟	𐨩	"h:"

Figure 4

Borrowing from Egyptian Hieratic and Hieroglyphic

	Egyptian: Hieroglyphic	Egyptian: Hieratic	Indian: Nana Ghat	Indian: Cave.	Indian: later forms
100	𓍢	𓏺		𑁕	𑁕
200	𓍢𓍢	𓏻		𑁖	𑁖
300	𓍢𓍢𓍢	𓏼		𑁗	𑁗
400	𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢	𓏽		𑁘	𑁘
700	𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢 𓍢𓍢𓍢	𓏾		𑁙	𑁙
900	𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢 𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢	𓏿		𑁚	𑁚
1000 A	𓆼	𓆐	𑁛		
1000 B	𓆼			𑁜	

Figure 5

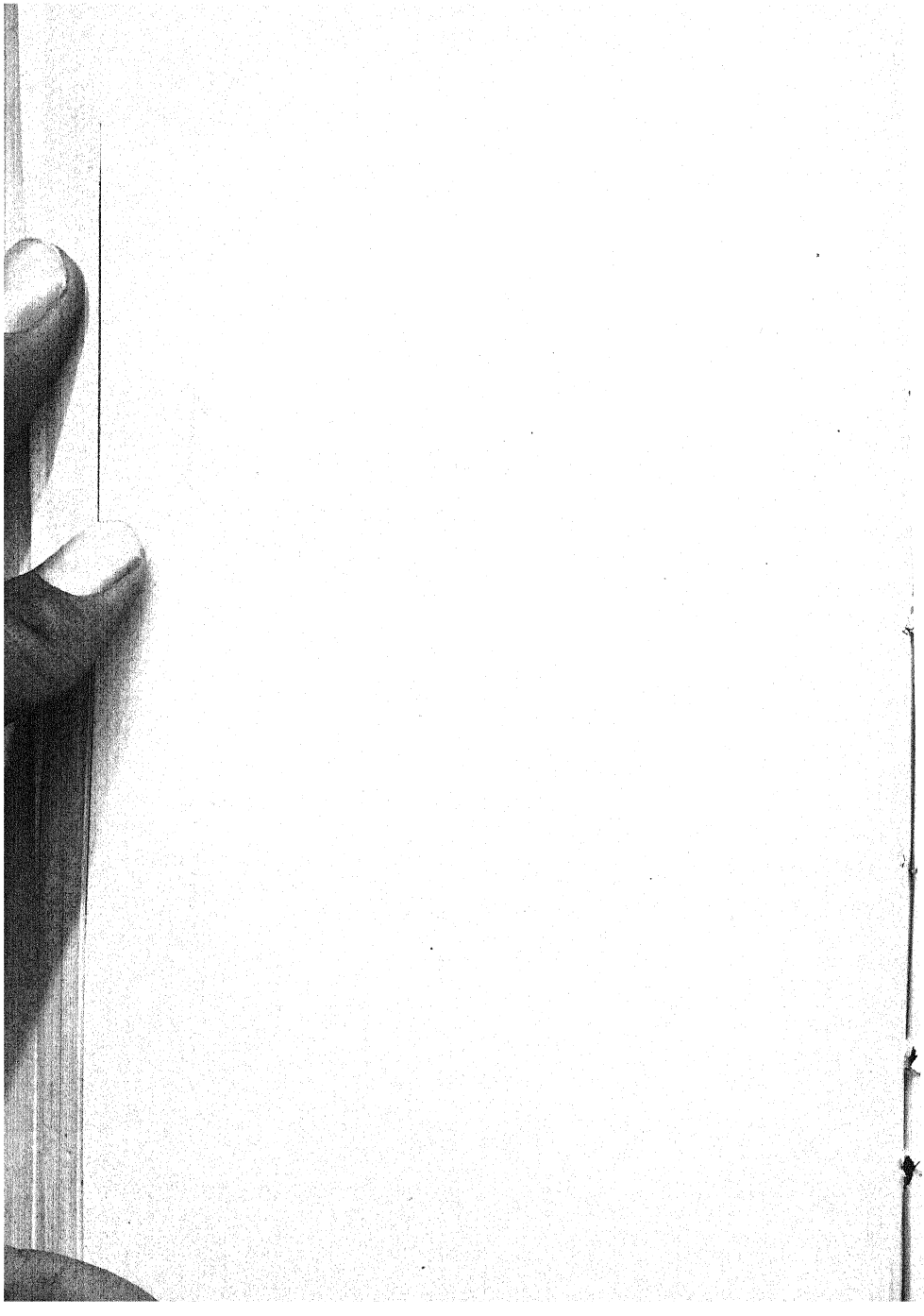
Conjectural Derivation of the signs for the higher powers of ten

	Suggested Originals: Early forms	Suggested Originals: Later forms	Successive Indian Forms: Nana Ghat	Maurya	Cave	Early Kshatrapa	Later Kshatrapa	Latest forms	Remarks
30							𑁢	𑁢	No Remarks
40	𐤎	𐤎			𑁣	𑁣	𑁣	𑁣	Derived from Early "four"
	𐤍	𐤍			𑁤			𑁤	Derived from later four
50				𑁥		𑁥			Derived from Semitic original and written sometimes according to original sometimes to Indian usage.
				𑁦				𑁦	
60	𐤎		𑁧		𑁧			𑁧	Some cursive forms of Akkadian Numerals?
70	𐤍				𑁨	𑁨	𑁨	𑁨	
80			𑁩			𑁩		𑁩	
90						𑁪		𑁪	

Figure 6

Derivation of the Hindu-Kabul and Arabic signs for "one", "two", "three", and "four".

Valabhi.	100 = 𑀮	200 = 𑀯	300 = 𑀰	400 = 𑀱
Hindu-Kabul	1 = ١	2 = ٢	3 = ٣	4 = ٤
Arabic.	1 = ١	2 = ٢	3 = ٣	4 = ٤



Art. XXII.—*On the Genealogy of Modern Numerals.* By Sir E. Clive Bayley, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Nearly fifty years have elapsed since James Prinsep first announced his discovery of ancient Indian Numerals, and attempted their decipherment. Towards this latter object gradual advance has been made from time to time, and now, thanks to the successive labours of Thomas, Cunningham, Bhao Dáji, Bühler, Bhagwán Lál and others, it is possible to give to each symbol used its proper meaning.

Nevertheless, there is still much left to settle, and as regards the history of these signs there is yet great uncertainty. It is known that while in European parlance our modern numerals have been termed "Arabic," yet that they differ in several important points from those used in Arabic writing; moreover, Arab writers emphatically declare these last to be an Indian invention. Still, the chain of descent of either form from an Indian source has never been satisfactorily elucidated. And while no doubt the modern system of using, for all purposes of notation and calculation, nine unit figures and a zero, arranged in decimal order, is apparently indigenous in India, it has not yet been distinctly shown how this simplified form was eliminated from the complicated system of notation which was in ancient times used in India. This last, as we now are aware, employed (with many variations of form) no less than twenty signs, capable, in some cases, of being differentiated by certain methods so as to signify higher powers of the original. This ancient system moreover employed no zero.

Much has indeed been written on these points, so much indeed that any undertaking to collect, examine, and analyze all the literature of the subject, would be far beyond the compass of a paper like the present.

All that will be now attempted is to give the leading facts already established and accepted. It is not proposed to add much which is really new; but it is hoped, by a fresh arrangement and collocation of data, to suggest solutions of each separate problem of at least a plausible character.

It will of course not be possible to attempt this except in the shape of a sketch; but, as far as may be, the authorities used will be indicated, so that readers who desire to consider the matter more fully, will be able to test the information tendered, and the arguments employed, more completely than can well be done in a brief memoir.

The whole case naturally divides itself into three parts, viz.

(1) The origin of the ancient Indian system of numerals.

(2) The simplification of this system, by the rejection of all the signs except those for the nine units, and by the invention of the zero.

(3) The propagation of this latter system, and of the varying forms of the numeral signs, both in the East and West.

It will be convenient to discuss these three divisions of the subject in their chronological order, and to divide this paper accordingly into three separate parts.

Part I.—Origin of the Ancient Indian System of Numeration.

The earliest[1] inscriptions hitherto discovered in India are those at Náná Ghát,[2] in the Bombay Presidency, which have been ascribed to the early part of the third century B.C., and which are supposed to be memorials of the early Andhra dynasty of Southern India, and of their contemporaries. In these inscriptions are found systems of alphabetical writing

[1] Since this was written I have become aware that Professor Sayce is about to publish yet earlier examples of ancient Indian writing, but they will not, I believe, include any examples of numerals.

[2] The results of the examination of the Náná Ghát inscriptions by the Bombay Archæological Survey have not yet reached England. The numerals of the Náná Ghát period are therefore taken from the facsimiles given by Bhagwán Lál Indraji in the Indian Antiquary for 1877, vol. vi. pp. 44-47.

and of notation by non-alphabetic signs, both singularly perfect and complete.

But though the alphabetical and numerical systems of India thus first appear together, and in a complete form, on the historical horizon, it by no means follows that they are of identical, or even of contemporaneous origin; and as the subject of the present paper is the system of notation only, questions concerning the alphabet will only be noticed when it may be necessary to do so incidentally, in order to illustrate the main question.[1]

Plate I. attached to this paper gives a table of the early Indian numerals, and of the principal modifications which they underwent from their first appearance till the adoption of the simplified mode of notation with a zero, or down to about 650 A.D., that is to say, over a period of nearly a thousand years.[2]

It is of course natural that the curious phenomenon of a perfect alphabet, and of a very good system at least, of notation, being thus found together at a very early period, for the first time, without any palpable evidence of previous local development, should give rise to much speculation. It has been

[1] *A priori*, numerals are likely, at least in all ancient systems, to be of later date than written expressions of ideas, for they seem to have been originally little else than "shorthand" modes of *writing* numbers. Of course, however, when an alphabet is borrowed from an external source, as the Indian alphabet in its initial form probably was, the alphabet so borrowed may have already had a system of numeration attached to it, which was imported with it. There is, however, one fact which might be held to indicate that the Indian alphabet originally possessed no numeral system. The *old* Pali writings of Ceylon, that is, the books of the Buddhist religion written in the sacred language of Buddhism, do not employ any numerical *signs*. This religion and its language were introduced from India into Ceylon apparently during the fourth, or late in the fifth century B.C. In these books the numbers are either expressed in words, or by a certain arrangement of written syllables. It does not, however, necessarily follow that the Indians were at that time altogether ignorant of numerical notation by separate signs; only that in all probability such a method had not come into use in sacred writings, or in MSS. of any kind. Some such system indeed very probably existed in India even before 400 B.C., though perhaps in a more or less imperfect state, for, as will be seen presently, there is some ground for believing that it received improvements by successive borrowings down to the middle of the second century B.C.—[M. Rodet and Professor Rask, quoted by Pihan, Signes de Numeration, pp. 142-43; also Cantor, Mathematische Beitrage, pp. 58-59.]

[2] The references attached to this Plate indicate the authority on which each figure is adduced; for the most part it will be seen that these are given from original photographs or coins, and only when that is not possible from trustworthy facsimiles.

accordingly suggested that they were introduced together, "ready made," by the Brahmanic-Aryan races who overran Upper and Central India before the historic period. Not only, however, is there a total want of evidence in support of this hypothesis, but it is inconsistent with many uncontested facts; it leaves unexplained, the apparent disuse of the systems for a period of nearly a thousand years at least which this theory involves, and the reason why this alphabet was not used by other branches of the same race, who certainly adopted from external sources various alphabets peculiar to the localities in which they settled; as they would naturally do if they had none of their own, but hardly so, if the case were otherwise. Other writers have suggested that the system was *originated* in India itself either by the Aryan invaders or by the races whom they found settled there; but this hypothesis involves a long, independent process of development, of which no evidence of a trustworthy character exists, and indeed the separate and independent invention of such an elaborate system is against all probability and experience. A third hypothesis supposes that both the alphabet and the numeral signs were brought into India from a foreign source, and many points of resemblance have accordingly from time to time been noted between the Indian, and other alphabets and numeral systems.

Dr. Bühler—now Sanskrit Professor at Vienna, who has during his long residence in Bombay given much attention to the subject—has come to the conclusion that the alphabet, in its original shape, may have been introduced into India from a foreign source, and subsequently adapted by gradual alterations to Indian purposes; but that the numeral signs are, at least in their later forms, nothing else but the alphabetical expressions of certain syllables termed "aksharas," which possess in Sanskrit fixed numerical powers. This view, originated by Pandit Bhagwán Lál, has been elaborated by Professor Bühler in his official lectures at Vienna, and he has been good enough to furnish me with a memorandum giving the substance of the arguments he has employed, and this will now be given *in extenso*.

In doing this, however, it will be observed that the hypothesis thus put forward necessitates to some extent an explanation of Dr. Bühler's views on the origin of the alphabet also.[1]

MEMORANDUM BY PROFESSOR G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., C.I.E.

"The Southern Indian Alphabet, the oldest form of which we possess in the Maurya and Andhra (Nânaghât and Nasik Karli and Amarâvatî inscriptions), no doubt comes before us as a fully developed system about 300 B.C., and is accompanied both in certain Maurya and in certain Andhra inscriptions, by an equally developed system of numeral figures, which are clearly syllables.

"As far as I can see, there can be no doubt that this alphabet was an old institution in India about 300 B.C., and that it owed its development to the grammatical schools of the Brahmans.

"The arguments proving its great age are—

"1. The enormous extent of territory over which it occurs, from Kathiâvâḍ to Orissa and the Eastern Coast, and from the Himâlayas down to the Sahyâdris.

"2. The fact that it must have been generally known among the higher classes (and even the lower classes) of this enormous territory; as is shown—

"(*a*) By the circumstance that Aśoka could hope to improve the morals of his subjects by official placards,

"(*b*) By the exquisite execution of the inscriptions, which excels (*e.g.* on the Dehli and Allahabad pillars) all the best work of the Roman and Greek stonemasons,

"(*c*) By the fact that the stonemasons, a low caste in India, used (as Cunningham has lately discovered) the letters (*e.g.* at Buddha Gaya) to mark the pillars, and that the order in which they gave the letters reveals the existence of a Bârâ Khaḍî, or table of the alphabet, which closely resembles that still in use in our indigenous schools, and proves that the

[1] Dr. Bühler's memorandum was attached in the first instance to a private letter, and was originally intended only for my personal use, and not for publication.

system of instruction now followed was already elaborated 2000 years ago.

"3. The fact that both the Maurya and the Andhra alphabets are sister-alphabets derived from a common source. It is wrong to say that the Andhra is derived from the Maurya alphabet; a comparison of the two alphabets, for example, in Burgess's tables, shows the contrary.

"Take the *ḍa* and *ḍha*; in the Maurya alphabet we have 𑀡 *ḍa*, 𑀢 *ḍha*; in the Andhra 𑁆𑀡 *ḍa* and 𑁆𑀢 *ḍha*.

"There cannot be any doubt that the *ḍha* was developed from *ḍa* by the addition of a little hook or curve added at the right of the *ḍa*, just as in 𑀘 *cha* and 𑀙 *chha*, 𑀧 *pa* and 𑀨 *pha*. Now it is utterly impossible to derive the 𑀢 of the Maurya alphabet from the 𑀡, but its connection with the Andhra 𑁆𑀢 is very clear. Hence, I say, it is probable that the latter sign is the older one, and that the Maurya 𑀡 is not the parent of the Andhra sign. It may either be itself a development of the Andhra sign (by a change of the curves into angles), or an older alphabet may have had both the angular and curved signs. But, however that may be, the South Vindhyan Pali alphabet is not a daughter of the North Vindhyan alphabet. The bearing of this point on the age of the South Vindhyan alphabet is clear.

"4. The fact that the Brahmanical grammarians have developed the Maurya and Andhra alphabets, and brought them into the shape in which we first find them. This point is proved by the following circumstances:—

"(*a*) Nobody but a native grammarian (who, indeed, wanted the distinctions for his school lore) would have invented five or six separate signs to indicate various shades of the nasal sounds. We have in the Maurya inscriptions 𑀁, 𑀂, 𑀃, 𑀄, as a numeral ⊖, and the same signs occur again in the Andhra inscriptions. There is a clear tendency to have separate signs for the nasal of each of the five 'Vargas,' or classes of the consonants as arranged by the grammarians: gutturals, palatals, linguals, dentals; and there is besides the ˙, which is used both as a conjunct nasal for all classes and the curious

nasal *g* sound at the end of words, which corresponds to the French final *n*.

"Now there is no other alphabet in the world which has developed such a number of signs for nasals; most alphabets have only two; some, like the Greek, three. If the Indian alphabet is derived from a Semitic source, these nasals must be mostly an Indian invention. It is also quite clear from the forms, that three at least are only differentiations of one fundamental form. Nobody has ever doubted that the ⊥ is derived from the ⊥; it seems to be also highly probable that the ⊦ goes back to the same type, for there is another rare form of the ⊥ in the Andhra inscriptions ⊾, looking very much like the Maurya *u* ⊾. The ⊦ arose out of this by the introduction below of two bands ⊾, and the addition of the top horizontal stroke, or we might also say that the ⊦ was derived from the ⊥ in its Andhra form, viz. ⊿, by prolonging vertically the two ends of the lower horizontal line.

"Now who would have fallen on such a cumbrous system of nasals (which by the way in the Prakrit inscriptions serves no useful purpose because at least ⊥ and ⊥ are used promiscuously)? Certainly not a merchant, for a merchant would only care for brevity, not for phonetic accuracy, and as a matter of fact the merchants in their books never used all the signs of the alphabet, and certainly no vowel signs, till compelled to do so by the English Courts. Again no Prakrit-speaking official or writer would dream of distinguishing between ⊥ and ⊥, because to him the two letters were interchangeable and meant the same thing, *ṇa* or *na*, according to the country to which he belonged, or according to the dialect which he spoke. But all these forms would be necessary to a Brahmanical grammarian who had in his fine polished school-language carefully to distinguish between *ng*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, the anusvâra ° and the anunâsika ◡, and who according to his belief gained heaven, or went to another place—as he pronounced his sacred texts rightly, or wrongly.

"Hence I say the differentiation of the nasals shows the influence of the Brahmanical grammatical schools.

"(*b*) The same inference may be drawn from the existence of the three sibilants , , and (Khalsi and Pantaleon's coin), all three go back to one original form, which consists of two little semi-circles, and differ only in the arrangement of these elements. Now Semitic alphabets have two sibilants: whose interest was it to have three? Of course it was necessary for the Sanskrit grammarians and for nobody else. In Prakrit only two sibilants exist, and they are used very promiscuously, according to dialects. A merchant would not be such a fool as to burden himself with such useless ballast.

"(*c*) A similar inference may be drawn from the careful system of short and long vowels.

"(*d*) Likewise from the invention of the *la* , which is peculiar to the Andhra inscription, because the sound occurs only south of the Vindhya range.

"But if it be granted that the Maurya and Andhra alphabets have been developed by Brahmans, does not that show that they must have been long in use before the time when we first find them?

"This inference as to a very early cultivation of the art of writing in India, at a time indeed much anterior to 300 B.C., is strengthened by the consideration of the Northern (Bactro-Arian) alphabet, which was clearly worked up by the same class of people who fashioned the southern system of characters. Take, for example, the system of vowel notation, and the system of compound letters, which follow exactly the same principles as those of the Southern alphabet.

"As regards the Indian numerals, my views are as follows:

"I. The Indian numerals, consisting of separate signs for the units, the tens, the hundreds and the thousands, are all *syllables*, which were pronounced as such, not signs for which the numerals were pronounced.

"The reading of these syllables has in general been given correctly by Bhagvânlâl, except for the signs —, , , ; the former three must be read *u*, *û*, and *û-u*, and the last *nu* (Fleet's discovery). As regards the reading of , (3), ( ), it is doubtful as yet whether the pronunciation was *phu*, *gu*, *hu*, or *phra*, *gra*, *hra*. I now incline to the latter view

(though I cannot find any distinct proof of it), because the *u* certainly appears in the hundreds. The proofs are:

"(1) The most certain evidence for the ancient times is furnished by the Rûpnâth and Sahasrâm Edicts. In the former 200 is clearly , while in the latter is used. It is impossible to see in the first sign anything else but the syllable *sû* (not *su*), as the elongation of the right-hand stroke of the *s* shows that something else than the simple *su* is intended, and the natural explanation is that the second *u* sign, which makes the vowel long, has been attached at the top instead of below, instead of . A similar plan for the expression of long *û* is adopted in Dr. Burgess's new inscriptions of Purushadatta from the Stûpa at Jagayyapeṭṭâ. There *tû* is several times written and the stroke indicating the length of the vowel attached to the top of the *t*. The cause of this proceeding, as well as the uncouth appearance of the *s* in (Sahasrâm), is the desire to distinguish by the form of the syllables, the cases where they have numeral values, from those where they have merely an etymological value as parts of numerals.

"(2) The second proof is the fact that several syllables change their shapes according to the change of the letters in the various alphabets (Bhagvânlâl), always with this proviso, that mostly some slight difference is allowed to remain between the form of the syllables as numerals, and those used as parts of words. The change shows that the people pronounced the syllables as syllables, and the differences which frequently occur are due to the reason above given.

"(3) The third proof is that a few signs show such variation as can be explained by phonetic changes, which in the language, too, are of very frequent occurrence. The clearest case is that of the syllable for 100. In the Asóka edicts we have *su*, and the same occurs in the Andhra, and a great many other inscriptions; but the Western Kshatrapas and others use , which is clearly *śu* . Now in all Indian languages there occurs a wonderful confusion of the sibilants, and in ancient times *sa* and *śa* are in Prakrit equivalents. The one

occurs constantly for the other. If we therefore find ৳ and ৩ in the numerals for 100, the conclusion is that the people were in that case as careless as in others, and pronounced indiscriminately *su* and *śu*, because they were accustomed to do this in common life. The same was probably the case for the numeral syllable for five, where side by side with forms which clearly are *nu*, others occur which must be read *ṇo* (णो, Bhagvânlâl's tables).

"(4) Fourthly, there are other cases where certain sects, or the Pandits of certain countries, have misread the ancient signs, and have substituted wrong syllables for them. The best cases are: (*a*) that of the numeral syllable for 10, which in the oldest forms is *ḷa* ৫ in the south, and *ḍa*[1] ৮ in the north. This has been rendered by ऌ and ॡ (*ḷṛi* and *ḷû*).

"(*b*) That of the numeral syllable for 100. The Nepalese have misread (as has sometimes been done by modern epigraphists also) the ৸=*su*, as ৺=*a*.

"In these cases the important point, which shows that the people pronounced syllables, and not the numerals when reading the signs, is that they always made a new syllable of the old sign, not a mere unintelligible symbol. Had they pronounced *sata* for ৸, they would have left it, and not have written a clear ৺ for it.

"(5) The fifth argument is that down to the present day the numeral syllables are called *aksharapalli*, viz. 'letter table,' by the Jainas, and are known to represent syllables. Mallinâtha (*circa* 1150 A.D.) speaks distinctly of such a syllable as a *sabda* 'a word.'

"II. The system of numeral syllables as we find it in the oldest inscriptions was settled by the Brahmanical schools. The proof of this assertion lies in the use of the signs ৫ (*ḷa*) *gñ*, ৪ (*p*)*ph*, ⊕ (*a*)*kh*, which occur in Brahmanical books, and speak alone. Nobody but a Brahman could have dreamt of making the Anunâsika ∪, the Jihvâmûlîya ⊕, and Upadhmanîya ৪ serve for numerals. The circumstance that the three strokes —, =, ≡ are intended for *u*, *û*, *û-u* (*hrasva*,

[1] *ḍa* is the northern equivalent for *ḷa* in the language also.

dîrgha, pluta) points to the grammatical schools being the originators of the system. The proof for the assertion that the strokes too have a vowel value lies in the manner in which they are used with the hundreds and thousands—100 being expressed by ५ (*śu*), 200 ५, and 300 ५; 1000 by ९ (*dhu*), 2000 by ९, and 3000 by ९. If the strokes had a mere numerical value, the marking would be wrong and unintelligible. We should then require for 200 ५, and for 300 ५. If we pronounce *śu, sû, sû-u*, the difficulty disappears. Hence, I conclude that wherever we find the strokes —, =, ≡, these, too, are intended as symbols for a vowel, and for the vowel *u*, because in all grammars the vowel *u* is used to illustrate the three stages, short, long and treble (pluta). Pâṇini's sûtra is '*u, û, û-ŭ*—hrasvadîrgha-plutâh,' *i.e.* 'vowels having the duration of *u, û, û-u* are called long, short and pluta.' The origin and meaning of these marks seems to have been forgotten very early, and in the Bauddha and Jaina books, *eka, dvi, tri*, or *sva, sti, śrî, om, na, mo* (the latter being the usual initial three syllables of books), are substituted.

"III. Though I claim for the Brahmans the oldest form of the Aksharapalli,[1] *I do not claim for them its invention.* We constantly find in India that something foreign imported into the country is made to assume native Indian forms, and disguised so cleverly that one would swear it was a native invention. As I believe that the Indian alphabets are foreign inventions introduced into India long before the historical times, I think it probable that the numerical system came too from a foreign country. I believe the Southern Indian alphabet came to India from Arabia or from the Persian Gulf, *viâ* Suppârâ (Sopheir) or Broach, and that the Southern Indian numerals came by the same road. But I think that, in spite of the resemblances pointed out by Deecke[2] between the Himyaritic and Maurya letters, we

[1] Since seeing the tables given in Pl. II. Dr. Bühler informs me he is convinced that the "Aksharapalli" is of an origin extraneous to India, though he still finds it difficult to believe that its signs are borrowed from four or five different sources.—E. C. B.

[2] "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen gesellschaft" for 1877, vol. xxxi. p. 598.

have not yet found the alphabet from which the Southern Indian characters are derived. I think that there is much less chance of making out anything about the numerals, and of saying from what other system they are immediately descended. But it is not at all clear that originally they may not have come from Egypt, but probably through some Arabian traders either from the Arabian Coast or from the Gulf."

It now remains to set out the theory which it is proposed to maintain and illustrate in the following remarks; and it may be said, once for all, that for this purpose it is not necessary to deal with that part of Dr. Bühler's memorandum which treats purely of the origin and growth of the alphabetical signs.[1]

Briefly this theory is, that the Indian numeral system was, if not wholly, at least mainly, of extraneous origin; but that it was not adopted all from the same source, or at the same time.

In short, it will be attempted to show that it was, so to speak, of an eclectic character; that it began by the adoption of a primitive and imperfect system—probably from the early Phœnicians; and that it was subsequently improved by successive adoptions at various times, and from different sources

[1] It is by no means intended to intimate any dissent from Dr. Bühler's views on this part of the subject; on the contrary, they seem at least *a priori* reasonable. It may perhaps be a question how far the examples given by Dr. Bühler go to prove the derivation of the Maurya forms of writing from the Andhra,—they seem at least equally consistent with the supposition that both may have been derived from some earlier common original, to which perhaps, in its square and more archaic forms, the Maurya may preserve a closer resemblance than the Andhra does. The more rounded forms of the latter may perhaps be due to the nature of the substance written upon—which to some extent is even still locally employed for writing, viz. the palm-leaf. On the other hand, Dr. Bühler's arguments may perhaps be held to make it at least probable that the early modifications of the letters which he traces to Brahman influence actually grew up for the most part in the Andhra alphabet, and that they were adopted thence by the Mauryas. Indeed, this is *a priori* probable, inasmuch as the Andhra court seems to have flourished for some time previous to the consolidation of the Maurya power, and would thus have furnished a centre of civilization and learning, where Brahmans would be more likely to find extensive patronage, than elsewhere in Central India at that day. Indeed, even afterwards, the atmosphere of the Maurya Court was possibly not (especially during its later years) altogether favourable to the development of Brahmanical ideas. Otherwise the divergence between the Andhra and the Maurya alphabetical types hardly seems greater than local circumstances would usually produce in India, within a moderate period of time.

(Bactrian, Egyptian, and possibly Cuneiform), of additional signs, until the whole grew up into a convenient, complete, and almost perfect form.

This theory of course implies a very considerable degree of intercourse between India and the nations from whom the signs are supposed to have been borrowed; and it will be endeavoured to show that such an intercourse actually did exist for commercial purposes.

This theory, it will be seen, is in fact little else than an amplification of the third hypothesis explained above, and is also in no respect contradictory to that advanced by Dr. Bühler; for it leaves entire room for the influence of the "aksharas" in the gradual modification of the numeral forms; in fact, as will be seen hereafter, the theory now advanced attaches even greater importance to the existence of the "aksharas" as a factor in the growth of the general science of enumeration, than is assigned to it by Dr. Bühler.[1]

On one point, however, Dr. Bühler's memorandum requires a few words of explanation. He appears to have understood me as intending to suggest that the Indians were induced to borrow the numeral signs for *the purposes of commerce*. Such a suggestion, however, forms no part of the theory to be here maintained. In fact, it is almost certain, from their cumbrous character, that these early signs were not employed for purposes of calculation or account. Such an use of them probably did not spring up at least until the simplification of the system, and the employment of the nine units alone for purposes of numeration.

On the other hand, that the early Indians did adopt their numeral signs from foreign nations, and that they acquired their knowledge of these nations, and of all the incidents of foreign civilization—including the use of numeral signs—from an intercourse which was purely commercial in its

[1] It may be observed that the influence of the aksharas and the Brahmanical manipulation of the numerals would hardly begin to take effect till the numerals were employed for manuscript purposes,—or perhaps for use in sacred MSS.; and, as will be seen from what has been said in a previous note (p. 337), of Professor Rask's remarks on the ancient Cingalese numerals, this use did not probably begin till the fourth or fifth century B.C.

initiation and object, is not only part of, but the basis of the hypothesis on which this paper is founded.

It will perhaps make the theory thus put forward more clear, if the circumstances which suggested it be briefly stated.

An examination of the principle of the ancient Indian mode of differentiating the signs for the 'hundred' and 'thousand,' so as to make them express higher powers of those numbers, was suggested by an inquiry which will be mentioned further on.[1]

For the purpose of this inquiry, it became necessary to examine the ancient Egyptian numerals, to which attention had been drawn, as affording some points of resemblance to the ancient Indian numerals, by Barth, Burnell, Rodet, and other writers.

That system was found, as will be shown immediately, to present not only an identical system of differentiation, but to afford a complete explanation of the causes which produced it, which causes did not exist in the Indian system. It became palpable therefore that it was borrowed by the Indians from the Egyptians. Further inquiry, however, as to other resemblances between the Indian and the Egyptian numerals, whether these last were hieratic or hieroglyphic, showed that such resemblances could be readily detected in three instances only—viz. in the earlier symbol for a 'thousand,' which appeared to be taken from the Egyptian hieratic, and in the latest symbols for a 'hundred' and a 'thousand,' which were both clearly referable to hieroglyphic origins.

The evidence of borrowing, however, thus obtained, invited inquiries in other directions. General Cunningham long since indicated the Bactrian *alphabet* as the original source of the unit numerals from '4' to '9,' and a comparison of these last in their oldest form, as given on the Nánághát inscription, with the *lapidary* (not numismatic) forms of Bactrian writing of almost contemporaneous date, found in the Shábázgiri edicts of Asóka, fully confirmed this conjec-

[1] See p. 370.

ture.[1] But it was not possible to carry the identification beyond these unit signs. In proceeding, however, to examine the Bactrian *numerals*, as explained by Professor Dowson [J.R.A.S. Vol. XX. o.s. for 1863, p. 228], it became apparent that the second (rather rare) *cruciform* shape of the Indian 'four' was identical with the 'four' of the Bactrian *numeral* system, and, moreover, that one of each of the signs for '20' and for '100' in the second oldest stage of the Indian system were only slightly disguised forms of the Bactrian signs for those numbers.

After this result there remained unidentified only the forms for 'ten,' and one other (the earliest) form of 'twenty,' the (earliest) sign for a 'hundred,' and the signs for the higher powers of 'ten' (except that for 'twenty,' which has been already dealt with above). The signs for 1, 2, and 3, were of course common to every ancient (non-alphabetical) system of numerals. Induced, however, by the analogy of the Bactrian numeral system to that of the Palmyrene Phœnician, an examination of the various Phœnician systems was next begun, and among the remaining groups of Nánághát numerals, it was found possible to identify a complete series of archaic non-alphabetical Phœnician signs for the numerals of higher denomination than units, *viz.* the ten, the twenty, and the hundred; the first no doubt in an altered shape, but the hundred only slightly, and the twenty not at all disguised.

The figures for 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, and 90 thus remained alone without any discoverable archetypes; and this partly because, except for the '60' and '80,' no examples can be found in the Nánághát inscriptions; indeed (except the 50, which occurs in the Asóka inscriptions) no other examples save those of a comparatively late date exist. Some conjectural remarks, however, on their possible derivation and mode of formation will be given later on.

[1] See General Cunningham's paper, J.A.S.B. vol. xxiii. for 1854, p. 703, note. It will be observed further on, that I have not entirely adopted the details of General Cunningham's identifications; indeed, with the fuller knowledge of the Bactrian letters which we now possess, and which is so largely due to General Cunningham's own labours, that writer would not probably himself now maintain them all, or indeed the theory founded on the facts as then understood by him.

In Plate II. Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4, will be found tables showing the figures attributed to each of the sources thus assigned, arranged according to the supposed order of time in which the originals were severally laid under contribution, and the alterations (if any) to which they were subjected in the process of adoption.

In Fig. 1 are given the numerals attributed to the archaic Phœnician,[1] which, by reason of its simpler form, its greater antiquity, and possible relation to the original source of the Indian alphabet, it is proposed to consider the earliest in date.

It will be seen that the signs for one, two, and three, are in the Indian system drawn horizontally. This probably may be, as Dr. Bühler suggests, the result of Brahmanical influence in order to bring them into correspondence (when used for differentiation) with the written expression (in composition) of the powers of the vowel *u*; still in Egypt these signs were sometimes written horizontally also, and their adoption in this form may have been at first a mere matter of convenience in writing.

The earlier units were probably all expressed, as in the older non-alphabetical Phœnician,[2] and in the hieroglyphic,[3] by groups of simple lines, till this method was, ere long, superseded by methods borrowed from the Bactrians.

The ten of the early Indian system, it will be observed, seems to be altered from one of two archaic Phœnician forms (or a compound of both), turned, however, from left to right, instead of from right to left, to suit the Indian mode of writing.

In the oldest shape (that found at Náná Ghát), the Indian sign for *ten* thus derived seems to express the syllable *ṭhú*, as it would appear, written in Indian characters of that date, which may possibly be an *akshara* (though not that used later on) for *ten*; but this also may be a mere accident, for the ordinary *akshara* for ten does not seem to be *ṭhú*.

[1] Cf. Gesenius, Monumt. Vet. pp. 80-88; Pihan, Signes de Numeration, p. 165; and De Luynes, Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie, pp. 112-114.
[2] See Pihan, Signes de Numeration, p. 164.
[3] Pihan, Signes de Numeration, p. 26.

The *twenty* of the Phœnician, a simple circle, remains unaltered in its Náná Ghát shape. The Phœnician figure for a *hundred* is but very slightly changed in the Náná Ghát shape, and even still less so in that employed by Aśoka for his inscriptions in Eastern India (where probably, as will be explained presently, more archaic types in general prevailed), though it is there differentiated in order to make it represent two hundred.

It seems probable that the Bactrian *numeral* system was that next laid under contribution; for it is hardly likely that the Bactrian *numeral* four should have been separately taken *after* the Bactrian *alphabet* had supplied, as will be seen, a full series of signs for the units above three. The loans from Bactrian numerals are therefore shown in Pl. II. (both in their original shape, and as reversed to suit Indian writing) Fig. 2. Nothing further need be remarked in regard to the identity of the figure for four;—as has been said, the use of this four in Indian numerals is rare—but it is found under more than one modification on the silver coins of the Guptas. It gave rise certainly to one of the two signs for forty, and, as will be shown in the sequel, eventually prevailed as the model for all the modern Indian and European types of *four*.

The *twenty* of the Bactrian system (a double ten) will, *if written reversed* to suit the Indian writing, and with top and bottom joined by a curved "rounding" stroke, give the exact form of the "Cave" variety of the Indian "twenty," which, slightly modified, was employed almost exclusively[1] on all later coins and inscriptions.

The hundred of the Bactrian system, if also reversed, requires but little alteration to convert it into the likeness of the Indian "S," in which shape it occurs on Asóka's Western (dated) Inscription, and to which form it was doubtless adapted under Brahman influence, in order to fit it to the alphabetical expression of the "akshara" "su," which denotes a hundred.[2]

[1] The old form, however, occurs on one of Kumâra Gupta's inscriptions at Garhwa (of 129 Gupta), Cunningham, Arch. Survey, vol. x. p. 7, pl. iv.

[2] Though in this case also the sign is differentiated to express *two* hundred.

To pass to Fig. 3, Pl. II., it may be taken as likely, for the reason already assigned, that the adoption of certain signs from the Bactrian alphabet was of later date than the borrowing from the Bactrian numerals. It was *probably*, on the other hand, anterior to the borrowings from the Egyptian systems, for *some* of these latter were certainly of very late date, later it will be demonstrated than that of the Nánághát, or even of the Maurya inscriptions; and the use made of these Bactrian signs to improve on the Egyptian system of differentiation, seems to imply some familiarity with their use at a comparatively early period, and before the mode of differentiation was obtained from Egypt.

It is necessary, however, to explain Fig. 3 more fully, and it can only be said that the proof of borrowing consists solely in the almost *absolute* identity of the numerals, with the older lapidary Bactrian forms of certain letters. It will be seen that the 4=the Bactrian letter *chh* (not *ch*), the 5=*p*, the 6=*g*, the 7=*a*, the 8=*b*, the 9=*h*.

Now, so far as it has been possible to trace the matter, it may at once be said that the numeral force thus assigned to the several letters cannot be explained by any known system of alphabetical numeral notation, Aryan, Semitic, or Turanian. Nor do the letters appear to give the initials of the names of all or even most of the units they represent, in any known language.[1]

This fact, however, is not in itself sufficient to overthrow the evidence derived from the absolute identity of the two sets of forms. One system of notation by letters, well known, and certainly of very considerable antiquity, the Arabic *abjad*, appears to be equally arbitrary in its assignment of numerical powers to letters.

Still there doubtless was some reason for the adoption of this system of notation, and for its adoption as an *integral* system, for it will be observed that it overlaps the older system supposed to be already in vogue in India, and gives a second and alternative form for '4.'

[1] Indeed of hardly of any except the five.

To confess the truth plainly however, it is only possible with the present total want of evidence on the point to conjecture this reason, or chain of reasons. A mediæval writer, Radulphus, Bishop of Laon, who died in 1131 A.D., declared that the Greeks obtained the *peculiar names* for the units, used by the Neo-Pythagorean school, *with the abacus*, from Chaldæa. It will be shown presently that this assertion is in a great measure corroborated by facts; and from analogy there seems no great improbability in guessing that the Indians obtained not the names, but the *signs* for the "abacus," together with that instrument. For it has been already pointed out that the signs for the *units only*, which alone would be used with the "abacus," appear to be taken from the Bactrian alphabet, and that there seems to have been no further borrowing from *that* source. If this conjecture be correct, it would show, what is not antecedently impossible, that the knowledge of the "abacus" was obtained by the Indians *through Bactria*.[1]

But if even this hypothesis be granted, the question is only advanced one step towards solution; for why, it may be asked, came it to pass that the signs of the "abacus" were indicated by these particular letters? even in Bactria before their transfer to India?

Two guesses may perhaps be permissible; the letters may perhaps represent the initials of some lost system of unit "aksharas," and perhaps, if this be so, this explanation might cover also the origin of the "abjad" system. For, as will be explained a little further on, there seems reason to suspect that a system of "aksharas" or phonetic notation was very early and very widely employed.[2]

But it may be noted that two Arabic traditions assign to the "Abjad" system, a mnemonic formula as its origin, one declaring it to be expressed by a sentence which gave the

[1] It need hardly be said that the use of the "abacus" is still common in every village bázár in India, and has been universal apparently from time immemorial.

[2] The term "akshara" (from the negative "a" and "kshar"), signifying "indestructible," "incorruptible," seems to be a term invented after the introduction of writing, or at least of numeral signs, as indicating the superiority in respect of durability and accuracy of the phonetic signs.

names of the first six kings of Midian, and the other by the names of the inventor of the Cufic alphabet and of his sons.[1]

Such an origin would, too, not have been at all incompatible with Indian usage, for, as will be shown, the 'aksharas' themselves were practically strung together in a metrical form, so as to give a sort of 'memoria technica.'

The subjoined conjectural solution of the point is therefore offered, though with diffidence, for it must be admitted that some of the suggestions made are not in exact accordance with the strict rules of orthography, at least of the *Sanskrit* branch of the Aryan tongue.

It will be observed that the fourth letter in the group is the initial letter *a*; manifestly if they be the initials of syllables, this letter must mark the beginning of a fresh word. Supplying the inherent vowels, this word would become *abaha* or *abah*. The accepted etymology of *abacus*, or at least that generally favoured, refers it to a Semitic word equivalent to the Hebrew (Ex. ix. 9, Is. v. 24, Ez. xxvi. 10) אבק *abaḳ*, or ابق (which means 'very fine dust'). This word might well be written in dialects with the final letter ה, corresponding to both the Arabic ـق and ـخ, and might therefore thus pass to ابخ and ابح *abakh* and *abah*, by a very slight change, or *abah* might represent the name of the instrument, in a form *derived* from the word for 'dust.'

Admitting this, the preceding syllables must refer to some objects connected with the *abacus*. If they refer to the signs themselves, the expression would be in the plural number, and this plural would probably be denoted by a suffix; the last letter, *g*, would then represent this suffix, and it naturally recalls the modern Persian plural form of *gán*, used where a word in the singular ends in a silent *h*; as *bundah*, *bundagán*, *istádah*, *istádagán*, *zindah*, *zindagán*, etc., etc.

[1] M. Woepcke (Sur l'Introduction de l'Arithmetique Indienne en Occident, p. 68) quotes from Sibth ul Máridíní, who died in 1527-28 A.D., another mnemonic arrangement of letters according to the *Abjad* system, in groups according to the powers of each unit, thus 1, 10, 100, 1000; and 2, 20, 200, 2000, etc.

If this be so, the remaining syllables would represent *chhapah*, or *chhápah*, a word which comes very near, indeed, to the Hindi word *chhápá*, which signifies a 'sign,' 'stamp,' 'seal,' or 'mark.' It has also a technical meaning in connection with the 'Vaishnava'[1] creed, denoting the sectarial marks, such as the 'trident,' 'lotus,' etc., which the devotees of Vishnu delineate on their bodies. Under the form of چاپه, the same root seems to occur, and with a similar general force, in the modern Persian; that is to say, in the sense of 'stamp,' or 'mark.' It is very improbable, either that a word of foreign origin should be employed in the technical religious sense which it possesses among the Indian Vaishnavas, or that the Persians should have borrowed the word from the modern Hindi. The alternative is to accept it as derived in both instances from some common Aryan source. It is true that the word *chhápá* has not been admitted by etymologists as referable to any known Sanskrit root. The form in *chh* seems to indicate an original in *ksh*, but the nearest root in Sanskrit is *kshi*, from which *chhápá* does not come by any regular rule. It is possible, however, that in this latter form it may be only a corruption of some other, such as *kshépa;* and though that word does not occur in the same sense, one meaning of the *root* appears to be 'to smear,' or even 'to depress,' from which the modern meaning may have come in a secondary form; or the word may be even derived from some lost Aryan root. If it be in any way referable to an Aryan origin, it would not be out of place in a Bactrian sentence. Nor is it perhaps too much to assume, that the modern Persian plural in *gán* is, perhaps, a relic of some (perhaps popular) form of an ancient plural suffix of the same character. If these conjectures be admissible, the sentence would of course stand as *chhápagán-(i)-abah* 'signs of the abacus.'

After all, however, this interpretation can only be offered as purely conjectural; the argument as to the Bactrian origin of the signs cannot rest upon it, but must be based solely on

[1] See Thompson's Hindi Dictionary; also Fallon's Hindustani Dictionary, *in voce* "Chhápa." In the latter, a quotation of a Hindi verse will be found, in which the word occurs in this sense.

the almost exact identity of their forms with those of the Bactrian letters.

Passing, however, from Fig. 3, Plate II., the borrowings from Egyptian sources (Fig. 4) remain for consideration.

Of these, by far the most important in every way is the system of differentiation. It might be imagined, if the ancient Indian system of numerals came from Phœnician sources, that the Indians would in the first place have adopted also the Phœnician mode of differentiation. This was what actually happened in the Bactrian system, which appears to have been taken from the quasi-Phœnician Palmyrene. The Phœnicians using a certain symbol for a hundred, differentiated it with the unit representing its powers; thus for one hundred, they wrote the hundred symbol with a single stroke on the right hand (i.e. *before* it); in writing two hundred, they added a second stroke: exactly as in England we write £1 for one pound sterling, £2 for two pounds, or $4 for four dollars, etc., etc.

But the actual Indian mode of differentiation as first found existing, is wholly and markedly distinct, and, as it occurs in its Indian form, appears arbitrary and based on no principle. Thus, the simple symbol for a hundred (or a thousand) stands for one hundred (or one thousand); but when it is given with a *single* differentiating mark (to the *right*, that is, *after* the symbol), it stands for *two* hundred; and with *two* such marks, for *three* hundred; that is, there is always one mark *less* than the power to be indicated. When, however, four hundred is reached, then the differentiating mark takes the form of the *unit* 'four,' and similarly in the case of the remaining higher powers of a hundred below one thousand.

If we turn to the column showing the Egyptian hieratic forms in Fig. 4, Plate II., it will be seen that this is also the principle of that system, and that *there* its adoption is easily explained. In the original *hieroglyphic* signs, two hundred was denoted by a group of two of the symbols for a hundred, four hundred by a group of four, eight hundred by a group of eight symbols, etc., etc. The hieratic, however, which was

a species of 'shorthand' writing, after once indicating the symbol for one hundred, did not repeat it at length in the case of numbers above one hundred, but merely placed *after* it a square dot (or a line representing a group of dots) for each symbol for a hundred which it omitted to write at full length. Thus, one dot was added for two hundred, two dots for three hundred, and so on. The number of dots being therefore, as in the Indian system, always exactly *one less* than the power of the hundred which it was desired to express. In the case of the seven hundred and nine hundred, however, as the hieratic Egyptian possessed special symbols for the units 'seven' and 'nine,' these were used to differentiate the hundred symbol (they had also a hieratic symbol for five in occasional use, but did not employ it to differentiate) instead of groups of dots, or strokes; exactly on the same principle as that which governs the use in the Indian system of the unit signs above three for purposes of differentiation. The Indian system was therefore in principle altogether identical with the hieratic Egyptian; but so far improved on its model, that having apparently already adopted from the Bactrian alphabet special symbols for each unit above three, they employed them to express not merely the seven hundred, and nine hundred, but all powers above three hundred, instead of the short spur-like side strokes with which they replaced the Egyptian dots.

Now no two other known systems of numeration in the world possess this peculiar mode of differentiation, which, it must be admitted, is hardly one which in *all* its details is likely to have been twice invented. The history of its growth is not to be traced in the Indian system—it is easily seen in the Egyptian, where its development can be explained by natural causes. Moreover, it was employed in Egypt at least in 1200 B.C.,[1] at a period far more ancient than any probable Indian use of numerals.

There need be therefore little hesitation in affirming that

[1] The presumed date of the "Rhind" Papyrus, but the first use of these symbols was probably older still.

the Indians adopted this system exactly in all its principles, as they found it already developed in the Egyptian hieratic, improving it, however, to the slight extent already mentioned, in a few of its details.

They effected another improvement, moreover, for they used this mode of differentiation both for the hundred *and the thousand* symbol. The Egyptians employed for the thousand another and clumsier mode, allied to the ancient Phœnician. This last adaptation may perhaps indicate that the Indians adopted their mode of differentiation when as yet they had no separate symbol for the thousand; a supposition which is not indeed unlikely, for they had been hitherto borrowing only from systems belonging to the Phœnician family, and, so far as is known, no *Phœnician* system had any separate symbol for a thousand, which number they appear to have represented by a *group* of figures.[1]

The Indians, it may be observed, seem likewise to have borrowed *all* their signs for the thousand from the Egyptians; the earliest form being apparently merely the Egyptian hieratic symbol deprived of its side stroke; the later one a cursive form of the hieroglyphic 'lotus' symbol. The latest Indian symbol for the hundred also (which does not occur till *after* 225 B.C.) seems to be, in its original form, merely the hieroglyphic symbol for a 'hundred' partially straightened.[2]

The only numerical signs therefore, of the ancient Indian system, to which no positive derivation can be assigned, are those for the powers of ten above twenty, viz. the 'thirty,' the 'forty,' the 'fifty,' the 'sixty,' the 'seventy,' the 'eighty,' and the 'ninety.' It seems, however, probable that these did

[1] This fact may perhaps explain the following quotation from Sibth ul Máridíní (Woepcke, Sur l'Introduction de l'Arithmetique Indienne en Occident, p. 67): "Sachez que les ordres elementaires des nombres sont au nombre de trois: unités, dixaines, et centaines, dont chacun comprend neuf nœuds."

[2] The term "latest" is used with the knowledge that an apparently new symbol for a hundred (which Gen. Cunningham supposed to be a Bactrian letter) occurs among the Indo-Scythian and Gupta numerals, but this seems rather a cursive modification of the 's' shaped, or second oldest, form of the symbol (of which it has been suggested that it came from the Bactro-Phœnician form), the 'crook' on the left side only being omitted.

not come from any single source. The forms of the double signs for 'forty' at any rate clearly indicate a derivation from the double signs for 'four,' and they were therefore probably invented in India, after the adoption of the latter. The sign for 'fifty,' is used either turned to the left hand or the right indiscriminately, and it may be suggested on this account, that it was probably borrowed at a late stage, from some Semitic form of cursive writing, and that it was written sometimes in one direction with reference to its Semitic origin, sometimes in another, according to the direction of the Sanskrit writing. The Egyptian hieratic fifty might indeed possibly be the model of the early Indian fifty. There is also another hieratic form for thirty besides that which is shown on Plate I. (*see* Pihan, Signes de Numeration, p. 27). On my silver coin of Skanda Gupta, dated in the year 134 of the Gupta era, the thirty is almost identical with this Egyptian hieratic form for thirty. The hieratic was written always in Semitic fashion from right to left.

Again, there seems some probability that the signs for sixty and seventy are connected. The Cingalese numeral system, which preserves faithfully to the present day nearly all the principles of the old Indian system, forms the sign for seventy by the addition of the sign for ten to that for sixty. The ancient Indian form for seventy is evidently only that for sixty, with a spur-shaped stroke added to the right, which may perhaps give the power of an added ten.[1] In connection with this fact may be remembered the Akkadian [2] for 'sixty,' which is converted into =70 by the addition of =10. So also the Assyrian =60 becomes =70 by the addition of the =10.[3]

The eighty also seems to have been converted into ninety by the addition of a similar augmenting stroke, and may,

[1] This has already been suggested by Pandit Bhagwân Lâl (Indian Antiquary, vol. vi. for 1877, p. 46).

[2] I am indebted for these signs to the kindness of Mr. Pinches, of the British Museum.

[3] The Himyaritic '*50*' is also of the same form as the Akkadian '60,' and is also augmented by signs for '10' (Ind. Ant. vol. iv. p. 27).

perhaps, be borrowed from the same source as those for sixty and seventy.[1]

It is not practicable, however, with the information at present available, to do more than thus conjecture the process by which this last group of signs was obtained, or the principles on which they were formed. Indeed, as has been pointed out, except of the sixty and eighty, no examples exist in the Nánághát inscriptions, and those of Aśoka only add that for fifty, and it is therefore impossible to be certain even of the exact shape of most of the oldest forms.

At any rate it would seem clear that the early Indians were unacquainted, when they adopted these signs for the powers of ten, with any alphabetical or other system, which would have furnished them with such signs ready made, as, for example, the Greek or Phœnician *alphabetical* systems, which possessed a complete series of symbols for the powers of ten.[2]

Finding themselves, however, with a perfect system of counting by separate symbols, from unity up to twenty, on the one hand, and on the other with a similar set provided for the numbers between one hundred and twenty thousand, the Indians apparently set themselves to fill the intervening gap, and provided themselves with the missing signs, probably by a process of mixed borrowing and adaptation.[3]

[1] The Indian sign for eighty ⊙ *might* perhaps be taken from the Akkadian sign for sixty placed between two Akkadian signs for "ten," thus . Cf. the Assyrian hieratic numerals as given by Menant, New Assyrian Grammar (1882).

[2] It is a corollary of this conclusion that at the time when these indents were made on their alphabet, the Bactrians possessed no regular alphabetical system of notation. It has been suggested that certain letters occurring on the coins of later Bactrian kings, *e.g.* Hippostratus, Azas and Azilisas, express numbers and dates. If so, the idea, or even the system, must have been obtained from the Greeks, and this is rather rendered probable by the fact that these signs often seem differentiated by the vowel *i*, which was used by the Greeks to express 'ten.' If these figures represent numbers at all, therefore, they are probably low numbers, and if dates, regnal dates only.

[3] Of course they were not altogether debarred from expressing the intermediate numbers, for they could have used the Phœnician and Bactrian mode by which the highest of these were expressed by groups compounded of the signs for 20 and for 10, and in which 20+10 stood for 30; 20+20 for 40, etc. This Phœnician method of counting by twenty and tens together, must apparently have been the origin of the Modern French "soixante-dix," "quatre-vingt," etc., coming down from the usages of the early Phœnician colonists of Marseilles and other seaports. It is curious that this awkward and antiquated method should have superseded the far more convenient and expressive "septante," "octante," and "nonnante."

Leaving, however, this portion of the subject, it is necessary to consider how far such long series of suggested borrowings from foreign sources was either possible or probable.

The possibility turns of course mainly on the degree of intercourse which existed in ancient times between the Indians and the older Phœnicians, the Bactrians, the Egyptians and other neighbouring nations. This question opens out an enormous subject, into the discussion of which it is impossible to enter at full length, and which has been exhaustively treated by many writers of high authority, such as Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde, specially in vol. iii.), Reinaud (Memoire sur l'Inde, and in other papers[1]), Heeren, Weber, and others. It will suffice, therefore, merely to cite very briefly a few leading facts, which will show that the connection between the Indians and other neighbouring nations, was both more ancient and more extensive than is ordinarily believed; and that their intercourse with the nations of the west was chiefly carried on through the ports and cities on the *Western* Coast of India.

As regards the Phœnicians, evidence has been brought to light by recent archæological enquirers, which renders at least possible the view[2] that their original seat was on the coasts of the Persian Gulf, as explained by Sir H. Rawlinson, J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. N.S. p. 218, and in the same place, pp. 212–215, will be found a discussion on the early commerce between the ports on the Red Sea on the one hand, and of the Indian Coasts on the other—through the intermediate ports of the Persian Gulf. For a sketch of the actual trade carried on by the Phœnicians, both by sea and land, *see* Humboldt's Cosmos, vol. ii. pp. 128 to 133 (Murray's edition).[3] Solomon[4] no doubt employed the aid of the Phœnicians, because of their already recognized skill in navigation and knowledge of Eastern commerce, when he desired to procure

[1] Specially that in J. A. vol. i. series 6.

[2] Maspero, "Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient," pp. 146-148, 168-170; F. Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient," vol. ii. pp. 240-244.

[3] Cf. also Heeren (Asiatic Nations), vol. i. Chapters on Babylonian and Phœnician commerce.

[4] See 1 Kings xxii. 45.

the valuable commodities of the East; and the intercourse of the Phœnicians with Eastern nations must therefore, even at that early date, have been thoroughly established. It is now beyond doubt that, whatever may have been the exact locality of Ophir, the goods which Solomon imported thence were distinctly Indian productions. Nor is there any greater improbability in the supposition, that the Phœnician traders were in frequent intercourse, from very remote ages, with the coasts of India by the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, than with the coasts (to them more difficult of access) of Britain and even of Northern Europe, as it has long since been acknowledged that they were. It was of course with Western India, and indeed with the upper part of the coast of Western India, that this intercourse, whether by sea or land, must have commenced. By land, the route lay through Sind. By sea, the favouring monsoons to which alone the ancient vessels would trust themselves blew from the S.W., and took all ships, whether from the Red Sea or Persian Gulf, naturally to the upper coast. Besides, below Bombay on that coast there is no harbour which can usually be made with safety by sailing ships during the S.W. monsoon, at least till as far South as Aleppee. It was no doubt for this reason that, as Reinaud shows,[1] the direct intercourse with Europe was up to a late date confined to the Western Coast, though afterwards it extended to Ceylon. Neither is there any reason to believe that this intercourse diminished in more modern times, as the demands of increasing civilization in the West afforded growing markets for the luxuries of the East;—Egypt no doubt was one of the earliest and largest of these markets—and there can be little doubt also that it was supplied at first mainly through the agency of Phœnician traders—whether by land or sea. In the Inscription of Cittium, as translated by the Duc de Luynes,[2] mention is made of the Phœnicians "residing in Egypt," who can hardly have been anything but resident traders, and this inscription is attributed to the sixth century B.C. It may be uncertain how far at this period

[1] Journal Asiatique, series 6, vol. i. p. 354.
[2] Numismatique des Satrapies et de la langue de la Phénicie, pp. 112, 114.

any portion of this Eastern trade fell into the hands of the Egyptians themselves—though at a very early date some of their kings seem to have navigated at least the coasts of the Red Sea. Later on, events occurred which drew still closer the connection between the nations of the East and West. Political events sometimes brought the rulers of Assyria and Babylon into hostile contact with the races of Canaan and of Egypt, and sometimes into friendly or tributary relations. Under the Persian Empire, which reached Westward to Egypt, and to the borders of Greece, and which overlapped the frontiers of India in the East—it seems certain that intercourse between the extremes of that Empire, powerful, rich, and luxurious as it long was, was fostered rather than checked by their mutual relations to its central authority—Greek adventurers in no insignificant numbers passed into Persia and resided there, and it may be presumed that Egyptian fortune-hunters were hardly less numerous. The Greeks through these means gained considerable information of India and Indian affairs, and it may be taken almost for granted that the Egyptians were in relations with India and the East at least as close, and enjoyed knowledge of Indian matters equally intimate. Moreover, it is hardly to be supposed, on the other hand, that the quick-witted natives of India were slow to avail themselves of the opportunities thus afforded to them of acquiring some knowledge of the advantages possessed by Western nations.

Later on, the marvellous fortune which led Macedonian troops, not only to Persia, but across the Indus to the banks of the Bias, and which planted in Central and Western Asia, several dynasties all partaking more or less of Greek origin, added another great stimulus to the progress of relations between Europe and the East. The Courts of these kings became centres of a new culture, where Greek customs and the Greek language prevailed—as was also the case in Egypt. Without doubt these circumstances all added largely to the knowledge which Asiatics possessed of European and Egyptian matters, and to the more perfect knowledge of Asiatic affairs in the West. Moreover, after the great trading cities of the

Phœnicians were ruined by the attacks of the Macedonian and Syrian kings, the direct traffic, which had become thus stimulated and enlarged, fell in a great measure into the hands of those who traded through Egypt and the Red Sea. Later still, the Romans came on the scene, both as traders and politicians; and so early as the latter half of the last century B.C., the Romans (to say nothing of other nations) maintained mercantile establishments in all the chief ports of the Eastern seas.[1] With the favouring monsoon of every year, two thousand persons sailed from the ports of Egypt to those of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and of the Indian Peninsula; while the reverse monsoon brought to Egypt a similar influx of visitors or returning voyagers from the same quarters. These facts alone may be held sufficient to show the enormous intercourse which by that time had grown up between the West and the East, and which, considering the difficulties of ancient navigation, it must have taken a long course of years to establish. Intercourse of this nature must too have given to the Indians opportunities of learning, amongst other things, the Egyptian numeral systems, and it is to be observed that the Indian borrowings from this source have on other grounds been placed amongst the latest obtained from any traceable origin.

Nor, while habits of mercantile enterprize were thus created in India, especially on the western coast, is it probable that the facilities afforded by the passes of Western Afghanistan for intercourse with Bactria, Persia, and Central Asia, were wholly neglected. Many of the products most valuable for western commerce, such as musk, saffron, assafœtida and other drugs and dyes, were obtained in this direction, or from Kashmir through the Panjab, where the Bactrian alphabet and numerals were also in use.

Under these circumstances, it is hardly likely that the

[1] Reinaud, in Journal Asiatique for 1863, vol. i. series vi. p. 97; *see* also rest of memoir, pp. 93 to 234. If we compare this Indian traffic to that with Europe before the employment of steam navigation, and deduct from the latter the demand for military and civil organization, the result will show that the purely commercial intercourse of modern times was not very greatly in advance of that of the last century B.C.

Indians should have long remained in ignorance of the systems of notation employed in these several foreign countries, or that they should have hesitated to avail themselves of such convenient inventions. If the theory offered be accepted, they would have naturally adopted entire the earliest with which they came in contact, the archaic Phœnician. Nor is there any reason to suppose that they would decline to avail themselves of any improvements which they came to know later on; on the contrary, it is abundantly clear from many facts in their history, that the Hindu people have always possessed a great facility for appropriating and assimilating anything which it was advantageous to make their own, blending even into their religion the traditions and superstitions of tribes and sects with whom they found it expedient to amalgamate; and they would hardly have been less ready to adopt from abroad, any signs which would render their method of numeration more complete or more convenient.

The Bactrian numerals would thus have given them a very convenient sign for four, in lieu of the clumsy group of four separate strokes, and a very distinct sign for twenty, which was always, in the archaic Phœnician, liable to be confounded with some of the forms of ten, and which was actually identical with the 'ten' of the Himyaritic (or Sabæan) of later times. The Bactrian hundred, too, was far more easily written than the old Phœnician, being composed of two strokes inclined to each other, instead of three at right angles, as in the Phœnician hundred. Again, if the introduction of the 'abacus' was, as has been suggested, accompanied by a knowledge of the special alphabetic signs already employed with it in Bactria, the Indians would hardly have rejected the convenience which these signs afforded. And thus, accustomed to improvements, they would not have neglected to adopt the neat mode of differentiation which they found in the Egyptian hieratic, when at a later date they became acquainted with it, or have failed to adopt, later still, the more easily written and easily distinguished signs for 100 and 1000 which they saw in the hieroglyphic.

The method in which the Indian numeral system grew up having been thus suggested, it is to be remembered that what has been said above applies, of course, only to the original formation of the Indian numeral system, as it stood at the commencement of the Christian era; and the table in Plate I. is intended only to show this, together with some of the leading shapes through which it subsequently passed before the simplification of the mode of notation.

This last reform caused the disuse of the special signs for the higher numbers, and brought other influences to bear, which superseded the influence of aksharas, and which determined by degrees the modern forms even of the signs for the units which remained in use; these points will be considered in their proper place. It will not be attempted, however, to trace all the variety of shapes (in a great measure determined by local accidents), which grew up in various parts of India, and which indeed, to some extent, prevail even now. On this point, Woepcke (Journal Asiatique, series 6, vol. i. p. 275) quotes the words of Albiruni (writing in the beginning of the eleventh century), which are here reproduced in their translated form:—"De même que les figures des lettres sont differentes dans (les differentes parties de) leur pays, de même aussi les signes de calcul (varient): Ceux-ci sont appelés *anka* (انک). Ce que nous employons (en fait de chiffres), est choisi parmi ce qu'il y'en a de mieux chez les Indiens; et peu importent les formes pourvu que l'on connaisse les significations qu'elles renferment. Les Cachmiriens[1] numerotent les feuillets à moyen de chiffres qui resemblent à des dessins d'ornements, ou aux lettres des Chinois, que l'on n'apprend à connaitre que par longue habitude et par des efforts constants, et que l'on n'emploie pas dans le calcul (executé) sur la poussière."

Passing from Northern to Southern India, and from East to West, we still find numerals employed, which it is difficult

[1] Dr. Leitner has recently collected a number of forms of numerals used in Kashmir by shawl-weavers and others, which exactly answer the description here given.—"Linguistic Fragments," Sec. I. Lahore, 1882.

to believe can be in any way traced to the same originals; for example, the ordinary Hindi numerals, which are certainly directly descended from the older forms, seem at first to bear no resemblance whatever to the Tamil or Malayalam forms, or to those still in use in Ceylon. Much of this difference has arisen from the fact, that the former have been brought into their present shapes by a new influence, the latter by that of the *aksharas*; and this opportunity may be taken for saying that the continued efforts of Brahman teachers to bring the shape of the Indian numerals into accordance with the alphabetical signs which express the *aksharas*, though they will not be dealt with in this paper, constitute an essential part of the history of Indian numerals; for this operation was most important, and its ultimate results are, as in the case of the Tamil numerals for example, and in many other instances, still visible. But this part of the subject in itself deserves detailed treatment in a separate essay, and this has been given in Professor Bühler's public lectures, which have been already delivered and are in course of publication. Moreover, the *aksharas*, as has been said, lost their command over the forms of numerals when the simplified notation was introduced, and therefore their history does not bear directly on the object of the present paper, which deals more directly with the question of the descent of our *modern* numerals, which were little affected by this influence.

It is, however, necessary to say a few words on the important share which the *aksharas* once bore in the general history of numeration,[1] which cannot be altogether passed over.

It may be taken as almost certain that the *aksharas* (of course not necessarily the particular Sanskrit *aksharas* of which Dr. Bühler writes, but other equivalents), *phonetic* numerals, in short, of some kind or another, were of immense antiquity and very wide diffusion.

[1] For a general description of the phonetic equivalents used in Sanskrit and cognate languages, see Nouveau Journal Asiatique, vol. xvi. pp. 1-42 (Jacquet); series 6, vol. i. pp. 284-90 (Woepcke); and series 7, vol. xvii. p. 47-130 (Rodet).

So far as actual proof exists,[1] no numerals can be referred to an earlier date than those connected with the hieroglyphics on the tombs of the Egyptian kings of the fourth dynasty, whose period by a moderate computation is placed about 2900 to 3000 B.C. It may not be safe to assume that no numeral signs existed at a prior date; but even at that period the hieroglyphic alphabet had barely passed out of its earlier syllabic form; and the early Egyptian and other similar archaic systems of numeration, were certainly too clumsy to have been employed as instruments for making calculations, or for teaching sciences which involved the use of such calculations. Nevertheless, it is pretty certain that at the period of the fourth Egyptian dynasty the people of that country, (and indeed several other races of mankind) had obtained a fairly high degree of civilization and of knowledge.

Geometry,[2] for example, must early have risen into importance in Egypt, by reason of the obliteration of land marks during the inundations of the Nile. The connection of the heavenly bodies and their motion with the divisions of time was certainly very early noticed, and the worship of the "hosts of heaven" not only necessitated, but gave a sacred character to the science of astronomy and to its concomitant, astrology. For the pursuit and communication of these sciences, the rude modes of notation by groups of signs, such as those which constituted the earlier Egyptian and Phœnician systems were manifestly wholly unfit, and even still more so the purely pictorial form of the oldest hieroglyphics. No other known mode of dealing with numbers, except that by phonetic forms, would have sufficed the needs of the human race under these circumstances; and these had the advantage of lending themselves with perfect facility to the construction of metrical formulæ, which could be easily taught and committed to memory. That such a method prevailed in India long before the Christian era,

[1] These facts are given on the authority mainly of my friend Mr. R. S. Poole, of the British Museum.

[2] Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 367, ed. 1878.

Dr. Bühler's researches show. It exists[1] to this day, not only in Sanskrit writings, but in a living form in those Sanskrit schools and colleges which are conducted on the old native plan, and it is still used for the conveyance of all forms of knowledge.[2] Of course, when the *abacus*[3] came into use, it would at least be capable of superseding the use of *aksharas* for making calculations, though not necessarily for teaching their results. Indeed, even long after this invention

[1] For example, in the Sanskrit (Native) Colleges at Kishnagur in Bengal—and the following amusing note, borrowed from Dr. Burnell's South Indian Palæography (p. 65, 1st ed.), illustrates this state of things from the early Arab point of view. Albiruni (Reinaud, Memoire, p. 234) gives a remarkable instance of the Indian tendency this way: "Les livres des Indiens sont rédigés en vers, les indigènes croient par là, les rendre plus aisés à retenir dans la mémoire, ils ne recourent pas aux livres qu'à la dernière extrémité. On les voit même s'attacher a apprendre des vers dont ils ignorent tout a fait le sens. J'ai reconnu à mes depens l'inconvénient de cet usage. J'avais fait pour les indigènes des extraits du traité d'Euclide et de l'Almageste; j'avais composé un traité de l'Astrolabe afin de les initier aux méthodes Arabes, mais aussitôt ils mirent ces morceaux en 'ślokas,' de manière qu'il était devenu peu facile de s'y reconnaitre." Dr. Burnell adds, "I have myself seen the Penal code put into Tamil verse."

[2] It does not follow that these were always merely syllables—they were in many cases doubtless, as they even now are in Sanskrit, *words* bearing other significations—*see* the papers on the subject already cited in a previous note at p. 33.

[3] Perhaps in the Greek form of the name of this instrument some trace exists of the use of the 'aksharas.' Admitting that it was probably in its origin, the Semitic term for the material on which the signs were traced, 'fine dust' or 'abaḳ,' yet it was an occasional practice of the Greeks to adapt foreign terms and even names, so as to bear a signification in their own tongue. Ἄβαξ, the Greek form of the term, is identical with an adjective ἄβαξ, given by Eustathius as the base of the word ἀβάκησαν, which is found in the Odyssey—in the sense of being 'unconscious' or 'helplessly ignorant,' 'like infants'; the word occurs in a speech of Helen to Menelaus, who, speaking of the visit of Ulysses to Troy, says:

Τῷ ἴκελος κατέδυ Τρώων πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἀβακήσαν
πάντες.—Odyssey, δ. 249.

"Like unto this (sc. a beggar) he entered the city of the Trojans and they (other people) were unaware" (or 'like babies').

The derivation given is from the verb βαζω 'speak,' with the negative 'alpha,' that is, 'speechless (like a baby),' quâ 'in-fans'; other words with the same derivation, such as ἄβακης (adjective), ἀβακέως (adverb), ἀβακίζομαι, ἀβακήμων, all with the same general sense, are also quoted in Liddell and Scott's dictionary (*see* ἄβαξ). Ἄβαξ would thus in Greek mean 'speechless,' 'wordless,' or 'non-phonetic'—surely a very appropriate term for a 'silent' mode of calculation which superseded the phonetic 'aksharas.' The common Sanskrit term for the instrument seems to be *paṭhi*, which signifies 'a board' or 'calculating board'; but the exact derivation is not given with certainty in any dictionary which it has been possible to consult. The Hindi word seems also to signify primarily 'a board,' though it may have reference to lines or divisions. But this derivation is not quite clear. In Russia (where the introduction of the instrument is attributed to the Mongols) its name signifies a 'counting' or 'computing' board. These later etymologies, however, do not throw much light on the original character of the instrument.

came into use, the teachers of the sciences to which the use of numbers mainly pertained, always in ancient days more or less belonged to peculiar classes, whose interest it was not to vulgarize their knowledge, or needlessly to facilitate its acquisition by the outside public.

While admitting, however, the direct influence, up to the seventh century, of the *aksharas*, on the forms which the Indian numerals assumed, this did not (as has been before said), probably, altogether exclude the influences of other and especially of local circumstances. As a general rule, moreover, the forms borrowed last in point of time will be found to have been employed first in the west, and to have penetrated more slowly eastwards. Thus, the two contemporary dated edicts of Asóka, found in the East and West, exhibit differing forms for each one of the three ciphers of which the date consists; and in the Gupta period the figures on the silver coins intended for circulation in the West, differed materially from those found on the inscriptions, which occur chiefly in the East. Possibly, too, something may be due to dynastic or national influences, for the Gupta and Indo-Scythic forms introduced a few marked peculiarities.

Before quitting this part of the subject, which deals with the question of the origin of the Indian numeral signs, it will be expedient to mention one special set of symbols,[1] which, though of comparatively recent formation, is yet of peculiar interest, both as illustrating the bold method in which the Indians could 'manufacture' signs, and also because their existence explains certain anomalous forms still found in some of the modern systems of numerals.

These are a set of signs for 'one,' 'two,' 'three,' and 'four,' which have hitherto been found only on the coins of a dynasty of Hindu Kings of Kabul and of the Northern Panjab, who were contemporary with the earlier Mahomedan invaders of India.

These signs will be found set out in Fig. 6, Pl. II. The

[1] It was the recognition of the old mode of differentiation as employed in these which led to an examination of the principle of that method, which was the commencement of the inquiry on which this paper is founded.

whole set of numerals to which they belong is of importance, as regards the chain of descent of certain of the modern forms, in which they form an important link. The first four numerals alone have a special origin, which requires fuller elucidation in this place. It will be seen by Fig. 6, Pl. II., that they were obtained by differentiating the upright stroke, which was the ancient Bactrian symbol for 'one,' in order to obtain signs for 'two,' 'three,' and 'four,' exactly on the principle of the Indo-Egyptian method employed in the old Indian numeral system to distinguish the signs for two, three, and four *hundred*, from the sign of *one hundred*.[1] That is to say, the sign for 'one' took one spur mark on the right side to convert it into 'two'; a second spur stroke (not, however, joined to the body of the sign, but superimposed, probably for convenience of cursive writing, on the end of the first side stroke) converted the sign for two, into one for three. The addition of the old Sanskrit unit symbol for 'four' to the extremity of the last side stroke of the three, as used to express four hundred, converted this last into the sign for 'four.' These last two symbols exist in their original form only on one coin each respectively, but the 'four' is found passing through several stages, till it approaches the form of the earlier Arabic 'four,' of which it was the palpable prototype, as the others were of the one, two, and three of the Arabic system.[2]

It is not easy to say when these symbols were invented. The original Bactrian system of numerals certainly remained in use with the Bactrian alphabet even in the Punjab through the whole of the first century B.C., though how much later it lasted is not so evident. The novel system must have been invented when the Indian principle of notation replaced the Bactrian, for not only the mode of notation, but the actual symbols for the higher numbers are clearly taken from Indian originals; and it would seem probable that this importation

[1] The evidence (from coins) on which this statement is based will be the subject of a separate paper in the Numismatic Chronicle, in connection with the era to which the dates belong, which these figures are used to denote.

[2] There can be little doubt as will be explained in the Numismatic Chronicle that the Arabs obtained their numerals from *Kabul*.

took place while the Indians still employed the cumbrous group of single strokes for one, two and three. If the simple and cursive forms, later on adopted in India, had been then in use, the northern people would scarcely have been at the pains to invent less simple signs for themselves; and yet, as will be shown hereafter, the new signs for one, two and three were probably the earliest of the cursive signs employed in India. Possibly the invention just described may be assigned to a period between the beginning of the second century at the earliest, and the middle of the sixth century A.D., at latest.

References to Authorities for the Figures on Plate I.

Column A. The whole of this column is taken from Rossi's Grammatica Copto-Geroglifica, except the cipher for 100, copied from Pihan, Signes de Numeration, and Kminek Szeddo, Saggio Filologico.

Column B. This column is taken from Leon Rodet's transcript of the Rhind Papyrus (Journal Asiatique, series 7. vol. xvii.), which follows Eisenlohr's work on the mathematical papyri in the British Museum, except the last figure, which is taken from Pihan's Signes de Numeration.

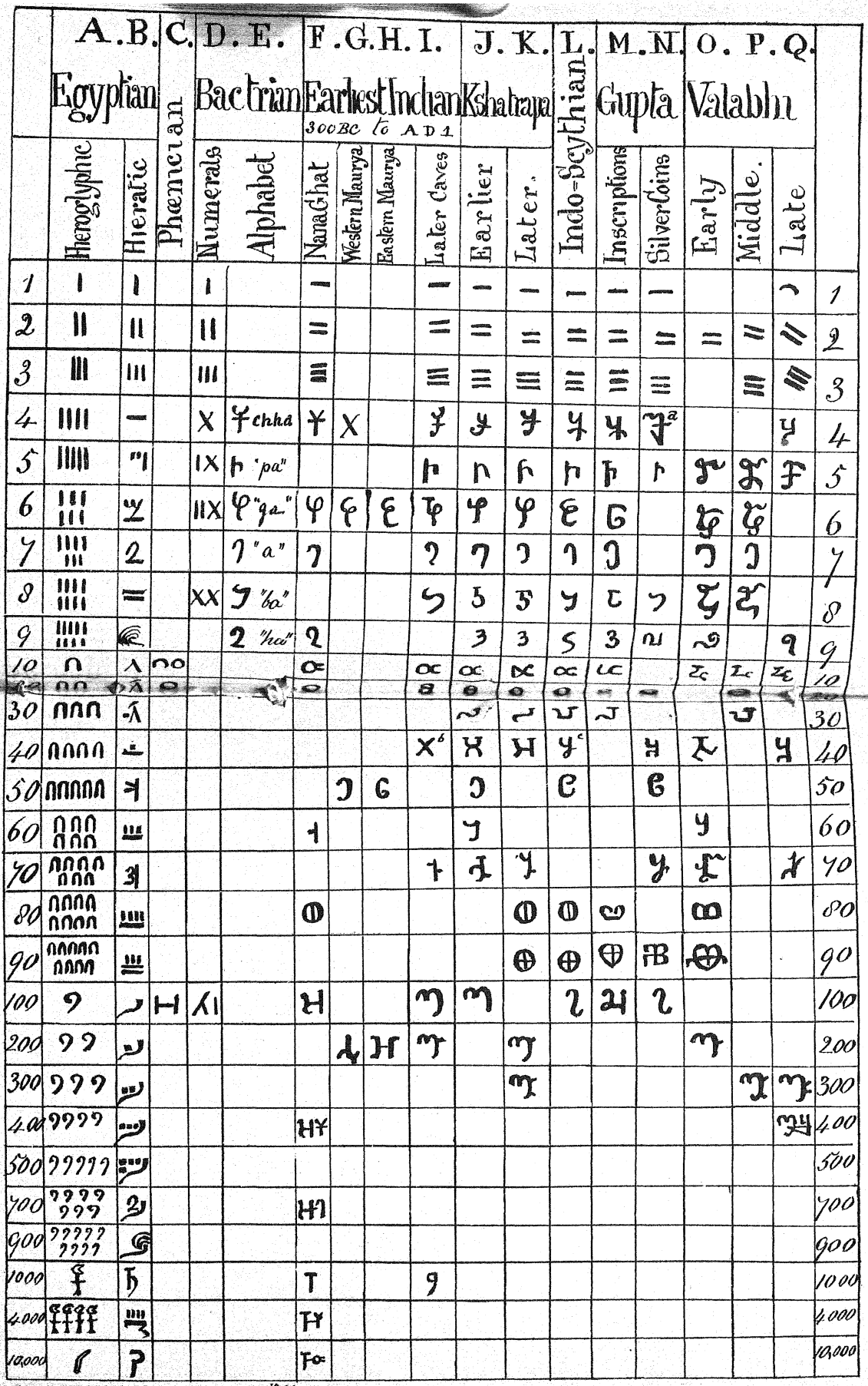
Column C. Pihan, Signes de Numeration; Gesenius, Phœn. Monumenta, pp. 85, 89, and pp. 164–5; De Luynes, Satrapies et Phénicie, Paris, 1846, p. 112, and p. 42.

Column D. Dowson on the Taxila Inscription, J.R.A.S. o.s. Vol. XX.; Cunningham, Arch. Survey of India, vol. v. pl. xvi.

Column E. Cunningham, Corpus Inscrip. Ind. Kapurdigiri Inscription, 1st Edict. *chh*, lines 1 and 2; *p*, line 1; *g*, lines 9 and 10; *a*, line 1; *b*, line 7; *h*, line 7.

Column F. Pandit Bhagwánlál Indraji, Indian Antiquary, vol. vi. pp. 44, 45.

Columns G. and H. Cunningham, Corpus Inscript. Ind. Sasseram and Rupnath Inscriptions; also photograph of Rupnath Inscrip. Bühler, "Three new Edicts of Asóka."


A.B.
Egyptian
Hieroglyphic
Hieratic
C.
Phœnician
D. E.
Bactrian
Numerals
Alphabet
F. G. H. I.
Earliest Indian
300 BC to AD 1
Nanaghat
Western Maurya
Eastern Maurya
Later Caves
J. K.
Kshatrapa
Earlier
Later.
L.
Indo-Scythian.
M. N.
Gupta
Inscriptions
Silver Coins
O. P. Q.
Valabhi
Early
Middle.
Late
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
200
300
400
500
700
900
1000
4,000
10,000

Column I.

1. Karlé cave, No. 15. Burgess, Memorandum, No. x. on Cave Temple Inscription, p. 30. Photograph.
2. do. do. p. 36, Karle caves, No. 20. Photograph.
3. As for '2.'
4. do.
5. do. do. p. 44, Junár Inscription, No. 9. do.
6. do. do. do. do. No. 25. do.
7. As for '1.' do.
8. J.R.A.S. Bombay, vol. vii. Nasik Ins., No. 17, also 25, line 6.
9. do. do. vol. v. do. do. No. 2, line 1.
10. As for 5.
20. Burgess's Memorand. No. x. p. 34; Karlé Caves Ins. No. 34, Photograph.
40. do. do. Junár Ins. No. 25, and Nasik Ins. No. 16; J.R.A.S. Bombay, vol. viii. pp. 228-29, and vol. vii. p. 52.
70. do. Ushwadatta's Ins. Nasik Cave, No. 16.
100. J.R.A.S. Bo. vol. v. Nasik cave 2; vol. vii. Ins. Cave, No. 21.
200. do. do. do. do. do. No. 26.
1000. do. do. do. No. 16. do. do. No. 16.

Column J. Earlier Kshatrapah.[1]

1. My coin of Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dama, dat. 141.
2. do. do. do. dat. 112 (also Junagarh Ins. J.R.A.S. Bomb. vol. vii. p. 118).
3. do. do. dat. 103.
4. Coin of Damajáta Sriyah, Thomas's facsimile from Dr. Stevenson's coin, dat. 154.
5. My coin of Damajáta Sriyah, dat. 155.
6. Coin of Vijaya Séna, Thomas's facsimile from Stevenson's coin, dat. 166.
7. Jasdan Ins. J.R.A.S. Bomb. vol. vii. p. 234.
8. My coin of Rudra Séna, son of Rudra Sinha, dat. 138.
9. do. do. of Vijaya Séna, dat. 169.
10. My coin of Rudra Séna, son of Rudra Sinha, dat. 112.
20. do. do. do. dat. 122.
30. As '8.'
40. My coin of Rudra Séna, son of Rudra Sinha, dat. 140.
50. do. do of Damajata Sriyah, dat. 155.
100. As '5.'

[1] The division between the earlier and later Kshatrapahs is taken, somewhat arbitrarily perhaps, at the close of the reign of Rudra Séna, son of Vira Dama, whose dates extend to 198.

Column K. Later Kshatrapah.

1. My coin of Swami Rudra Séna, son of Swami Rudra Damna,
2. do. do. do. dat. 272.
3. do. do. Rudra Séna, son of Vira Damna, dat. 183.
4. Coin belonging to Capt. Temple of do. do. dat. 184.
5. My coin of Swami Rudra Séna, son of Swami Rudra Damna, dat. 295.
6. My coin of Rudra Séna, son of Vira Damna, dat. 186.
7. do. Swami Rudra Séna, son of Swami Rudra Damna.
8. do. do. do. do. dat. 298.
9. do. Atri Damna, son of Rudra Séna.
10. My coin of Atri Damna, son of Rudra Séna, dat. 213.
20. do. Viswa Sinha, son of Atri Damna, dat. 22.
40. do. Asa Damna, son of Rudra Séna, dat. 243.
70. do. Swami Rudra Séna, son of Swami Rudra Damna, dat. 272.
80. do. do. do. do. dat. 286.
90. do. do. do. do. dat. 298.
200. do. do. do. do. do.
300. do. do. do. do. dat. 300.

Column L.

1. Cunningham, Arch. Survey of India, vol. iii. pl. xiii. figs. 2, 4, 6, and pl. xiv. fig. 9.
2. Cunningham, Arch. Survey of India, vol. iii. pl. xiv. fig. 9.
3. do. do. do. vol. iii. pl. xiv. fig. 9, pl. xv. fig. 17.
4. do. do. do. do. pl. xv. fig. 8.
5. do. do. do. do. pl. xiii. figs. 2, 3.
6. do. do. do. do. pl. xiv. fig. 14.
7. do. do. do. do. pl. xiv. figs. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.
8. do. do. do. do. pl. xv. fig. 20.
9. do. do. do. do. pl. xiv. fig. 23.
10. do. do. do. pl. xiii. fig. 2 and 6, and pl. xiv. fig. 9.
20. do. do. do. do. pl. xiii. figs. 3 and 7.
30. do. do. do. do. pl. xv. fig. 8.
40. do. do. vol. iii. pl. xv. fig. 8, and pl. xiv. fig. 11, 12, 13, 14.
50. Growse on Mathura Ins. Ind. Antiquary, vol. vi. p. 219, fig. 11.
80. Cunningham, Arch. Survey of India, vol. iii. pl. xv. figs. 16, 17, 18.
90. do. do. do. vol. iii. pl. xv. figs. 19 and 20.
100. do. do. do. do. pl. xiv. fig. 14.

Column M.

1. Chandra Gupta Ins. Udayagiri, Cunningham, Arch. Survey, vol. x. p. 19.
2. do. do. fig. 1.

3, 4, and 5, as 1.

6 and 7. From Pandit Bhagwán Lál Indraji's facsimiles in Indian Antiquary, vol. vi. pp. 44 and 45.

8. Ins. at Bitha, Cunningham, Arch. Survey, vol. xi. pl. iv. p. 2; also at Garhwa, vol. x. pl. v.

9. Pandit Bhagwán Lál's facsimiles, Ind. Ant. vol. vi. pp. 44 and 45; also Cunningham, Arch. Survey, vol. x. pl. iv. fig. 2.

10. Cunningham, Arch. Survey, vol. x. pl. iv.; also vol. iii. pl. iv. fig. 1.

20. do. do. vol. x. pl. iv. fig. 2.

30. do. do. vol. iii. pl. xx. fig. 1.

80. do. do. do. do.

90. do. do. vol. x. pl. v. fig. 1.

100. do. do. do. pl. iv. fig. 2.

Column N.

1. Coin of Kumára Gupta, Thomas's transcription.

2. My coin of Skanda Gupta, dat. 142.

4. Coin of Skanda Gupta, Cunningham, Arch. Survey, vol. ix. pl. v. fig. 9, dat. 144; second from coin of Buddha Gupta, dat. 174, vol. ix. pl. v. fig. 13.

5. Thomas's facsimile.

8. do. do.

9. do. do.

20. do. do. as No. 1.

40. My coin of Skanda Gupta, dat. 142.

50. Coin of Toramana, Cunningham, Arch. Survey, vol. ix. pl. v. fig. 18.

70. do. of Buddha Gupta, as 2nd form of 4.

90. My coin of Bakra (Chandra?) Gupta. Indian Antiquary vol. vi. for 1877, p. 57.

100. As 4.

Column O. Early Valabhi.[1]

2. Grant of Dhárasena II. Ind. Ant. vol. vi. (photograph made by Dr. Bühler in my possession).

5. do. do. Ind. Ant. vol. viii. for 1879, p. 301. Photograph.

6. do. Guhasena, Ind. Ant. vol. iv. for 1875, p. 174. Photograph by Dr. Bühler in my possession, also grant of Siladitya I., J.R.A.S. Bombay, vol. xi. p. 311.

[1] The Valabhi dates extend over a period of about 240 years. These dates give three nearly equal periods of about 80 years, say from 206 to 290 (Valabhi), 290 to 365, and 365 to 447; the first period terminating with the reign of Siladitya I., and the third commencing with that of Siladitya III.

7.	Grant of	Dhruvaséna I.,	Ind. Ant.	vol. v. 1876, p. 204.	Phot.
8.	do.	Siladitya I.	do.	ix. 1881, p. 239.	do.
9.	do.	Dharaséna I.	do.	do.	do.
10.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
40.	do.	Guhaséna	do.	v. 1876, p. 207.	do.
60.	do.	do.	do.	vi. 1877, p. 9.	do.
70.	do.	do.	do.	vii. 1878, p. 73.	do.
80.	do.	Siladitya I., J.R.A.S. Bombay, vol. ii. end.			
90.	do.	do.	Ind. Ant.	vol. ix. 1880, p. 239.	Phot.
200.	do.	Dháraséna I.	do.	v. 1876, p. 204.	do.

Column P. Middle Valabhi.

3.	Grant of	Dháraséna IV.,	Ind. Ant.	vii. 1878, p. 900.	Phot.
5.	do.	Dhruvaséna II.	do.	vi. 1877, p. 15.	do.
6.	do.	Dháraséna IV.	do.	1872, pp. 16 and 64.	do.
7.	do.	Kháragriha II.	do.	vii. 1878, p. 78.	do.
8.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
10.	do.	Dhruvaséna II.	do.	vi. 1877, p. 17.	do.
20.	do.	Dháraséna IV.	do.	i. 1872, pp. 16, 64.	do.
30.	do.	Dháraséna IV.	do.	vii. 1878, p. 94.	do.
200.	do.	Dhruvaséna II.	do.	vi. 1877, p. 15.	do.

Column Q. Later Valabhi.

1.	Grant of	Siladitya V.,	Ind. Ant.	vol. vi. 1877, p. 19.	do.
2.	do.	Siladitya III.	do.	v. 1876, p. 211.	do.
3.	do.	Siladitya IV., J.R.A.S. Bombay, vol. xi. p. 311.			
4.	do.	Siladitya V.,	Ind. Ant.	vi. 1877, p. 19.	Phot.
5.	do.	Siladitya V.	do.	vi. 1877, p. 19.	do.
10.	do.	Siladitya IV. J.R.A.S. Bombay, vol. xi. p. 311.			
40.	do.	Siladitya V.	Ind. Ant.	vi. 1877, p. 19.	Phot.
70.	do.	Siladitya III.	do.	v. 1876, p. 211.	do.
300.	do.	Siladitya III.	do.	do.	do.
400.	do.	Siladitya IV. J.R.A.S. Bombay, vol. xi. p. 311.			

ART. XXIII.—*The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, deciphered and translated.* By A. H. SAYCE.

IT is now more than half a century ago that the existence of inscriptions written in the Cuneiform character, and found in different parts of Armenia, first became known. The French Professor, Saint-Martin, in 1823, gave an account in the *Journal Asiatique* of the antiquities of Van, and drew attention to the fact that the Armenian historian, Moses of Khorene, has described them in such detail as to make it probable he had seen them with his own eyes. In the curious romance, compiled partly from the Old Testament, partly from the legends of Greek writers, partly from the names of localities, which was made to take the place of the forgotten early history of Armenia, these monuments were ascribed to Semiramis, to whom Van was imagined to owe its foundation. Saint-Martin concluded that some of them, at any rate, must still be in existence, and at his instigation, therefore, a young scholar from Hesse, Prof. Fr. Ed. Schulz, was sent by the French Government to Armenia, in 1826, in order to examine them. In 1828, accordingly, Van and its neighbourhood were thoroughly explored by Schulz, who succeeded in discovering and copying no less than forty-two Cuneiform inscriptions. Considering his utter ignorance of both the language and the character, the accuracy of his copies is really wonderful. They were published in the *Journal Asiatique* (3rd ser. vol. ix. No. 52) in 1840, but the unfortunate discoverer never returned home, having been murdered in 1829 by a Kurdish chief, along with several officers of the Shah of Persia. His papers were subsequently recovered from the Prince of Julamerk. Three of the inscriptions turned out to belong to the Persian king Xerxes, and to be composed, like other Akhæmenian inscriptions, in the three languages of Persia, Babylonia, and

Elymais.[1] The remaining thirty-nine were written in a special syllabary and in a language unlike any found elsewhere. An inscription in the same language and syllabary, however, was discovered in 1840 in quite a different part of the country. It was found by a Prussian officer, Capt. von Mühlbach, a little to the west of Malatiyeh, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, between Isoglu and Kömürhan. The rock on which it is engraved is close to the village of Isoglu, and consequently more than 250 miles westward of Van. The inscription was published in the *Monatsberichte über die Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, vol. i. pp. 70–75, as well as in the *Original Papers read before the Syro-Egyptian Society of London*, i. 1, pp. 131 *sq.*, where it is accompanied by "Remarks" by Prof. Grotefend, who laid in them "the first foundation for the future interpretation of the Wedge Inscription discovered on the Upper Euphrates," and corrected Lassen's opinion that the Vannic inscriptions belonged to very early Assyrian kings. Another inscription of the same class was subsequently discovered, in 1847, by Sir A. H. Layard, at Palu, carved high up on the face of a cliff, on the summit of which are the ruined remains of an ancient castle. Palu stands on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, midway between Kharput and Mush, and on the road between Malatiyeh and Van, from which it is about 180 miles distant.

In the same year the first attempt to read the inscriptions was made by Dr. Hincks, whom no problem in decipherment ever seemed to baffle. Two papers were read by him "On the Inscriptions of Van," before the Royal Asiatic Society, Dec. 4th, 1847, and March 4th, 1848, and published shortly afterwards in the Society's *Journal* (Vol. IX. pp. 387–449).

[1] The close resemblance, as regards both the forms of the characters and the dialect they express, between the inscriptions found in the 2nd column of the Akhæmenian texts, and at Mal Amir in Susiania, led me in 1874 (*Tr. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vol. iii. p. 2) to state my conviction that the so-called Skythic or Protomedic was really the old language of south-western Elymais. The discovery that Kyros and his predecessors were kings of Anzan rather than of Persia, has confirmed this belief, since Anzan was the native name of the district in question, and the fact that it was the original kingdom of Kyros would sufficiently explain the prominence given to its language in the inscriptions of Darius and his successors.

The Persian Cuneiform inscriptions had now been made out, the decipherment of the Assyrian texts had been begun, and Grotefend, in the "Remarks" mentioned above, had compared the inscription of Malatiyeh with those copied by Schulz at Van. The acumen and success with which Hincks pushed his researches is, however, surprising. He determined the values of a considerable part of the characters, and in this way settled the phonetic powers of several characters in the inscriptions of Nineveh which had not previously been known. He endeavoured to translate portions of the inscriptions, and actually made out not only the meaning of ideographs like those denoting 'people' or 'city,' but even the signification of one or two words. Thus he showed that the suffix *-khini* denoted the patronymic, *Isbuini-khini-s*, for example, being 'the son of Isbuinis,' and that the frequently-recurring word *ada* or *adae* signified 'he says.' He also pointed out that the suffix *-s* represented the nominative both singular and plural, that the accusative singular was expressed by the suffix *-ni* (or, as he read it, *n*), and that the suffix *-di* in the singular corresponds to *-(a)ste* in the plural. He thus had the merit of recognizing that the language of the inscriptions was inflectional, though the inference he drew, that it was Aryan, was a false one. He was no doubt right, however, as we shall see later, in inferring that in the nominative was pronounced simply *s* and not syllabically *se*, and it is very probable that he was also right in reading as *nin* rather than *nini*. He further noticed that the way in which the characters are engraved is of itself a test of the age of an inscription. In all the later inscriptions a wedge which ought properly to intersect another is divided into two parts (, for example, instead of) in order to prevent the stone from breaking at the point of intersection; whereas the inscriptions of the two earliest kings, Sarduris I. and Isbuinis, as well as a few of Menuas, the son of the latter, do not observe this rule, but follow the Assyrian practice of allowing one wedge to run across another. The syllabary, however, was still but incompletely determined, and the royal names were read by

Hincks Niriduris, Skuina, Kinuas, and Arrasnis. But before the publication of Layard's "Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon," ch. xviii., Hincks had corrected these erroneous readings, and the names accordingly appear as Milidduris, Ishpuinish, Minuas, and Argistis. Of these, the first only is incorrect.

Soon after the publication of Hincks's memoirs, M. de Saulcy published a short pamphlet of 44 pages entitled "Recherches sur l'écriture cunéiforme assyrienne : inscriptions de Van" (1848), and the Vannic inscriptions were noticed by Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII. p. 475 (1850).

Meanwhile the Hon. F. Walpole had discovered a new Vannic inscription when travelling from Van to Erzerûm in 1850. It was engraved on the broken shaft of a column outside the church of Patnos (Patnotz) between Sulimbak and Melasgerd on the north side of Lake Van. He heard of other similar inscriptions existing in the neighbouring village of Kayelk, but illness unfortunately prevented him from visiting them.[1] An inscription of Menuas, recording the restoration of a palace, has also been found near Erzerûm, at Hassan Kalâa, the ancient Theodosiopolis, by de Saulcy, and published in his *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, pl. ii. 1.

After the publication of Hincks's paper, little was done for many years towards the decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions. In 1864, however, four new ones were published in the Travels of Nerses Sarkisian, a book written in Armenian and published at Venice (Nos. 4, 5, 7 and 8). Besides these, Nerses Sarkisian published four others which had already been copied by Schulz (No. 1=29 of Schulz, No. 2=27 of Schulz, No. 3=28 of Schulz, No. 6=12 of Schulz). Two more were brought before the notice of European scholars by Prof. Friedrich Müller in 1870 (*Bemerkungen über zwei armenische Keilinschriften*, Vienna); one of which had been discovered by the Vartabed, Mesrob Sempadian, at Tsolagerd near Edshmiadzin, and published in the September number for 1870 of a Journal entitled *Ararat* which appeared at

[1] *The Ansayrii*, vol. ii. pp. 151-2 (1851).

Edshmiadzin. It turns out to be identical with an inscription found by Kästner on the right bank of the Araxes opposite Armavir, and published in the *Mélanges asiatiques* of the Academy of S. Petersburg, vol. v. p. 117. Another inscription, unfortunately much mutilated, from the neighbourhood of Erzerûm, was communicated to M. Lenormant by the Armenian priests of the Collége Mourat at Paris.

M. Lenormant himself once more resumed the task of decipherment which had been dropped by Hincks. In his *Lettres assyriologiques*, vol. i. 1871 (pp. 113–164), he gave a sketch of early Armenian history and geography according to the Assyrian monuments, and at the same time attempted to determine the grammatical forms and meanings of certain words in the Vannic inscriptions. Sir H. Rawlinson had already pointed out that the proto-Armenians of Van were in no way Aryans and that the Alarodians of Herodotus (iii. 94, vii. 79), the Iberians of other writers, probably represent the Urardhians, or people of Ararat, of the Assyrian texts. M. Lenormant now went a step further and tried to show that the language of the Vannic inscriptions, which he proposed to call Alarodian, belonged to a family of speech of which the modern Georgian is the best-known representative. It is certainly a fact that the Georgians once extended much further to the south than they do at present, and are at the same time the nearest existing non-Aryan population to the locality in which the non-Aryan inscriptions of Van are found. It is also a fact that the general structure of the Vannic language agrees most remarkably with that of Georgian; both are inflectional, though not in the same way as either Aryan or Semitic, while some of the grammatical terminations as well as roots seem to be the same in both.

M. Lenormant, moreover, was the first to point out that the suffix *-bi* denoted the first person singular of the verb, that the possessive adjective ended in *-naue* ("Georgian: *ani*"), and that *parubi* signified 'I carried away.'

At this point the problem was taken up by the late Dr. A. D. Mordtmann. In 1872 he published a long and elaborate examination of the inscriptions in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen*

morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. xxvi. pt. 3, 4, under the title, "Entzifferung und Erklärung der armenischen Keilinschriften von Van und der Umgegend," and five years later followed it up by an additional article on the subject in the same periodical (*Z. D. M. G.* vol. xxxi. pt. 2, 3, 1877). Dr. Mordtmann transliterated and analyzed all the inscriptions, adding a running commentary and a most useful index of the words met with in them. He also determined the meaning of twelve new words: *adaki* 'some' or 'partly,' *ui* 'and,' *asgubi* 'I sacked,' *sušini* 'buildings,' *udaes* 'that,' *ini* 'this,' *siubi* 'I led away,' *tarsua* and *khuradia* 'soldiers,' *kurūni* 'given,' *zadubi* 'I have made,' and *zasgubi* 'I have slain,' and further suggested that *ada* meant 'and.' But he failed to do more, partly because of a false theory, partly through giving incorrect values to a considerable number of the characters. His false theory was the assumption that the Vannic language was not only Aryan, but Armenian, and that it was only necessary to turn to an Armenian dictionary to discover the meaning of every word in the inscriptions. He forgot that, even granting the language to be an early form of Armenian speech, it would still have been impossible to recover the signification of its words by simply consulting a dictionary of modern Armenian, without tracing the past history of the Armenian language and the changes undergone by its phonology. But the early Armenian dialect discovered by Mordtmann in the Vannic inscriptions is, as Hübschmann has remarked (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxiii. pp. 46-48, 1877), no Armenian at all in any period of its history, and Mordtmann himself, with all the phonetic and philological licence he allowed himself, was obliged to confess "that in the use of grammatical forms an almost limitless capriciousness prevails, so that not only in similarly formed phrases, but even in the use of the very same words wholly different flections are employed, which makes it impossible, at all events at present, to formulate strict rules." A theory which compels such a confession to be made stands self-condemned. Without a grammar no decipherment is possible, and until we are able to compile one, it is clear that our efforts

to interpret the language have met with no success. But even had Mordtmann's theory been correct, the erroneous values he assigned to a large number of the characters would have caused his attempt at interpretation to be a failure. I have given a list of most of these in an article in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* (vol. xxiii. pp. 407-409, 1877), in which I criticized his method and conclusions, and pointed out that *alšui-si-ni*, which he made to signify 'gracious,' and misread *vasuisini*, really means 'multitudinous' or 'all.' Among his false readings may be mentioned *kam* and *kham* for *ul*, *gan* for *khi-ni*, *kur* for *tar*, *tu* for *ku*, *na* for *khi*, *maz* for *khal*, *an* for *dha*, *zi* for *se*, and *hu* for *su*, while many of the ideographs found in the inscriptions were wholly misconceived, the determinative prefix of 'stone,' for example, being resolved into *ni-za*, the ideograph of 'lord' being supposed to mean the god Nebo, and the ideograph of 'tablet' a gate or public building. In fact, Mordtmann was but slightly acquainted with Assyrian and the Assyrian syllabary, and since the Vannic system of writing is entirely borrowed from that of Assyria, it is not wonderful that his attempt to explain it was unsuccessful. It thus becomes intelligible how he could transform a purely Assyrian inscription, that of Sarduris I., the son of Lutipri, into a Vannic one, and endeavour to extract its signification out of the pages of a modern Armenian dictionary. His geographical identifications aptly illustrate his whole method of working. Countries and towns are assigned to definite localities, merely because the names given to them in the inscriptions have a somewhat similar sound to those occurring in modern maps, or in the classical geographers, and as so many of the characters are misread, even this faint resemblance frequently does not exist. It is characteristic of him that he changes the name of the god Khaldis into that of the goddess Anaitis, thus misreading the character ➤➤, on the ground that Anaitis was a leading deity among the Aryan Armenians of the Persian and Greek periods, while the name of the goddess, which the Assyrian inscriptions show us was pronounced Sara or Sar, is transformed into Bagri for a similar reason.

Arbitrary and incorrect as Mordtmann was, however, he added something to our knowledge of the Vannic language, and by classifying and analyzing the inscriptions rendered the work of decipherment easier for those who came after him. The first who followed him did neither. Dr. Louis de Robert, in a volume published in 1876, and entitled, *Etude philologique sur les Inscriptions cunéiformes de l'Arménie*, undertook to prove that the inscriptions were in Semitic Assyrian! As might have been expected, he proved only that he knew neither Assyrian in particular nor the Semitic languages in general. On every page he displays an utter ignorance of the first elements of Assyrian decipherment. Characters which are used phonetically he turns into ideographs, and assigns meanings to them which they never bore. Where other means fail, a character is divided into two; 'a tablet,' for instance, is translated 'quatuor, tria'! It need hardly be said that the grammar he finds in the inscriptions is still less Assyrian or Semitic than the grammar which Mordtmann finds in them is Aryan. In fact, Dr. de Robert undertook a most difficult task without first preparing himself for it by the study of Assyrian. He states that the inscriptions given in his book had been copied by himself, but they are usually less correct than the copies of Schulz.

A year or two after the appearance of this philological curiosity some interesting bronze objects were discovered in the neighbourhood of Lake Van, and procured for the British Museum by Sir A. H. Layard. Among them are the representation of a fortress and the figure of a winged bull with human head, which, though made after an Assyrian model, has peculiarities of its own. Along with these objects a bronze shield was found, bearing the name of Ruśas, and thus, as we shall see, fixing their date. The palace from which they were brought has since been excavated by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, who has found there fragments of other inscribed shields.[1]

[1] These are not the first bronze objects obtained from Van. A bronze solar disk of remarkable form, and resembling the solar disk of Hittite art, discovered in the neighbourhood of Van, is figured in the *Mélanges asiatiques de l'Acad. de S. Pétersbourg*, vol. vi. pp. 486, etc. It bears a curious resemblance to a human-headed and winged solar disk of bronze found at Olympia (*Archäologische Zeitung*, 37. 4, p. 181; 1879), as well as to two similar ones found at Palestrina or Præneste (*Mon. dell' Instituto*, 1876 and 1879).

Mr. Rassam, and subsequently, in 1881, Captain Clayton, have also sent to England squeezes of several inscriptions, some of which were previously unknown. The value of these squeezes need not be pointed out, since they enable the Cuneiform scholar, who has no opportunity of seeing the originals, to examine, for the first time, the exact forms of the Vannic characters.

Sir A. H. Layard had already visited Armenia in 1850, at the time when he was excavating in Assyria, and had there made copies of the inscriptions in Van and its immediate neighbourhood. His copies, which have never been published, are extremely valuable, as they are much more accurate than those of Schulz, and not unfrequently clear up a doubtful passage in the latter. Among them, moreover, are several inscriptions which Schulz did not see; among these may be mentioned the two belonging to Argistis from the church of Surp Sahak (Nos. xlv. and xlvi.), which contain much interesting historical and philological matter, and above all the second Assyrian inscription of Sarduris I. (No. i.). Inscriptions in the Vannic character now began to be noticed to the north and east of Armenia. I have already referred to that copied by Kästner, near the ruins of Armavir: three others were found by the Vartabed Mesrob Sempadian in Georgia (at Alichalu, S.E. of Lake Erivan, at Elarh in the same neighbourhood, and at a spot to the north of Eranos the ancient Tsag), and published by him in an Armenian journal appearing at Moskow under the title of *Le Nouvelliste russe* (Nos. 37*a* (1862), 45, and 53*a* (1863)). Another inscription was discovered by Kästner at Kalinsha, near Alexandropol (No. xlvii.), and published in the *Mélanges asiatiques de l'Acad. de S. Pétersbourg*, vol. iv. p. 675. It is much to be desired that his example would be followed by Russian *savans;* an archæological congress which meets at Tiflis, for example, might well despatch a commission to take photographs and squeezes of the Cuneiform inscriptions found within Russian territory before they become wholly illegible. A correct copy of the inscription of Alichalu (No. lv.), which seems of considerable historical importance, could easily be made. But it

was not in Georgia only that the monuments of the Vannic kings were found to exist. As early as 1838 Sir H. Rawlinson had visited the Cuneiform inscription of Tash Tepéh, near Chillik, on the Tatáu, southward of Lake Urumiyeh, and found it to consist of twenty-one lines of writing (*Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* vol. x. p. 12). A faded photograph of it is now in the Asiatic Museum at St. Petersburg, and a squeeze, which seems to have been lost, was sent by Dr. Blau in 1858 to the Museum of the German Oriental Society at Halle (*Z.D.M.G.* vol. xiii. p. 259). Westward of Tash Tepéh, in the pass of Kelishin, 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, and not far from Ushneï, Sir H. Rawlinson visited another Cuneiform inscription of forty-one lines engraved on a column of stone (*Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, p. 21). A cast of this was sent to Halle along with the squeeze of the Tash Tepéh inscription by Dr. Blau, through the hands of Prof. Rödiger, but it was unfortunately broken upon the journey. It had previously been copied by Schulz, but the copy was lost after his murder at Julamerk. Khanykow also took a cast of it (in 1852), which was destroyed on its way home, and a squeeze in 1853. Five hours from the pass, according to Rawlinson, "there is a precisely similar pillar, denominated also Keli-Shín, upon the summit of the second range, which overlooks the town and district of Sídek. This also is engraved with a long Cuneiform inscription; and as it is said to be in far better preservation than the one at Ushneï, it would be very desirable to examine and copy it." The inscription, which is about five miles eastward of Rowendiz, was subsequently (in 1853) visited by Dr. H. Lobdell, an American missionary (*Z.D.M.G.* vol. viii. p. 602). Rawlinson also discovered two similar pillars at Keli-Sipan, on the Little Zab, but without inscriptions. Brosset was the first to point out that all these inscriptions were in the Vannic character, and probably recorded the military expeditions of the Vannic kings (*Mélanges asiatiques de l'Acad. de S. Pétersbourg*, vols. iii. and vi.).

While Mr. Rassam was adding to our knowledge of the inscriptions contained in the Vannic kingdom itself, M. Stanislas Guyard had made an important discovery, which was

announced in the *Journal Asiatique*, May-June, 1880. The occurrence of the ideograph denoting 'a tablet' in a long phrase, which is repeated at the end of a good many of the inscriptions, had led him to conclude that the phrase in question represented the imprecatory formula found in the same place in Assyrian as well as Akhæmenian Persian inscriptions. An examination of the words contained in the phrase soon showed that his conjecture was right. An important assistance was thus obtained towards the decipherment of the inscriptions, since the length of the passage not only added a number of new words to the list of those whose meaning was already known, but also helped considerably towards the reconstruction of Vannic grammar.

I had myself been working for some years at the inscriptions, and the method which had enabled M. Guyard to make his discovery had already revealed to me the meaning of several other phrases occurring in them. With the help derived from these I was able to determine the signification of the words which M. Guyard did not attempt to explain in the phrase whose general sense he had discovered. The ideographs so freely employed by the Vannic scribes had already showed me that not only the characters but the style and phraseology of the inscriptions were those of the Assyrian texts of the time of Assur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser II. I believe, therefore, that I have at last solved the problem of the Vannic inscriptions and succeeded in deciphering them, thereby compiling both a grammar and a vocabulary of the language in which they are written. Owing to the number of texts, their close adherence to their Assyrian models, and the plentiful use of ideographs, it will be found that the passages and words which still resist translation are but few, and that in some instances their obscurity really results from the untrustworthiness of the copies of them which we possess.

I shall first deal with the geography, history and theology of the Vannic population so far as they can be recovered from the Assyrian or the native inscriptions, and then give an account of the mode of writing and a sort of *grammaire raisonnée* of the language, each grammatical form being proved

by a comparison of the texts. Next will follow an analysis and translation of the inscriptions, arranged chronologically and furnished with notes, an index of all the words and proper names contained in them concluding the memoir.

§ I. 1. The Geography of the Inscriptions.

The sites on which the Vannic inscriptions have been discovered sufficiently indicate the locality to which those who composed them belonged. They are mostly found either in the city of Van itself or in its immediate neighbourhood. It is evident, therefore, that the kings who caused them to be engraved had their capital at that city, and that their power extended over the country which forms the shores of Lake Van. Their kingdom lay mostly on the eastern and north-eastern shores of the lake, few monumental remains of Vannic power existing on the southern shore, while the monuments that are met with on the western side are rather records of invasion or temporary conquest than of permanent occupation. The same must also be said of the monuments northward of Mount Ararat and the Araxes, and in the neighbourhood of Lake Erivan. Roughly speaking, therefore, the region now represented by the vilayet of Van, or rather the district bordered on the north by the Ala-Dagh, on the east by the Kotûr range, and on the south by the Erdesh Dagh, formed the kingdom of the early Vannic monarchs. The country is called Biaina or Biana in the inscriptions, and the name given to its capital, the present Van, is Dhuspās or Dhuspaes. The latter is evidently the *Θωσπία* of Ptolemy (v. 13, 19; viii. 19, 12), the Tosp of Moses of Khorene, which we are told was the older name of Van. Hence the lake is called Thôspitis in Ptolemy (v. 13, 7), and Thôpitis in Strabo (xi. p. 529).

The name Biaina is not met with in the Assyrian inscriptions. On the other hand, the Assyrian kings frequently mention the Mannai, the Minni of the Old Testament (Jer. li.

27), the Minyas of Nicolaus Damascenus,[1] and the resemblance of this name to that of Van has led to the common assumption by Assyrian scholars that the Mannai of the Assyrian monuments were the inhabitants of the Biaina of the Vannic texts. But a careful examination of the passages in which the Mannai are mentioned shows that this assumption is erroneous. Shalmaneser II. (Lay. *Inscr.* 96, 161–173), in describing his march northward from Khupuscia, which adjoined the northern frontier of Assyria, and represented the classical Corduena, states that he successively traversed the countries of Khupuscia, the Madakhirai, the Mannai with their capital city Zirtu or Izirtu, Kharru and Surdira, and finally Parśuas. Now Parśuas occupied the south-western shores of Lake Urumiyeh, from which, therefore, the territory of the Mannai could not have been far distant. Samas-Rimmon, again (W.A.I. i. 30; ii. 37–40), in describing the same line of march, makes the districts successively traversed those of the Khupuscians, the Śunbians, the Mannians (written Manai), and the Parśuans. Here the place of the Madakhirai is taken by the Śunbai, and the Parśuai are placed next to the Manai. Finally, Sargon (Botta, 145, 24), starting from the land of the Zimri, or Kurdistan, passed first through Ellip, in the neighbourhood of Hamadan, and then, turning northward, through Bit-Khamban, Parśua, the Mannai, Urardhu (Armenia), and the Kaskai or Kolkhians. In the time of Sargon, therefore, the Mannai still adjoined the Parśuai, while their northern frontier touched that of the Urardhians, who, as we know from the Assyrian records, had been extending their territory in that direction. It is clear that the Mannai had nothing to do with Lake Van, but on the contrary lived on the south-western shore of Lake Urumiyeh. As we shall see, 'the land of Mana,' mentioned in the Vannic inscriptions as overrun by Menuas, Argistis, and Sarduris II., is placed in the same locality.

[1] Ap. Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 3, Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* 9. According to the local tradition, the ark had rested on Mount Baris above Minyas. Baris is the Lubar of the Book of Jubilees (ch. 5), which Epiphanius (*Adv. Hær.* i. 5) makes the boundary between Armenia and the Kurds (see Syncell. *Chronog.* p. 147; G. Cedrenus, *Comp. Hist.* p. 20).

The name under which the kingdom of the Vannic princes really goes in the Assyrian inscriptions is that of Urardhu or Ararat. It is first mentioned by Assur-natsir-pal (Layard's *Inscr.* i. 9), who describes his conquests as extending "from the sources of the Supnat" or Sebbene-Su "to the country of Urardhu." From his annals, however, it would appear that he never actually penetrated as far as the latter district, unless Arardu (W. A. I. i. 18, 61) is the same name as Urardhu. After leaving Kirruru, which bordered on Khupuscia, Assur-natsir-pal entered Kirkhi of Bitanu, and there captured "the cities of Khataru, Nistun, Irbid, Mitcia, Arzania (Arzanionum oppidum in Arzanene), Tela and Khalua, cities dependent on the powerful countries of Uśu, Arua and Arardu." As the sources of the Supnat, where Assur-natsir-pal imitated his predecessors Tiglath-Pileser I. and Tiglath-Adar by erecting an image of himself, are made the western terminus of his conquests in the north, we may gather that the land of Urardhu began on the northern side of Mount Kasiyari or Niphates and eastward of Mush. Shalmaneser II., however, the son and successor of Assur-natsir-pal, seems to have been the first Assyrian king who actually came into contact with Urardhu. He tells us on the Black Obelisk (l. 44) that in his third year (B.C. 856), after quitting the Hittite city of Pethor, now represented by Tash-atân, a few miles south of Jerablûs or Carchemish, he overran Alzu in the neighbourhood of Palu, then Dayaeni and Nimme, and finally reached Arzascun, "the royal city of Arrame of the land of the Urardhians." He next made his way to Gozan and then to Khupuscia. The inscription of Kurkh (20 miles from Diarbekir) informs us that Shalmaneser had already, in the year of his accession, come into conflict with Arrame (or Arame, as the name is there written). After leaving "the city of Khupuscia" in the land of Nahri, he had attacked Śugunia, a stronghold of Arame, "king of the Urardhians," and had then marched to "the sea of the land of Nahri" or Lake Van, where a figure of himself and a Cuneiform inscription were engraved on the rocks. The campaign of the third year is narrated at greater length than in the brief annals

of the Obelisk. We learn that the Assyrian king set out from Tul-Barsip, the Barsampsê of Ptolemy, probably the modern Kala'at en-Nejim, and after passing through the districts of Śugab or Śutakh and Bit-Zamâni and the mountains of Zimdanu and Mirkhiśu, had found his way to Isua and Enzite, the Anzitene of classical geography, both of which are included in the Alzu of the Black Obelisk, and had there set up an image of himself and an inscription in the city of Śaluru. He then crossed the river Arzania, the classical Arsanias (now the Murad Su), overran Śukhme with its capital Vastal, and passing through Dayâni found himself before Arzascu, "the royal city of Arrame of the Urardhians." Arzascu was destroyed; an image and inscription set up among the mountains of Eritia, the cities of Aramale and Zanziuna threatened, and the army then marched down to the shores of "the sea of Nahri" or Lake Van. Here a likeness of the Assyrian king, accompanied by a Cuneiform inscription, was engraved, and the Assyrian forces moved eastward into the territories of Aśahu or Śuha, also called Aśu, king of Gozan, from whom Shalmaneser received by way of peace-offerings, "horses, oxen, sheep, goats, and seven camels with two humps." Here again, in the chief temple of the capital of Gozan, an image and inscription of Shalmaneser were set up, and the Assyrians passed into the land of Nahri, then governed by Cacia or Caci, "king of the city of Khupuscia." It was only subsequently that the Assyrians learned to call the whole district Khupuscia in place of the vague title of the land of Nahri or "Rivers."

In his fifteenth year, Shalmaneser was again in the same regions (Layard's *Inscr.* 47, pp. 28-33). After setting up an image of himself at "the sources of the Tigris," he marched into the lowlands of the country of Dhunibun, and there destroyed "the cities of Arame of the Urardhians as far as the sources of the Euphrates." Here Asia, king of Dayani, gave him tribute, and Shalmaneser erected a statue of himself in the latter's capital. Dhunibun must accordingly have been on the western side of Lake Van, the sources of the Euphrates being those of the river of Mush (the Kara Su).

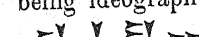
Twelve years later Dayan-Assur was sent against Śeduri of Urardhu, whose forces he encountered after crossing the river Arsanias (Bl. Ob. 144).

It is possible that the name of the Vannic capital Dhuspā(s) is to be found in that of Dhuruspa, the city in which Sarduri or Sardaurri king of Urardhu was besieged by Tiglath-Pileser II., after he had been defeated in Cistan and Khalpi, districts of Kummukh or Komagênê, and compelled to fly for his life to the "bridge of the Euphrates, the boundary of his kingdom." At this time, however, the kingdom of Urardhu extended much further to the west than in the older days of Shalmaneser II.

It is strange that no mention is made of Urardhu (or Arardu) in the Vannic texts. It is certainly not a Semitic word, and the explanation of it from the Zend *hara-haraithi* is shattered by the fact that the name occurs in Assyrian inscriptions long before the time when an Aryan, much less an Iranian, population made its way so far to the west. The proper names contained in the Assyrian records show that the westward extension of the Aryan race in Media Atropatene and Armenia was subsequent to the fall of the Assyrian power. An ancient bilingual tablet (W.A.I., ii. 48. 13) makes Urdhu the equivalent of , of which the Accadian pronunciation is given as *tilla*, the latter, as Sir H. Rawlinson long ago pointed out, being probably a Semitic loanword, and meaning 'the highlands' (from עלה). usually signifies the land of Accad or northern Babylonia, but since it is not glossed in this passage and stands, moreover, between *Akharru* or Palestine, and *Kutu* or Kurdistan, it would seem that it is here employed to denote Armenia. Urardhu, therefore, contracted into Urdhu, would have been the designation of the highlands of Armenia among the Babylonians as early as the 16th or 17th century B.C. Possibly it was then applied only to the mountainous country immediately to the north of Assyria, and was not extended to the districts further north until the Assyrians had become better acquainted with this region, and the native names of its several states. But it is also quite possible that the name

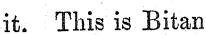
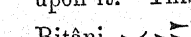
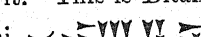
belonged from the first to the great monntain ridge still called Ararat, and that the reason of its non-appearance in the Vannic texts is, that it was properly the name of the mountain only, though applied to the neighbouring district by the Babylonians and Assyrians. According to the Biblical account of the Deluge, the ark rested on one of the mountains of Ararat, and "a widespread Eastern tradition" makes Gebel Gudi the mountain in question. Gudi seems the same word as the Accadian Guti or Gutium, Semitized into Kutu, which Sir H. Rawlinson has happily identified with the Goyyim of Genesis xiv. Guti denoted Kurdistan, and the mountain of Nizir, the peak on which the Chaldean legend of the Flood makes the ship of Sisuthrus to rest, is placed in Guti by a geographical tablet (W.A.I. ii. 51, 21). Assur-natsir-pal (W.A.I. i. 20, 33 *sq.*), after leaving Kalzu or Shamamek (to the south-west of Arbela), marched to the town of Babite, and thence to the land of Nizir, called Lulu-Kinaba, he tells us, by its inhabitants. This fixes the position of Nizir among the mountains of Pir Mam, a little to the south of Rowandiz, and suggests the possibility that Rowandiz itself was the spot where Babylonian tradition localized the descent from the ark.[1] It is somewhat remarkable that "the widespread land of Kute" is transferred to another part of the world by Shalmaneser II. in the inscription of the Balawât Gates. He there states (iii. 2, 3) that he ravaged the land of Kute, "from the city of Arzascun to the country of Gozan, and from Gozan to Khupuscia," the context indicating that this was the tract of country over which the power and influence of Aramu the Urardhian king extended. Here, therefore, the position of Kuti is moved from the mountains of eastern Kurdistan to the shores of Lake Van, to the very locality, in fact, in which the Hebrew tradition placed the descent from the ark, and in which Gebel Gudi is situated. The old Babylonian bilingual tablet which makes mention of Urdhu, places it, as I have already said, between Palestine and Kutu, the latter country

[1] Rowandiz seems to be the Baris of Nicolaus Dam., the Lubar of Jewish tradition. See note on p. 389.

being ideographically represented in the Accadian column by  'the fortress of the valley of Anu.' 'The valley of Anu' usually denotes one of the quarters of Babylon, and I can explain the name only by supposing that the practice of garrisoning Babylon with Kurdish troops from Gutium, which we find was the case in the time of Nabonidus, was of long standing.

In Jer. li. 27 Ararat, or Urardhu, is called upon to destroy Babylon, along with the Minni or Mannai, the kingdom of Ashkenaz and the Medes. As the Medes were to the south-east of the Mannai, with their centre at Hamadan, Ashkenaz, which intervened between them, will have occupied much the same position as the modern Ardelan. The country is called Asguza by Esar-haddon,[1] which suggests that the Biblical אשכנז is a misreading for אשכוז.

Just as Urardhu is not found in the Vannic inscriptions, so Biaina, the native name of the Vannic kingdom, is not found in the Assyrian inscriptions. The name of Biaina, however, is still preserved. It is plainly the Buana of Ptolemy (*Geog.* v. 13), the modern Van, called Iban by Kedrenos (*Hist.* ii. p. 774). It is curious that while Dhuspâs, the ancient name of the capital city, has become the name of the province, the old name of the province is now confined to the city.

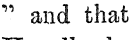
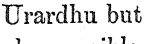
Though Biaina is not found on the Assyrian monuments, there is a name mentioned upon them which may have been based upon it. This is Bitanu or Bitan, written  Bitâni,  Battâni, and  Bit-ani (with a manifest play on the Assyrian *bit-Ani* 'the house of Anu'). Assur-natsir-pal makes *mat nirib sa bitani* 'the low-lands[2] of Bitani' synonymous with *mat Urardhi* or Ararat (Lay. *Inscr.* vi. 24, 5, and W.A.I. i. 23, 129; 23, 122), from which we may infer that Bitanu denoted the district in the vicinity of Lake Van. In W.A.I. i. 20, 13, he further speaks of *Urume sa bitani sa sarrani sa sade Nairi* 'Urume of Bitani (and) of

[1] W.A.I. i. 45, ii. 30.

[2] *Niribu* is a niphal derivative of *eribu* 'to descend,' and is always used of the low ground into which one descends from a height.

the kings of the mountains of Nahri,' at a time when he was in the neighbourhood of Amida or Diarbekir. As the Urumayans were employed as soldiers by the Hittites in the age of Tiglath-Pileser I. (W.A.I. i. 10, 101), the district they inhabited could not have been far from the Hittite frontier and the region north of Edessa (Urfah). Elsewhere (W.A.I. i. 18, 59; 22, 112) Kirkhi is described as being 'of Bitani,' and (in W.A.I. i. 25, 97) Kirkhi is stated to be 'in front of the land of the Hittites,' and eastward of Kummukh or Komagênê. Zamua or Mazamua is also said to be 'of Bitani' (*Black Ob.* 50, and *Balawat Gates*, ii. 2), Lake Van itself being called 'the sea of Zamua of Bitani' (*Bal. Gates*, ii. 2). The name of the country was properly Mazamua, and its capital city, also called Mazamua, is mentioned in geographical lists (W.A.I. ii. 53, 2, 4; 52, 2, 7) among other places on the Armenian side of the Taurus range. The shortened form Zamua was distinguished by the addition of the words 'of Bitani' from another Zamua which lay among the mountains of eastern Kurdistan between Sulamaniyeh and the Shirwan, and against which Assur-natsir-pal made more than one campaign. The Armenian Zamua adjoined, it is clear, the southern shore of Lake Van. Shalmaneser II. (W.A.I. iii. 8, 2, 76), when making his way to the country of Mazamua, descended into the lowlands of Buna'iz, and there encountered the people of Idu and their kings, who avoided the Assyrian army by taking to their boats and sailing away over Lake Van. As they were pursued by Shalmaneser, and a battle was fought "in the middle of the sea," it would seem that the fugitives had made for the island of Aghtamar. Now it is in this island that an inscription of the Vannic king Menuas has been found (No. xxix. B.), which mentions the erection of an inscription in the land of Erinuis or Aidus, and in the city of Akhiunikas, which seems to be the modern Akhavank or Akhyavansh.[1]

[1] Nigdiara, king of the Idians, defeated by Shalmaneser in B.C. 856, is called Migdiara by Samas-Rimmon, whose general, Mulis-Assur, captured 300 cities belonging to his son and successor, Khirtsina or S'artsina, on the shores of 'the sea of the setting sun,' *i.e.* Lake Van (B.C. 824).

However this may be, it is plain that Bitanu was the name given by the Assyrians to the country which stretched away from the southern shore of Lake Van to Diarbekir and the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and when Assur-natsir-pal makes it synonymous with Urardhu, it is of the southern part of Urardhu that he is thinking. It seems to me possible that Bitanu may represent Biaina, assimilated by a slight change to two Assyrian words which had the meaning of "house of Anu," and that its application was extended to denote not only Urardhu but the districts south of Urardhu as well. But it is also possible that the Buna'iz of the Kurkh inscription may really be Biaina. At all events, it seems necessary to correct  Buna'iz into  Bunae. I ought to mention that the word Bitanu is not preceded by the determinative prefix of country, but this seems due to its assimilation to *Bit Ami*.

We know from the Assyrian inscriptions that the alliances of the kings of Urardhu in the time of Tiglath-Pileser II. extended as far west as Milid, the modern Malatiyeh, and the Vannic monuments tell us that their campaigns had previously carried them almost up to the gates of this city. Menuas has left an inscription (No. xxxiii.) cut in the rock of the castle-hill at Palu on the Euphrates, in which he states that after passing through the countries of Gûpâ(s) and the Hittites, he had erected a monument at the city of Khuzân (the modern Khozan), and in the land of Puteria (perhaps Palu), in order to record his victory over the king of Melidhîa or Malatiyeh. Gûpâ(s) I would identify with "the land of Cuppu," through which Assur-natsir-pal passed, on his way from Khuzirina, a city of Kummukh or Komagene, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, but not far from Milid. After traversing Cuppu, he found himself in 'the middle of the cities of the countries of A'assa and Kirkhi' (W.A.I. i. 25. 97).[1] Another inscription

[1] Kirkhi is described as 'opposite the land of the Hittites,' *i.e.* the northern portion of the Hittite territory on the east bank of the Euphrates. Among the towns of Âssa and Kirkhi were Umalie and Khiranu in Adana; after leaving these, the Assyrian king marched into the land of Amadanu, that is, the district of Amida or Diarbekir. Having burned Mallanu in Arkania, and the cities of Zamba, he crossed the Sua (W.A.I. i. 25. 97 *sq.*), reached the Tigris, and then

has been left by Sarduris II. on the cliffs near Isoglu, on the eastern side of the Euphrates, and in the close neighbourhood of Malatiyeh. In this the Vannic king describes his conquest of Melidhâ or Milid, as well as of the districts dependent on it. Argistis, also, recounting his conquests on the rocks of Van, states that after ravaging the countries of the Hittites (*Khate*) and of Niriba, he carried away the spoils of Melidha or Melid. He then quitted the town of Pitî . . . or Pilai . . ., a mutilated name which may be identical with that of Puteria. Niriba is plainly the Nirib or 'lowlands' of the Assyrians, who, as we have seen, made it a province of Bitani, and included Kirkhi in it. I fancy that it is here used of the plain of Diarbekir, which had acquired an Assyrian name after the Assyrian occupation of the country by Shalmaneser I. (B.C. 1300). Sarduris II. makes Kar-nisi, 'the town of the men,' a city in the neighbourhood of Melid (No. l.), and the name of Kar-nisi shows that it must have been an Assyrian colony or garrison. According to Assur-natsir-pal (W.A.I. i. 21, iii. 16) Nirbu was in the mountains of Kasiyari or Masius, at the foot of Mount Ukhira, and adjoined Nahri on the one side and the Supnat on the other. Among its cities were Tuskha, Cinabu, and Tilu, perhaps the modern Tilleh at the junction of the Sert river with the Tigris, besides Mariru. The Khâte of the Vannic texts are the Hittites, Khâte exactly corresponding to the Assyrian *Khatti*, the Egyptian Kheta, and the Hebrew חִתִּי. We gather from the Vannic inscriptions that their territory was close to that of Melid, though on the eastern rather than on the western bank of the Euphrates, which would agree with the position assigned to the northern part of the Hittite region by the Assyrian monuments. Besides the passages already quoted, there is another notice of the Khâte in one of the inscriptions of Menuas (No. xxxii.). Here "the territory of the

the towns of Barza-Nistun, Dandamusa, and Ameda. From Ameda he withdrew to Allabzie and Uda, in the mountains of Kasyari or Masius. Amadana is mentioned along with fifteen other mountainous regions by Tiglath-Pileser I. (W.A.I. i. 12, iv. 58), who, after passing through them, reached the banks of the Euphrates. Crossing the river, he made his way to Nimme, Dayaeni and twenty-one other districts of 'Nairi.'

Hittites" is mentioned in the line preceding that in which the defeat of the soldiers of the land of Alzu is recorded, though unfortunately the mutilation of the text prevents us from determining the exact relation between the two lines. The geographical position of Alzu is known from the Assyrian records. Tiglath-Pileser I. states (W.A.I. i. 9, i, 62 *sq.*) that at the beginning of his reign "twenty thousand Moskhians and their five kings, who for 50 years had occupied the lands of Alzu and Purukuzzu which owed tribute to Assyria . . . took possession of Komagênê." From this we may infer that Alzu was not far distant from Komagênê, which formed the northern frontier of the Hittites. Alzu is again mentioned by Shalmaneser II. on the Black Obelisk. In his third year, he tells us, he quitted the Hittite city of Pethor (Pitru), now Tash Atân, "on the further side of the Euphrates and on the river Sajur," then descended into the lowlands (*Nirbi*) of Alzu, and then marched against Dayaeni, Nimme and Urardhu. More details of the campaign are given in the Kurkh inscription, as has been mentioned above. There we learn that the Assyrian army made its way from Pethor through the land of Śugab or Śutakh into the city of Bit-Zamâni; then climbed over the mountains of Zimdânu and Mirkhiśu (portions of Mons Masius), and so descended into Enzite and Isua, after which they crossed the Arsanias, ravaged the land of Śukhme and then found themselves in Dayaeni. It is plain that Enzite must form part of Alzu, which Tiglath-Pileser I. places to the south of the Murad. Alzu (or Alzis) is coupled with the land of the Hittites by Menuas (No. xxxii. 7), and at Palu the latter king either includes Palu in the Hittite territory, or makes it the northern frontier of the latter (xxxiii. 11). He also seems to imply that Malatiyeh lay within the Hittite dominion. This is distinctly stated by Argistis (xxxviii. 15, 16), according to whom the Hittites adjoined the western borders of Niriba (xxxviii. 12, 13). Consequently, if Kiepert is right in placing the Anzêta of Ptolemy (the capital of Anzitênê) at the sources of the Sebbeneh Su (or Supnat), Alzu will be the district between Palu and Khini, Niriba will lie to the south

of it, and the Hittites of the Vannic texts will extend from Diarbekir to Malatiyeh, and from Kharput southward, that is to say, between parallels 38½ and 40 of longitude, and 38½ and 37 of latitude.

The Vannic kings seem rarely to have followed the road to the west which leads by Bitlis and Mush; at all events, the only memorials of them found on this *route* are the two fragmentary texts of Menuas in the churchyard of Irmerd, of which Capt. Clayton has taken squeezes. They preferred to march along the more northern and safer highway. Their dominion extended as far as Ardish and Patnotz, on the north side of Lake Van, and at times much further. Their western frontier-city in this direction, in the time of Shalmaneser II., was Arzascu. This touched upon the kingdom of Diaus and his descendants, in which I would recognize the Dayaeni of the Assyrian texts, the accusative of Diaus being Diyaveni. The kingdom lay upon the Murad Chai, in the neighbourhood of Melasgerd, which may have been built by Menuas to secure his conquest of the country (see No. xxx.). One of its cities, Zuais, is now represented by the village of Yazlu-tash. As the district commanded the high-road to the north-west, its possession enabled the king of Van to occupy the whole country along the banks of the Euphrates as far to the west as Hassan Kala'a (see No. xxxv.) and Erzerûm, where the mutilated inscription now in M. Lenormant's possession was found.

In the north the Vannic kings penetrated beyond the Araxes, as far as Lake Erivan. Inscriptions of Menuas and Argistis have been discovered near the ancient city of Armavir, the Armauria of Ptolemy, and at Kalinsha, north-west of Erivan (No. xlvii.). If the inscription of Alitschalu (No. lv.) belongs to a king of Van, it would show that his arms had reached the lake itself. The district in which Armavir stood was known as Etius, the whole country north of the Araxes as far as Erivan going under the name of Etiunis, "the land belonging to Etius" (see xxxiv. 2). From the short inscription engraved by a certain king, "Śarduris the son of Rapis," near the village of Atamkhan on the south-western bank of Lake Erivan (No. liii.), it would appear that the

inhabitants of southern Georgia had adopted the Vannic syllabary, and that their language differed only very slightly from that used at Van.

Towards the east, the Vannic monarchs made several expeditions. From xlix. 4 *sq.* it appears that to the south-east of Etius lay Babilus, a name which Dr. Hincks very naturally supposed to represent Babylonia. The district must have been in the neighbourhood of the modern Khoi, and I would identify the name with that of Babyrsa, which Strabo places near Artaxata. South of Babilus came the land of Mana, the Mannai of the Assyrian texts and the Minni of the Old Testament, with whom the kings of Van were constantly at war. The western frontier of their territory adjoined the kingdom of Van, from which it would have been divided by the range of the Kotûr. The capital, Sisidikhadiris (xliii. 39), must be the Izirtu of the Assyrian inscriptions. South of Mana was Barsuas, the Barśuas or Parśuas of the Assyrian inscriptions, on the south-western shore of Lake Urumiyeh, and adjoining Bustus, the Bustu of the Black Obelisk, line 186 (see No. xxxix. 10, 12, *notes*). Here, too, was the city of Sararas or Satiraraus, called Sitivarya on the Black Obelisk (184). The Vannic kings seem never to have gone further south than Bustus; had they done so, they would have followed the march of Shalmaneser II., who, after leaving Bustus, entered the mountains of the Zimri or Kurds, and then descended upon Khalvan or Holvan. It was here, at Sir-Pul, that Sir H. Rawlinson found and copied the inscription of Kannubanini, king of the Lulubini. The name of the Zimri is, I think, preserved in that of the mountain-range of Azmir. East of them came the heterogeneous tribes known to the Assyrians as Madai or Medes. South of the latter was the land of Ellip, which included Hamadan and Behistun. Behistun (Bagistana) is, I believe, referred to by Sargon as Bit-ili 'the house of the gods' (Botta, ii. 16), while Mount Elwend is Aranzi (Botta, v. 17), the Orontes of classical geographers, which the Persians Aryanized as Urwandha, whence the modern name. Long before the days of Kyros, Ellip had become Median.

The localization of the chief districts mentioned in the Vannic texts enables us to assign approximately their true places to such minor localities as the land of Baruatainis (xlix. 17), north of Babilus, or the different countries named Babas, one of which was in the neighbourhood of Barśuas and Bustus. Similarly some idea may be gained of the towns close to Van itself from the list of gods in the great inscription of Meher-Kapussi. The most complete list of the Vannic towns, however, which we possess is contained in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser II. The copy given in Layard's *Inscriptions*, 18, 20, *sq.*, is, unfortunately, not always to be trusted (the characters in the middle of each line being placed a line too low), and I have been unable to find the squeeze from which it was made in the British Museum. Nevertheless, it is on the whole an important and trustworthy document. The text runs thus: "Śardaurri the Urardhian against me revolted, and with Matihil (son of Agus) made conspiracy: in the neighbourhood of Kastan and Khalpi districts of the city of Kummukh his destruction I wrought, and all his camp I captured. The terror of my servants he feared, and to save his life his own fields he devastated. In the city of Dhuruspa, his city, I besieged him, and his many soldiers in front of his great gates I slew. An image of my majesty I made and before the city of Dhuruspa I raised. For (70) *casbu* the ground in the land of Urardhu utterly from above to the bottom I ravaged. I marched and had no opponent. The land of Ulluba to its whole extent, the cities of Kastirru, Pariśu, Tasukha, Mandhu . . . , and Śarduarri to the city of Diru; the city of Pariśu, the city of Babutta, the city of Luśia, the city of Biśia (and the city of) Ulla (?) to the possession of the city Śikipru (and) the city of the Asurdayans of the country of Assyria I turned. In the midst of Ulluba the springs of the land of Urardhu . . . I took, and to the frontier a prefect besides I appointed. A city I built: the city 'Assur-exists' I called its name. My prefects, the guard of the cities Usurnu, Uśurra, Enu, Śaśśu, Lup . . . , and Lukia, to the mountain, in addition to the chief musician, I brought. The cities of Kuta, Urra, Arana, Taba and Vallia, as far as

upon the river Euphrates, the frontier of the city of Kummukh, the cities Kili . . ir, Egeda, and Diua, the sons of the cities Abbiśśa, Kharbiśinna, and Taśa of the land of Enzi, the cities Ilganu and Benzu, the springs of the land of Urardhu (even) the river Kallab and the river Sukur . . . , to the frontier of Assyria I turned." Ilganu or Anganu may be the Alganis of v. 18. The city of Śarduarri must have been built by a Śarduris, while that of the Asurdayans seems to have owed its foundation to the Assyrian king Assur-dayan, whose wars with Argistis will be noticed further on. The Vannic king's name is written Śardaurri, Śarduarri, Śaraduarri, and Śarduri by Tiglath-Pileser.

§ I. 2. The History of the Inscriptions.

It is now time to turn to the question of the age to which we must assign the inscriptions of Van. Dr. Mordtmann believed that the oldest of them does not go further back than about B.C. 700, but I think I can show that Mr. George Smith was more correct in placing the line of kings whose monuments we possess between the Assyrian kings Shalmaneser II. and Tiglath-Pileser II.

In the first place there is the striking resemblance between the forms of the Vannic characters, the mode in which they are used, and the style of the inscriptions on the one side, and the writing and style of the texts of Assur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser II. on the other. M. Lenormant speaks with truth of "la frappante analogie du style des inscriptions de Van rédigées en assyrien avec celui des textes epigraphiques d'Assur-nasir-pal et de Salmanu-asir IV.; cette analogie est telle qu'elle ne peut manquer de révéler un bien étroit voisinage de dates." The use made of ideographs and, as we shall see, the phraseology of the inscriptions, are alike exactly modelled after the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II. and his father, not of the older or later Assyrian kings. Palæographically and philologically, therefore, it is to the period of Shalmaneser II. and to no other that we must refer the date of the introduction of the cuneiform syllabary into Armenia.

And the fact that the two oldest inscriptions are composed, not in Vannic, but in Assyrian, shows that they were coeval with the date in question. There can be no older inscriptions which remain unknown to us.

Then, secondly, the annals of Shalmaneser II. supply a very good reason why it was in his time that the Assyrian mode of writing made its way into the kingdom of Urardhu. It was now for the first time that the Assyrians came into contact with the Vannic monarchy, while the king whose campaigns caused them to do so was in the habit of carving cuneiform inscriptions on the rocks of the northern districts through which he passed, and of setting them up in the towns which he occupied. We happen to possess one of these inscriptions, that of Kurkh, and the earlier Vannic texts are closely modelled after it in both writing and style.

But the contents of the Vannic inscriptions themselves afford the best evidence of the period to which we must refer them. The kingdom of Milid or Malatiyeh was overthrown by Sargon in B.C. 712, the city itself destroyed, its last king Tarkhu-nazi carried captive to Assyria with 5000 of his subjects, and an Assyrian governor placed over the district, with his capital at Tul-Garimmi. Tarkhu-nazi's predecessor had been Śulumal, who had been one of the allies of Śarduris, king of Urardhu, against Tiglath-Pileser II. in B.C. 743, and appears as one of the tributaries of Assyria in B.C. 732. The Assyrian monuments give us no further information about Milid and its rulers till we get back to the reign of Shalmaneser II., when we find that (in B.C. 854) it was under the sway of Lalli. On the other hand, as we have seen, Milid and its kings are not unfrequently mentioned in the Vannic texts. In fact, the latter furnish us with a complete list of Milidian kings from the time of Menuas to that of Sarduris II. The contemporary of Menuas was *Śuda(?)ni(?)*-zâuada (No. xxxiii. 15); the contemporary of Argistis Khilaruadas I., son of Tuates or Tualas (xxxviii. 6); the contemporary of Sarduris II. Khilaruadas II., son of Sakhus (l. 2). These princes must have reigned before the destruction of the kingdom of Milid in B.C. 712, and as none of the names agree

with those of the two last kings, they must, further, have preceded them. Sarduris II., therefore, must have rendered Khilaruadas tributary before the year B.C. 743.

If we give an average of twelve years to the reigns of the five Milidian sovereigns, we shall have B.C. 810 as the approximate age of Menuas. The successful campaign of Śarduris against Milid would well account for the appearance of the latter shortly afterwards among the allies of the Urardhian monarch.

The mention of the Hittites in the Vannic inscriptions bears the same testimony as the mention of Milid. The Hittite power was destroyed by Sargon, who took Carchemish, the Hittite capital, in B.C. 717, and made it the seat of an Assyrian Satrap. When, therefore, we find the Hittites named in the Vannic records, we are justified in inferring that the latter are earlier than the reign of Sargon. For a similar reason, the mention of Assyria in the inscriptions of Argistis points to a period before the destruction of Nineveh.

I have thus far assumed our acquaintance with the names and succession of the Vannic kings who have left records of themselves. It so happens that (with one exception) they follow in regular order, the king of one series of inscriptions being the father of the king of another series. The earliest is Śarduris I., the son of Lutipri(s), to whom belong the two inscriptions in the Assyrian language already referred to. The other kings succeed in the following order:—

Ispuinis, the son of Śarduris I.

Menuas, the son of Ispuinis.

Argistis, the son of Menuas.

Śarduris II., the son of Argistis.

If we may judge from the number of campaigns carried on by Argistis, his reign would have been one of considerable length.

The list of kings thus begins and ends with a Śarduris. Now Śarduris was also the name of the two kings who begin and end the long period during which the Assyrian annals are silent about Urardhu and its rulers. In B.C. 833, Dayan-Assur, the general of Shalmaneser II., defeated Seduris or Śarduris of Urardhu, and in B.C. 743 it was again a Śarduri or

Śarduris who was king of Urardhu when war broke out between that country and Assyria. The Assyrian monuments record the name of no Urardhian sovereign during the intervening period. Since, as I have shown, everything points to the introduction of the cuneiform system of writing into Armenia in the time of Shalmaneser II., or immediately afterwards, we seem justified in identifying the first Śarduris of the Vannic texts with the opponent of Shalmaneser. If this conclusion is correct, the number of reigns between him and the second Śarduris ought to bear a reasonable proportion to the length of time that elapsed between B.C. 833 and B.C. 743. This length of time amounts to just ninety years. Supposing that Śarduris II. had mounted the throne a little before B.C. 743, say in B.C. 745, and that Śarduris I. had similarly acceded to the throne in 835, we should have four reigns for ninety years. This would give the rather high average of twenty-two years for each reign. But it is more than probable that Śarduris II. had reigned for some time previously to his war with Tiglath-Pileser, since in this war Milid appears as a subject-ally, and its conquest, as we learn from one of the inscriptions of Śarduris, had been one of his own achievements. Moreover the reign of Argistis seems to have been a long one, while if we turn to Assyrian history we find that here, too, a period of eighty-seven years (from B.C. 913 to B.C. 825) is covered by only four reigns.

A more serious difficulty exists in the fact that Śarduris I. calls himself the son of Lutipri(s), whereas the king of Urardhu, against whom Shalmaneser had to contend in B.C. 857 and 845, was Arrame or Arame, and already in B.C. 833, only twelve years later, his antagonist was Śarduris. It is, however, quite possible that the reign of Lutipris had been a short one of less than twelve years; it is also quite possible that the name of Shalmaneser's opponent of B.C. 857 is wrongly repeated in B.C. 845, when, it must be remembered, the Assyrian king himself did not take part in the war, and that Lutipri(s) ought to be substituted for Arrame. But I am more inclined to conjecture that Śarduris I. was the leader of a new dynasty; the ill-success of Arrame in his wars with

the Assyrians forming the occasion for his overthrow. At all events it must be noticed that Śarduris does not give his father Lutipri(s) the title of "king," and that the introduction of a foreign mode of writing into the country looks like one of those innovations which mark the rise of new dynasties in the East. The consolidation of the power of Darius Hystaspis was, we may remember, accompanied by the introduction of the cuneiform alphabet of Persia.

During one part of the ninety years to which I would assign the reigns of the Vannic monarchs, we learn from the Assyrian canon that there was fierce and persistent war between Urardhu and Assyria. From B.C. 781 to B.C. 774 Shalmaneser III. was engaged in an almost continuous struggle with the Urardhians, and, since in the last year the scene of the war had been shifted to the country of the Zimri, it would seem with doubtful success. Two years later he was succeeded by Assur-danan or Assur-dan III. These wars ought to be mentioned in the Vannic inscriptions, if my view of their chronology is right. And such is actually the case. Argistis claims to have overcome "the soldiers of the country of Assyria" (Nos. xxxviii. and xxxix.), and this, too, either in the country of Bustus or on its borders. Now Bustus adjoined the Zimri of the Assyrian texts, so that we should probably be right in fixing the campaign in B.C. 774. If Argistis reigned for thirty years, and his son Śarduris II. came to the throne in B.C. 750, the victories of Argistis would exactly coincide with the period when we know from the Assyrian Canon the struggle was going on between Urardhu and Assyria.

Judging from the analogy of other passages, the very name of the Assyrian king is given in xxxviii. 52. The gods of Van are said to have given the lands *Harśitani*, "belonging to Harśitas," and the soldiers of Assyria to Argistis. I believe Harśitas to be an attempt to represent the name of the Assyrian king Assur-dan, the *s* and *r* of Assur being transposed. That the aspirate might be sounded before initial *a* in Vannic pronunciation where it was omitted in Assyrian, is clear from the fact that the proper name which the Assyrians wrote Aza is written Haza in Vannic (No. liv. 1). It may be objected,

however, that the name of Assyria is correctly written *As-sur*, from which it would appear that the Vannic people knew how to pronounce it. But this inference is not justified. It is plain that was used as an ideograph, adopted like other ideographs from the Assyrian syllabary, since it not only has no suffix attached to it, but does not even end in a vowel, as it ought to have done had it been a phonetically-written Vannic word. Instead of the stereotyped Assur, we should have *Assuri* and *Assurni*. From the way, therefore, in which the word is written, we cannot infer the way in which it was pronounced. For anything we know, it might have been pronounced Harśi, which, by the way, would supply the genitive ending required before the governing noun *kuradê* 'soldiers.' I should add that in B.C. 743 we find an Assur-dain-ani Assyrian governor of Mazamua, and therefore at no great distance from the kingdom of Van.

One question still remains to be answered. Why is it that the connected series of Vannic inscriptions, after continuing uninterruptedly for nearly a century, ends so abruptly with the reign of Śarduris II.? The answer, I think, will be found in the history of Assyria. With the foundation of the second Assyrian empire by Tiglath-Pileser II. (B.C. 745) the expansion of Vannic power in the warmer and more fertile regions of the south was checked, and its very existence rendered doubtful. The allies and vassals of the Vannic prince were one by one made tributaries of Assyria, and in B.C. 735 Tiglath-Pileser besieged Śarduris himself in his capital, erected a monument of his victories just outside the city, and wasted the plain of Van for 450 miles. The blow inflicted on the country was one from which it would have taken long to recover, and patriotism would have prevented its monarchs from continuing to engrave inscriptions, every letter of which reminded their subjects of the enemy who had erected a similar monument in the sight of Van itself. For many years to come, moreover, the Vannic kings had something else to think of than monumental records of their conquests. They had indeed no conquests to record. Urśa, the successor of

Śarduris, devoted himself to the formation of a confederacy against the growing empire of Assyria. In B.C. 716 he induced the Mannai to murder their king Aza, the son of Iranzu, to place a certain Bagdatti on the throne, and to unite with Mita of the Moschi, as well as with the Tibareni, Milid, Atuna, Karalla and many other kingdoms against Sargon. But the effort was unsuccessful; the confederates were crushed, and in 714 the army of Urśa was destroyed, 260 of the royal clan captured, and Urśa forced to take refuge in the mountains while his territories were wasted. Muzazir in the southern part of Urardhu was taken and burned, and its king Urzana compelled to seek safety in flight, while his wife and children, treasures and people, as well as the images of his gods Khaldi and Bagabartu, fell into the hands of the Assyrians. The fall of Muzazir and the capture of his god Khaldi reduced Urśa to despair, and he committed suicide. His successor, Argistis II., was too weak to send aid to his ally Mutallu of Komagene, when his territory was annexed by the Assyrians in B.C. 708. Argistis II. was still reigning after the accession of Sennacherib in B.C. 705, since he is mentioned in a despatch-tablet written to Sennacherib by Pakhir-Bel, the governor of Amida or Diarbekir, from which we learn that Butunnu, Kharda and the other cities in this part of Assyria had to be carefully garrisoned up to the frontier of Dhuruspa itself. From this time forward we hear little more of Urardhu, though we know that it continued in a state of passive hostility to Assyria, and that accordingly the sons of Sennacherib fled to it for refuge after the murder of their father.

The son and successor of Argistis II. was Erimenas, as we are informed by the inscription on the bronze shields discovered by Mr. Rassam. He must have been on the throne when the Kimmerians, driven from their old seats on the Sea of Azof, probably passed through the Armenian territory on their way to Khupuscia (not Khutuscia), where they were met by Esar-haddon about B.C. 680, and forced westward into Asia Minor. Erimenas was followed by his son Ruśas, who erected the palace near Van, the ruins of

which have been excavated by Mr. Rassam, and sent an embassy to Assur-bani-pal at Arbela, to ask for an alliance after the overthrow of Teumman by the Assyrian king. Later on in Assur-bani-pal's reign, another embassy arrived from Śar-dur or Śadur of Urardhu, "whose fathers had sent to the fathers" of the Assyrian monarch to make brotherhood, bearing with them presents and words of salutation. This Śarduris III. must have been the successor of Rusas, and it is clear that at least as late as B.C. 640 Van was still ruled by its old Urardhian kings, and not yet in the hands of the Aryans. But the invaders, who subsequently occupied the larger part of Armenia, and penetrated into the Caucasus under the name of the Iron or Ossetes, were close at hand.

Already in the time of Sargon, the usurper who seizes the throne of the Mannai after the murder of the legitimate prince bears the distinctively Iranian name of Bagdatti. It was the first sign of the coming change which was to transform the old kingdom of Urardhu into the Aryan land of Armenia. The Aryan conquest no doubt occupied a considerable length of time. In the time of Darius Hystaspis, one of the pretenders to the throne of Babylon is an Urardhian who bears the characteristic name of Khaldita or Khaldida "the dwelling of Khaldis." But the name Urardhu has degenerated into Urasdhu, and before the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Vannic kingdom and language had become things of the past, and a new race was in possession of the mountains of Ararat. According to Strabo (xi. p. 771) it was the descendants of Hydarnes, one of the seven Persian conspirators against the Magian, who became kings of Armenia, and reigned there from the time of Darius Hystaspis to that of Alexander the Great. This tradition would make the Aryan occupation of Armenia coeval with the victory of Aryanism in Persia at the end of the sixth century B.C. On the other hand, the Armenian history of Moses of Khorene contains nothing that is trustworthy before the reign of Vahé, who fell in battle against the Greeks; and the fact that Van is the predecessor of Vahé not only shows that the Armenian

writers had no authentic records before the age of Alexander, but implies also that the foundation of Van as an Aryan town does not go back beyond that period. However, the Aryan name Tigranes must have been in use in western Armenia when Xenophon led the Ten Thousand through it, since in his romance of the *Cyropædia* he makes a prince of that name the son of a king of Armenia. Armenia, too, Urasdhu in the Babylonian text, was one of the provinces over which Darius claims sway (see Hdt. iii. 93), and Xerxes inscribed his name by the side of that of Argistis on the rock of Van.

If the people of Urardhu were not Aryans, it is plain that we must look for their existing kindred among the nearest non-Aryan population. This, as M. Lenormant perceived, is the Georgian. The advance of the Aryans from the south-east would naturally have pushed the old population northward, first beyond the barrier of the Araxes, then beyond the Kur. But the whole of the earlier population could not have been thus displaced; some of it at least must have remained behind and become mixed with the conquerors. The mixture would be greater the nearer we approach Georgian territory. There is evidence that the Georgians once extended further south than they do at present, and it would be well worth investigating how far the Georgian physical type can be traced in the direction of Lake Van. The natives of Urardhu represented on the Balawât bronzes have a very peculiar type of face, almost a negro one in fact, and the Assyrian artists have endeavoured, however unskilfully, to bring out the contrast between themselves and the people of Van. The latter are further represented as wearing the same tunics and boots with pointed ends as the Hittites, while their heads are protected by helmets not unlike those of the Greeks, and they use small round shields, swords and spears.

It is impossible not to be struck with the general structural resemblance of the Vannic and Georgian languages. Both are inflectional, though neither Aryan nor Semitic, and the character of the flexion is similar in both. I have noticed, moreover, two or three roots which seem the same, e.g. *par* 'to take away.'

But any detailed comparison of Vannic with Georgian, or with any of the Caucasian languages such as Ude or Abkhas, must be left to those who have specially devoted themselves to their study; a mere examination of the grammar and vocabulary which is all that I can pretend to, leads to no trustworthy result.[1]

[1] The first attempt that has been made to analyze the Georgian language according to the scientific method is to be found in an article by M. J. A. Gatteyrias in the *Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie comparée* (xiv.) for July, 1881, pp. 275-311. It is impossible not to be struck by the resemblance of the results obtained by M. Gatteyrias to the grammatical facts of the Vannic inscriptions. "The suffix which expresses relation," that is, the Vannic genitive-dative, is *i* in the personal pronouns, as in Vannic stems in *-i;* Gatteyrias believes it to be a demonstrative, entering into combination with other letters in *i-man* 'he,' *i-gi*, *i-si* 'that,' like the Vannic *i* in *i-ni* 'this,' *i-u* 'thus,' *ie-s* 'which.' Local nouns ending in *a* and *e* insert *vie* before the suffix *isa* (e.g. *Jordane-vie-sa* 'of the Jordan'), like Vannic local nouns which suffix *-ve* after *-na* (e.g. *Biaina-ve*). In MSS. other nouns take the semivowel (as *tsa-vie-sa* 'of the sky') just as in Vannic. As in Vannic, too, *-is-* is an adjectival suffix, as well as *-n(i)-*. M. Gatteyrias shows that the Georgian *sa* is originally a local demonstrative, as it is in Vannic, while *da* forms adverbs of place as it does in Vannic. The Vannic *ini-da* 'here' is strictly analogous to the Georgian *man-da* 'there,' and *sada* is 'there' in Vannic, 'where' in Georgian. The phonology is remarkably alike, so far as can be seen. Georgian possesses the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o* (as does Vannic, if we make ⟨ *o*), the semivowels *ie*, and *vie*, and the aspirated *ho* (Vannic *ha*). The first person of the verb is formed by the suffix *-bi*, as in Vannic, while the 3rd pers. pl. contains, as Gatteyrias shows, the suffix *-ni*, as in *qwareb-en* 'they love,' *ar-i-an* 'they are' (*arie-dha* is 'he was' in Vannic). In Vannic *-ni* marks the 3rd person both singular and plural. The nominative and accusative plural of Georgian nouns terminates in *-ni* and *(e)bi*, which M. Gatteyrias shows must be analyzed into *-n-i* and *eb-i*, *i* alone marking the case. We may compare the Vannic *eba-n-i* 'countries' and *ati-b-i* 'thousands.' The suffix *th* is shown to have had originally the local sense of 'departure,' and then to have passed into a locative suffix. It is difficult not to compare the Vannic locative *di*, especially when we find that *th* is also found in verbal forms like *dae* in Vannic, and that the suffixes *atha*, *ath*, *eth*, *ith*, *iath*, *oth*, and *uth* are traced back to *da*. *Shina* or *shi*, which now forms the locative in Georgian, is the old word for 'house,' which may be the same as the Vannic *asi(s)*. The Vannic suffix *li* seems to be found in the Georgian adjectival *ali*, *eli*, *ili*, and *uli*, which show that a suffix *li* is attached to stems in *a*, *e*, *i*, and *u*. The pronoun of the 3rd person is identical with that of Vannic—*mes* 'he,' *mani* 'him'—the 'demonstrative' case being *men* and *m(a)s* 'to him'; even *misi* 'his' is the Vannic *mesi(s)*. In the Vannic *ada* 'and,' we find the origin of the Georgian copulative conjunction *da*. The only dialects allied to the Georgian, which are at present known are the Mingrelian—the nearest akin, of which Klaproth has published some phrases in the *Journal Asiatique* 1829, while Zagarelli has lately published some studies upon it; the Suanian, said to be full of foreign words; and the Lazian, spoken nearest the Black Sea, and more archaic in character than the Georgian. A grammar and vocabulary of it have been published by Rosen in the Abhandlungen der Berlin. Akademie, 1843, 1845. The elements of Georgian grammar are given in Brosset's *Grammaire*, 1834, the analysis of the verb having been subsequently accomplished by Friedrich Müller, and a *Dictionnaire géorgien-russe-français*, by P. D. Tchubinof, appeared at St. Petersburg in 1840.

§ I. 3. Theology of the Inscriptions.

The Assyrian inscriptions tell us that Khaldi was the supreme deity of the Urardhian race, and there is hardly a Vannic inscription in which the name does not appear. But Khaldis was not only the supreme god: he was also the father of other gods who were called "the Khaldians" after him, and there were, moreover, many Khaldi's belonging to different localities and worshipped by different tribes. Hence the kings invoke 'the Khaldi's' (*Khaldi-ni* dat. pl.) and 'Khaldians' (*Khaldi-ni-ni*) as well as 'Khaldis' (*Khaldi* dat. sing.). The whole pantheon of Biainas is set before us in the long inscription of Mühür Kapussi, in which the two kings, Isbuinis and his son Menuas, prescribe the offerings to be made to the various deities of their faith. Here "the four Khaldi's of the house" are spoken of (ll. 12, 21), together with "the Khaldi's of the peoples," "the Khaldi's of the fortress" (ll. 17, 29), "the protecting Khaldi's" (ll. 17, 30) and the like. We may infer from this that the kingdom of Urardhu had once consisted of a number of small independent principalities, each with its special Khaldis, and that after their conquest and amalgamation these special Khaldi's were united into a national pantheon.

By the side of Khaldis stood the Air-god Teisbas or Teisebas, whose name is once phonetically written (No. xx. 15), and the Sun-god, whose name seems to have been Ardinis (See No. l. 39). These three formed a Trinity which stood apart by itself at the head of the pantheon.

The following is a list of the other gods arranged alphabetically:—

Adarutas.
Adbinis.
Adias.
Airanis.
Aldutusinis.
Alus-Urulive-Sivali.
Arazas.
Ardhuharairus.
Ardis.
Arhas.
Arnis.
Arśimelas.
Artsibaddinis.
Auis or Avis (the water-god).
Ayas (the earth-god).
Babas.

Bartsias.
Deduainis.
Dhuranis.
Dhuspuas (god of Tosp).
Eliahas.
Elipris.
Erinas.
Hanapsas.
Harubainis.
Ipkharis.
Irmusinis.
Ḳilibanis.
Ḳueras.
Khalrainis.
Kharas.
Khudhuinis.
Nalainis.
Sebitus.
Selardis (the moon-god).
Siniris.
Subas.
Śardis (the year-god?).
Śilias.
Tsinuyardis.
Talapuras.
Uas (or Vas).
Uias (Vias).
Uninis.
Uras.
Ziuḳunis.

Besides these the great inscription of Meher-Kapussi enumerates various deities belonging to special countries and cities, a list of which will be found at the end of the commentary on the inscription, where the gods are classified according to the offerings presented to each. We learn from the same inscription that worship was also paid to 'the horsemen' or ministers of Khaldis and Teisbas, as well as to the dead who were under the protection of Khaldis. It is remarkable that no mention is made in this inscription of the goddess Śaris. In fact, except in the proper name Śar-duris, borne by three Vannic kings, she is only once alluded to (No. xxiv.). I am, therefore, inclined to believe that the goddess was not a native one, but was imported from Assyria along with the Assyrian syllabary. At any rate, it is worth notice that the first king who bears the name Śar-duris writes his inscriptions not only in the Assyrian characters, but also in the Assyrian language, and that Śar(is) looks very much like a modification of the Assyrian Istar. In Assyrian itself *st* may become *ś*, as in *iśacan* for *istacan*. The name of the goddess is always written by means of the Assyrian ideograph (𒀭)𒌋𒍪, except in liii. 2, a text which probably belongs not to the people of Van, but to a kindred tribe.

Originally it would seem the Urardhians had no goddesses, only gods.

The introduction of the Assyrian Istar into the country, however, introduced at the same time the old Babylonian myth of the death and resurrection of the Sun-god, whom Istar loved. As I pointed out in the *Academy*, Jan. 28th, 1882 (p. 63), the legend of Êr, the son of Armenios, with which Plato ends his *Republic*, can be traced back to the subjects of Śarduris. As I have there said, "Though Plato calls Er a Pamphylian, the name of his father Armenios points to Armenia, and it was from Armenia that the legend originally came. M. Émine, in his Russian translation of Moses of Khorene (pp. 254, 255), has pointed out that Er is Ara the Beautiful, beloved by Semiramis, the Assyrian queen, according to Armenian legend, and slain on the field of battle. Mar Apas Katina, from whom Moses of Khorene quoted the story, related how that Semiramis, in passionate love for the beauty of the Armenian king, vainly sought his hand, and, all other means of persuasion failing, marched against him with the army of Nineveh. A fierce battle was fought on the plain of Ararat, so called from the hapless prince who was slain there by the soldiers of the Assyrian queen. In an agony of grief Semiramis called her gods to help, and essayed by magical art to recall the dead man to life. But though her efforts were fruitless, she calmed the Armenians by pretending that 'the gods Aralez' had restored him from death. As M. Émine says, it is clear that in the original form of the myth the dead man was actually brought back to life; it was the influence of Christianity which caused this portion of the story to be modified. The spirits called Aralez still had their place in popular belief as late as the fourth century of our era, since, according to Faustus Byzantinus (v. 36), it was said of the Armenian general Mushegh (A.D. 384) that 'as he was a brave man, the Aralez would descend and restore him to life.'

"Now there can be little doubt that in the legend of Ara we have but a repetition of the myth of Aphroditê and Adônis, of Istar and Tammuz, of the beautiful Sun-god beloved by the

goddess of nature, and slain by the winter only to return once more to life. M. Fr. Lenormant has long since shown that Semiramis is the Assyrian Istar, the Greek Aphroditê; and the story of Semiramis, borrowed by Ktêsias from Persian writers, is but a rationalized form of the old Babylonian myth of the goddess of love and war. The Armenian Ara is the Accadian Tammuz, whom the Phœnicians called Adonai, Adônis, and we must see in him a name of the ancient Armenian sun-god.

"But who were the Aralez? The Armenian writers tried to explain their name from the verb *lezul* 'to lick,' as though they had 'licked' the wounds of Ara and so restored him to life. This is plainly a mere piece of *Volksetymologie*. Babylonian mythology, however, here comes to our aid. The underworld to which Tammuz descends is called in the Accadian legend the land of Arali; and Arali, though the land of the dead, is also the land where 'the waters of life' bubble up from under the golden throne of the spirits of heaven and earth. Arali, moreover, was the lofty mountain on whose summit the heaven rests, and was rich with gold, like the regions beyond the Hyperborean mountains in Greek story. It lay in the 'extremities of the north,' the place of shadows, and seems in later times to have been identified with the mountains of Ararat, the very spot where the tale of Ara was localized. We are, therefore, tempted to believe that the gods of Arali were the prototypes of the 'gods Aralez' of Armenian legend.

"The belief, I think, becomes a certainty when we turn to the list of Assyrian kings given by Ktêsias. Ktêsias professed to have derived his statements from Persian originals, and the progress of Cuneiform research has supplied us with evidence that he spoke the truth. The earlier part of his Assyrian history consists of myths rationalized in the way in which, as the opening chapters of Herodotus show, the Persians were accustomed to treat the mythology of their neighbours. I have already alluded to the myth of Semiramis; and her son, Ninyas, 'the Ninevite,' is also called Zames—that is, the Assyrian Samas or Samsu, the Sun-god. The two successors

of Ninyas were Arios and Aralios, with whom Moses of Khorene makes Ara I. and Ara II. contemporary in Armenia. Now Aralios seems plainly our Arali, while Arios seems equally plainly Aria, 'the destroyer,' the Accadian name of Nergal as king of Arali. Nergal or Aria was the Sun-god during the hours of night and darkness, as Tammuz was during the time of daylight and summer.

"Whether or not Ara is the same word as Aria is, I think, doubtful. The Greek form Êr speaks against it, and it is better to suppose that Er, or Ara, was an Armenian name for the Sun-god, which in later times was confounded with the Arios (Nergal) of Ktêsias." Ardinis would appear to be the Vannic name of the Sun-god, and, according to the inscription of Meher-Kapussi, sacrifices were offered both to "the dead of Khaldis," and to "the Khaldises of the dead." The latter would be the Aralez of the Armenian historians. It may be added that the legend unmistakably points to the fact that the worship of the goddess Śaris came from Assyria. This will be the origin of the tradition which brought Semiramis to Van.

According to Sargon,[1] the two gods worshipped at Muzazir—a district between Khupuskia and Ararat[2]—and carried off by him were Khaldia and Bagbartuv. Khaldia, we are further told, was the god of Urśa of Ararat, who was so much affected by the news of the capture of his deity as to commit suicide. Perhaps we may infer from this that Bagbartuv was not his god, and as the name may also be read Bagmastuv, it may be of Aryan origin, and the first sign of Aryan influence in this part of Asia. A bas-relief at Khorsabad (Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, pl. 140, 141) represents the temple of Khaldia—a form of the name which must be noticed—as built on a square platform, and surmounted with a pediment which has a pyramidal shape. A door stands in the middle of the façade, adorned with four square columns. Round shields, with a lion's mouth in the centre, are hung upon the walls, like the shields in the Jewish temple. They explain the use to which the bronze shields, found by Mr. Rassam near Van, were put.

[1] Botta, 148, 4.
[2] See Black Obelisk, 176–179.

The soldiers are depicted hacking the image of the god to pieces, and removing plunder from altars, which stand on one leg, and tripods. On the right of the entrance is the figure of a cow giving suck to a calf, and in front are placed two large bronze bowls or "seas," containing lustral water, and supported on tripods which have the feet of bulls. The whole temple and its surroundings betray the influence of Assyria, like the bronze solar disk from Van mentioned on p. 384, and the bronze winged bulls with human heads procured by Sir A. H. Layard from Van, and now in the British Museum.

§ II. Syllabary and Grammar.

The syllabary used in the Vannic inscriptions is a modified form of that employed at Nineveh in the ninth century B.C. As has already been said, the forms of the characters are those found in the inscriptions of Assur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser II. At first the wedges were cut across one another as on the Assyrian monuments, but during the reign of Menuas the nature of the rocks on which the texts were engraved caused the sculptors to divide a wedge in two when it intersected another, for instance, becoming . This was to prevent the stone breaking at the point of intersection.

Each character was allowed to retain only one phonetic value, and (with 18 exceptions) only those characters were adopted which denoted the four vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, and the open syllables *ba*, *bi*, *bu*, etc. In order to express the vowel of a syllable with greater clearness, the character denoting it was commonly written after the one which contained the consonant, *ba*, for example, being written *ba-a*. In this way, the people of Van came very near to changing the syllabary into an alphabet. Indeed, in one instance at least, the change was actually made. The final *-s* of the nominative, as Dr. Hincks pointed out, is represented by the character *se*, which must be read here simply *s*. This is proved by our never finding a vowel written after it, as well as by its interchanging with *is* after the vowel *i* (*e.g.* iii. 1), and it is curiously confirmed by the usage of the Cypriote or Asianic syllabary in

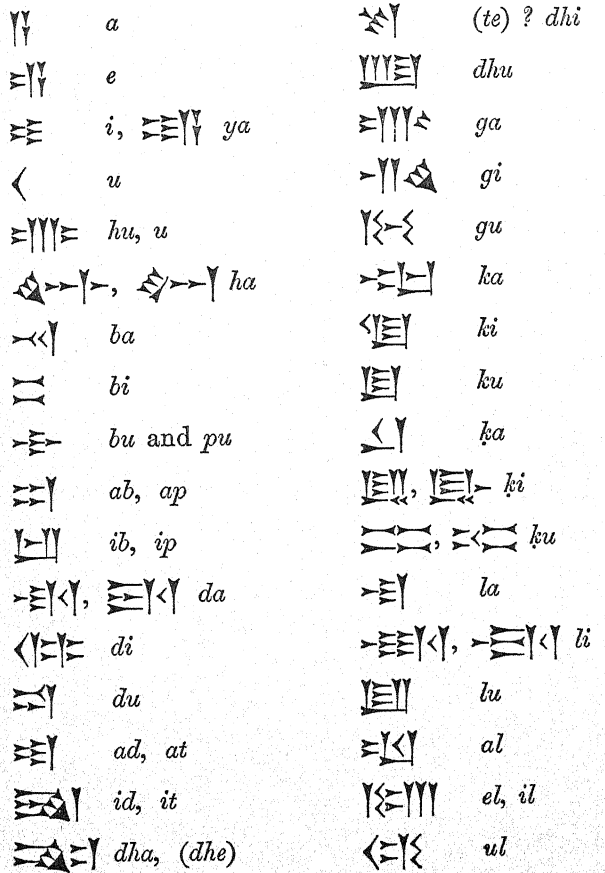
which a final consonant is similarly denoted by a character which consists of the consonant in question followed by *e*. Dr. Hincks, however, was wrong in thinking that the *-ni* of the accusative was also to be read simply *-n*, since this termination is sometimes followed by the complementary vowel *i* or *e*.

Along with this syllabary a considerable number of ideographs and determinative prefixes were also borrowed. The grammatical terminations of the ideographs were generally denoted by adding to them other characters used phonetically to express the sounds of the terminations; these correspond to the phonetic complements of Assyrian. At times the word itself or the latter portion of it was written by the side of the ideograph which stood for it. The extensive use of ideographs induces me to believe that before the introduction of the Cuneiform syllabary the people of Van had been acquainted with another system of writing which was in large part ideographic. We now know that such a system of writing was actually in use from an early period among the Hittites and the natives of Lesser Armenia, where it had probably been first invented, and the way in which what are evidently phonetic complements are plentifully interspersed among the ideographic characters of the Hittite inscriptions is the exact counterpart of what we find in the Vannic texts. Inscriptions in Hittite hieroglyphics may yet be discovered within the limits of the old kingdom of Ararat.

The only palæographical difficulty presented by the Vannic inscriptions is one due to the faultiness and inaccuracy of the copies of them which we possess. Most of these copies are excessively bad; in many cases, as we shall see, the text can be restored only by the help of parallel passages. Sir A. H. Layard's copies are by far the best; next come those of Schulz; but all suffer from having been made by persons unfamiliar with the Assyrian mode of writing. There are certain characters, resembling each other in form, which are constantly confounded. These are *da* and *li*; *ma* and *na*; *i*, *khe* and *mu*; and *te* and *la*.

Fortunately squeezes of many inscriptions have now been sent to the British Museum by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam and Capt. Clayton, and these have shown me what the characters really are in the stereotyped phrases which occur over and over again. They have also set the general accuracy of Sir A. H. Layard's copies in a strong light, and so raised the presumption that where the latter differ from the copies of Schulz, the fault lies on Schulz's side.

List of the Vannic Characters.



ma

me, mi

mu

am

† *im*

? *um*

na

ni

nu

an

un

pa

pi

pu, bu

ra

ri

ru

ar

† *ar*

ir

ur

sa

si

 se, s

su

as

is

us

śa

śi

śu

za, tsa

 zi

zu

tsi

tsu

ta

ti

te (? dhi)

tu

kha

khi

khe

khu

bad

bar

bur

bal

gar or *ḳar* (xxxvii. 26; xxxix. 62).

gur (xliii. 13)

 gis

kid

kur

kar

kab

† *nin*

tar

† *tap*

 khal

khar

śar

sur

† *lib*

† *rab*

dur

dhur

Ideographs.

(*nus, khulas*) 'king'

(*euris*) 'lord'

'governor'

(*tarais*) 'strong'

(*has*) 'man'

 (*? ibiras*) 'person'

'son'

 'child,' 'boy'

 'people'

 (*aśis*) 'soldier'

 'slave'

'language,' 'tribe'

(*ebanis*) 'country'

(*inanis*) 'city'

(*asis*) 'house'

(*asida, dhuluris*) 'palace'

'firm house'

'gate'

 (*? kabbis*) 'stone'

 'tablet'

(*tuais*) 'gold'

 'silver'

 'bronze'

'a mineh'

(*khusus*) 'flesh'

'food'

(*halis*) 'sacrifice'

'victim'

 (*susis*) 'sheep'

(*pakhinis*) 'ox'

'wild ox'

'lamb'

D.P. (*ul(?)-dhunis*) 'camel'

D.P. (*navusis*) 'horse'

(*sekhiris*) 'alive'

'many'

'in all'

'hostile'

(*abidadu*) 'to burn'

'to give'

 'to make'

'twice'

'sixty'

'four fours'

'times' (Lat. 'vices')

'war-magazine'

(*atsus*) 'month'

'year'

'god'

(*?Ardinis*) 'the sun-god,' 'the day'

(*Teisbas*), 'the air-god'

 'heaven'

(*Selardis*) 'the moon-god'

'Assyria'

'river'

† 'to have'

† 'shepherd'

Determinatives.

Det. Prefix of divinity

 D.P. of an individual

D.P. of a woman

D.P. of a people

D.P. of animal

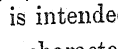
D.P. of wood

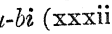
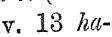
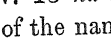
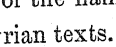
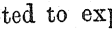
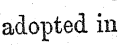
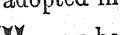
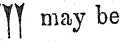
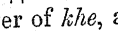
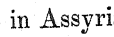
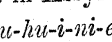
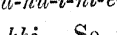
 Det. Affix of plurality

The characters to which an asterisk is prefixed occur only in the two inscriptions of Sarduris I., which are written in Assyrian. Exclusive of these, there are 73, or perhaps 74, characters used to express open syllables (including simple vowels), 18 to express closed syllables, while there are 58 ideographs, of which 21 are compound, and 12 are also employed phonetically, together with at least 7 determinatives. One of the ideographs ( ) is taken, not from the ordinary Assyrian form, but from the hieratic Assyrian form, of the character, . Compare the Susianian or "Protomedic" . The ideograph , if correctly copied, is a curious mixture of the two characters 'language' and 'people.'

Among the simple ideographs, 12 are also used with syllabic values (, , , , , , , , , ,). Of these, is only once found in a Vannic inscription as an ideograph (li. 8)—though used as such in the two Assyrian texts i. and ii.—as is also the case with (li. 8). On the other hand, occurs only once with a syllabic value (xxxvii. 18), while usually has attached to it if employed ideographically, and there is a distinction in form between 'alive' and *ti*. An attempt is made to keep ideographs apart from characters which are used phonetically; thus is 'four,' not . If is used as an ideograph in v. 7, we shall have to increase by one the number of ideographs.

 in Assyrian has the variant values of *ne, iz, pi, pil, bil, dhe* and *dha*. Its value in Vannic, however, is fixed partly by the word *ku-* *-a-di* 'on departing' by the side of *kudhūbi* 'I departed,' partly by its occurrence in the name of Malatiyeh, the Assyrian Milidia or Melidi, which is written *Me-li-* *-i-e*, *Me-li-* *-a-ni* in Nos. xxxiii. 16, xxxviii. 16, etc. We cannot read the character as *dhe* here, since parallel grammatical forms show that in *ku-* *-a-di*

the vowel (*a*) marks the vowel of the preceding character. Just as we have *ustadi* and not *usteadi*, so we should have *kudhabi* and not *kudheadi*. On the other hand, in  *Hu-i-e-ru-khi-i-ni-e-i* (xlv. 37), we must read *dhe*, unless the *a* is intended to stand for *ä*.

The character always has the value *tu*, as is proved in various ways. Thus we find it followed by the vowel *u* as in *tu-hu-bi* (xxxii. 3) by the side of the more usual *tu-bi*, and in xxxiv. 13 *ha-al-du-bi* is written *ha-al-tu-bi*. It also forms part of the name of the district Bustus, which is Bustu in the Assyrian texts. Just as the more easily-formed character was adopted to express the sound *su* in preference to , so was adopted in the stead of  . In v. 30, 81, vii. 6, xii. 3,  may be used with the value *um*. That  has the power of *khe*, and not of *gan* or *he*—which are further powers of it in Assyrian—is made clear by xxvi. 5, xxxiii. 18, where *Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-*  takes the place of the usual *Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi*. So, too, *al-khi* xlix. 17, *al-khi-e* l. 2, 6, and *al-khe* () xxxiii. 16. That is *bad* is shown by its being followed by a *d* (as in *bad-di-ni*, v. 24, by the side of *ba-di-ni-ni* xliii. 2). Similarly  is followed by *d* in *kid-da-nu-u-da* (xxxii. 4). I read  *bur* rather than *pur*, since  is replaced by *ba-al* in the name of *Baltulkhi* (xxx. 25, and xlv. 16). For  see xxxii. 7. As  is followed by *r* in the proper names *Tarra* . . . xxxvii. 28, and Ḳulbitar-ris, l. 30, while the Katarzas of Menuas (xxxi. 6) is the Ḳudhurzas of Argistis (xxxvii. 18), I make it *tar*. The value of is fixed by the variant spelling *kha-ar* in *kharkharsubi* (xxxviii. 19, 44), and that of  by its representing in the name of Śarduris (liii. 2) the syllable which is written *Śar* and *Śara* in the Assyrian texts. We learn that  was *gis* from the variant spellings of *Argistis* and *gissurie*.  is shown to be *bar* and not *mas* by the name of the country of Bar-śu-as, the Assyrian Parśuas or Barśuas (see xxxix. 12).

A word always ends with a line. The only exception to this rule is No. xlix. 13, 14, where we have 'the country of Dakive-edia'—where *edia* is regarded, not as a suffix, but as an independent word with the independent meaning of 'people'—xxx. 21, 22, where *-khinie* is regarded in the same way, and xxx. 34, 35, where the compound *arkhi-urudani* is divided.

The Cuneiform syllabary was probably inadequate for the expression of all the sounds belonging to the Vannic language. It is difficult to determine the exact pronunciation of the character which I have transcribed *e* (as in Assyrian), but I fancy it was *ä*. It is not unfrequently attached to a final long *a*; thus we have *laḳuada* and *laḳuadae*, *Dhuspâ* and *Dhuspae* or *Dhuspâe*. But we find also *tiudaie* (which I would read *tiudaye*) by the side of *tiudae*, and *e* not unfrequently follows *i*, as in *istini-i-e*. *I* is, I believe, sometimes used for the semivowel *y*, as in the example (*tiudaye*) just quoted, or in the particle *iu* 'thus.' That the semivowel *y* was known in Vannic is shown by a word like *ya-ni*, xlv. 26. *U* seems similarly to be written occasionally for *v*, as in the adjectival termination *na-u-e*, which I would read *nave*, *ui* for *vi*, and *uedia* for *vedia*, or in *navusis* 'a horse.' On the other hand, the pronunciation of *u* appears to have been *ü* as well as *u*. Thus, by the side of *al-śu-u-si-e* (v. 49) we find *al-śu-i-si-e* (v. 12), where it is better to assume that the combination *u*+*i* represents an attempt to express *ü* than that in *al-śu-u-si-e* the vowel sound of *i* has fallen out. Perhaps *ui* stands also for *ü* rather than for *vi*. represents not only *hu*, but also *u*, while is preferably used for what I suppose to be *ü*. Thus we have *Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s* (xxvi. 2), but *Is-pu-u-ni-khi-ni-s* (xx. 2, 9). At the same time and interchange elsewhere. For the sake of clearness, I have always transcribed as *hu*, though it must be remembered that its common power is simply *u*.

The diphthongs are *ai*, *au*, *ei* (*ae*, *ie*, *ue*), and *ia*; probably also *ui*. But it is difficult to distinguish the cases where we have to pronounce a diphthong from those in which the two

vowels are sounded independently. Thus, analogy would lead us to write *kha-ubi* rather than *khaubi*, although we have the contracted form *khubi* (xxxviii. 13, xl. 54).

It is the fault of the Cuneiform system of writing itself that the sounds of *b* and *p* are expressed by the same character in *bu* and *pu*, *ab* and *ap*, *ib* and *ip*, *ub* and *up*. The fact that *pa* exists by the side of *ba*, and *pi* by that of *bi*, shows that in pronunciation the language made a distinction between the two consonants.

It is impossible to determine the exact pronunciation of the dental sound which I have represented by *dh*, or of the sibilants *ś* and *ts*. *Dh* became *d* in *śuduḳubi* (l. 27) by the side of the older *sudhuḳubi* (xxx. 24, etc.), but it is represented by 𒌷 (*dh*) in Assyrian (in *Dhuruspa*=*Dhuspas*), and Θ in Greek (in Θωσπία). That *s* had the same sound as the Assyrian *s* (𒋗) seems to result from the proper name Haza, which is written Aza in Assyrian. The Vannic language, by-the-bye, appears to have had as much partiality for the aspirate as the Assyrians had little. In the name of *Śarduris* the Vannic *ś* is represented by the Assyrian 𒁕 (*ś*). What the exact sound of *ḳ* was I cannot even conjecture.

Phonetic decay seems to have affected the language very considerably. Diphthongs become vowels and consonants disappear. In *khubi* (xxxviii. 13), for *khaubi*, *au* has become *u*, like *khudaye* (xxxi. 22) for *khaudaye*, and *ai* passes into *i* in *Binae* (xx. 7) for *Biainae*, though we also find *ulustabi* (xxxiv. 7) for *ulustaibi*, and *Bianaste* for *Biainaste*, while *ua* regularly becomes *u*, as in the 3rd sing. present of the verb. The terminations especially suffer. Thus we have *gissuri* (xlvi. 9) for *gissurie*, and *dudaye* becomes *dudae* (xix. 17) and even *duda* (xxii. 9). Final *d* is lost after the time of Menuas in *adakid*. Since the name of the capital *Dhuspa(s)* is always written *Dhuruspa* in the Assyrian inscriptions, it would seem that *r* between two vowels tended to disappear. Probably there were two *r*s, one of which was so slightly sounded in pronunciation as not to be written in the native texts. If *Bitanu* really represents Biaina(s), and is not due to a mere *Volksetymologie*, it would further seem that *t* between two vowels might be lost, just as

it is in Aryan Armenian. In *śudukubi dh* is softened into *d*. On the other hand *d* after *s* is hardened into *t*, as in *Biainaste*. *Haltubi* and *haldubi* appear in the variant copies of the same inscription (xxxiv. 13) as well as *zaduali* and *zatuali* (v. 2, 33). The near approach made by the Vannic syllabary to an alphabet must not be forgotten in dealing with the phonology of the language. The addition of a vowel, therefore, to a character which already contains it does not necessarily imply that the vowel was a long one, as it would in Assyrian; it merely determines the vowel inherent in the preceding character.

The Noun.—The noun has two numbers, singular and plural, and at least seven cases, but no gender. The nominative sing. ends in *s*, and the vowel which precedes determines the stem to which the noun belongs. Accordingly we have nominatives like *Menu-as* from stems in *-a*, like *Argist-is* from stems in *-i*, and like *al-us* 'whoever,' or *ats-us*[1] 'month' from stems in *-u*.

The genitive singular terminates in *-i*, as in *Menuai pida* (xxii. 3) 'the memorial of Menuas,' *Tariria-i* 'of Tariria' (xxiii. 2), examples which show that the genitive preceded the governing noun. So, too, from stems in *-i* we have *me-i* 'of him,' and *Menuai-ne-i* 'of her belonging to Menuas' (xxiii. 1). This *-i* seems to be a weakened form of a more original *-ye*, since we find *gisla-ye* and *gisla-e* agreeing with *Tariria-i* (xxiii. 1). In this way we are able to connect it with the dative singular, which also terminated originally in *e* (though not, apparently, in *ye*), the two cases being flectionally and syntactically one and the same. The long inscription of Isbuinis and Menuas (No. iv.), which recounts the offerings to be made to the various deities, gives us many examples of this genitive-dative. Thus we have *Hanapsa-e* by the side of the shortened form *Hanapsa-a*, *Melardi-e*, and *Arni-i-e*, *Khaldi-i* by the side of *Khaldi-e* (*e.g.* v. 1). The following is a list of the principal genitive-datives occurring in this inscription :—

[1] *Atsus* is really the case denoting duration of time (v. 2), which seems to have been the nominative in Vannic.

Stems in *-a*.	Stems in *-i*.	Stem in *-u*.
Suba-a	Khaldi-i	Sebitu-e
Eliaha-a	Ahui-e (Ahuye)	
Talapura-a	Śardi-i-e (Śardiye)	
Baba-a	Selardi-i-e (Selardiye)	
Ai-a (Aya)	Elipri-e	
Arha-a	Siniri-e	
Adi-ya	Khaldi-nav-e	
Ui-a (Uya)	Baba-nav-e (Baba-nau-e)	
Khara-a	Inua-nav-e	
Araza-a	Aai-nav-e	
Hura-a	Most of these are deri-	
Erina-a	vatives in *-di*, *-ri*, and	
Ḳuera-a	the adjectival *-nav* or	
Adaruta-a	*nahu*.	

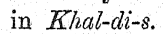
In the case of stems in *-a*, a distinction was made between the genitive which ended in *i*, as *Menuai* and the dative which had the contracted form in *-a*, as *Subâ*, though, as we have seen, the more original form of the genitive also was *gislaye*.

The accusative singular is marked by the suffix *-ni*, as is shown by the imprecatory formula in which the accusatives *pêi-ni* 'name,' *arkhe-urudâ-ni* 'family,' and *inai-ni* 'city,' follow one another. The spelling of *inai-ni-e* (xxi. 15) shows that the vowel was long, and rather *e* than *i*; and we find *-ni-e-i* in xl. 1. The suffix of the accusative might be omitted after the local affix *-da*; thus we have *pi-da aguni* 'the memorial he has set up,' by the side of *arkhe-uruda-ni*. The patronymic termination *-khini(s)*, on the other hand, instead of affixing a second *-ni*, lost its original one; e.g. *Argisti-ni Menua-khi-(e)* 'Argistis son of Menuas' (xxxvi. 5), *Diave-khi* 𒀸𒌑-*nie* 'the lands of the son of Diaves' (xxiv. 7), and this happened even when the substantive was without the accusatival suffix; as in xxxvii. 6, *Diave-khi nu dubi* 'I destroyed the king the son of Diaus.' The accusative is used with an instrumental sense, as in *na-ra-ni* 'with fire' (xxxii. 45).

An adjective, even if used substantivally, dropped the accu-

sative suffix *-ni*, and terminated in simple *ie* or *ê*. Thus we have *alušê Dhuspae* 'inhabiting Tosp,' *baduši* 'decayed' or 'old' (xvii. 5), written *baduši-i-e* (x. 8). From this we may infer that *ni* was really the suffixed demonstrative *ini*. Similarly, where two substantives followed one another without a conjunction, the suffix *-ni* might be dropped in the first or even in both, as *asi sušê* 'house (and) columns.'

The local case was denoted by the suffix *-da* (sometimes *-dai*, as in xxxiv. 41, xl. 29), as is proved by many examples. Thus we have *pi-da* 'a memorial,' from *pi(s)* 'a name,' *Tariria-khini-da* 'the place of the daughter of Tariria's' (xxiii. 3), *khuradi-ni-da* 'the camp' or 'place belonging to the soldiers' (xxxii. 4), *Sadahadae-khini-dâ-ni* 'the place (acc.) of the son of Sadahadas' (xxxii. 6). After *s* the *d* became *t*, as in *Khatina-s-tâ-ni* 'the place (acc.) of the Hittites' (xxxii. 7). It is difficult to understand why the accusative suffix *-ni* is attached to *-da* in some cases and dropped in others. The local suffix was originally *dae* or *dä* (e.g. *pidae* xxii. 10).

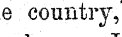
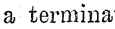
The suffix *-di* must mark the locative, as in *usta-di* 'on (my) approach,' *kudha-di* 'on leaving,' *nu-a-di* 'among the people of the king' (xli. 13), *khuti-a-di* 'in the *service* (?),' *isti-di ulkhu-di* 'in this campaign' (l. 22), *Bianaidi* (xli. 7) contracted into *Biainadi* (lv. 14). After *s* *-di* becomes *te*, *e.g.* *Biaina-s-te* plural locative 'belonging to Biainas.'[1] After the verb *šudhukubi* 'I plundered,' we find III.  *e-di* 'three palaces,' (xxx. 26), and *ebani-a-tsê-di-ni* 'the chief of the people of the country,' where, however, *di* may be the suffix of agency as in *Khal-di-s*. The form in *te* (= *de*) shows that *-di* was originally *-de* or *-die*.

The same relation that exists between the vowels of the two suffixes *da* and *di* exists also between the suffixes *kai* and *ki*. *-kai*, as will be shown, is the genitive-dative of a noun formed by the suffix *-ka(s)*, which denotes 'family,' 'clan' or 'race.' Thus we have *Da-di-ka-i* (xxxix. 5) 'of the family of Dadis' (whose name is written Dadas in line 32), and *Argisti-ka-i* 'to the family of Argistis.' In xlix. 2, we read

[1] *Te* here must stand for *-tie*, just as *-di* will stand for *-die*.

Ma-na-ni ebani-e la-ku-ni *Śar-du-ri-ka-i* *Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e* 'the land of the Minni they have given to the family of Sarduris the son of Argistis,' where the patronymic is in the dative singular agreeing with *Sardurikai*.

The suffix *-ki* denotes the adverbial case, as is shown by the adverb *adaki* 'partly.' The original form of the suffix, however, was *kid*, as we learn from *adakid* (xxxii. 9), which may perhaps be analyzed into *ki*+*d*. The dental *d* may represent either the locative *-di* or the local *-da*. Of more doubtful meaning is the suffix *-uki*, which seems a compound of the adjectival *-u* (as in *bad-u-śi*, *al-u-śi*) and the termination *-ki*. We find it in *ebani-uki* (xxxix. 1, 25), as well as *ebani-ukie-di* (xlv. 10), where the sense seems to be 'a part of the country,' but unfortunately the context is in neither place clear. In l. 27, a passage parallel to xlv. 10, the contracted form *ebani-ki-di* occurs (if the copy is right). By the side of *ebani-uki* we also get *ebani-uka-ni* (xxxix. 7, 31), with a termination which we have in *ik-uka-ni* 'goods.' It seems to signify 'tribal,' 'belonging to the clan of the country.' With *ebani-uki* must be compared *kai-ukid* (xxx. 13), written *ka-ukie* in l. 23, from the same root apparently as *ka-di* (l. 11). The word must signify 'with weapons' or 'by war,' where the adverbial meaning is evident. Compare also *inuki* (iii. 1) and *inukani* (xxi. 5, xliv. 11).

I have not been able to discover any examples of the nominative plural unless it be *tasmus* (xxx. 17), but we see from the expression  *-s* that it ended in *s*. The genitive-dative plural terminated in *-nie* (*nê*) (lv. 3) and *-ni*, as in *Khaldi-ni* 'to the Khaldises' (v. 12, etc.), *Khaldi-ni-ni* 'to the gods belonging to Khaldis' (v. 17, etc.). The plural adjective following and agreeing with this dative ended in *-ie* (*ê*) attached to the suffix *-s*; e.g. *Khaldi-ni alśui-s-ê* 'to all the Khaldises' (v. 12), *Khaldi-ni diru-s-ê* (v. 13). If, however, the preceding substantive had been changed into an adjective by the adjectival suffix *-ni*, the adjective following took *-ni*, as *Khaldi-ni-ni alśui-śi-ni* 'to all the gods belonging to Khaldis.' Similarly in v. 15 we have 

Ar-tsu-hu-i-ni-ni 'to the gods belonging to the city of Artsus.' Stems in *a* preserved their vowel if we may judge from the dat. pl. of the adjective *usma-s-ê*.

The accusative plural terminated in more than one way. A stem in *-i* ended in *-e*, as *suse* 'sheep' from *susis* (xxxvii. 15, xlviii. 29, xlv. 22, xxxi. 17). That we must read *suse* here and not *sus* is proved by the spelling in xlviii. 29. *E* might become *i*; e.g. *sekheri* 'alive' (xxxvii. 42) by the side of *sekherie* i.e. *sekherê* (xxxvii. 13). This was especially the case if the noun ended in *-nis*; as in *pakhini* 'oxen' (xxxi. 17, xl. 39), though we also have *ebanie*. The suffix *-ni* of the singular was added to a collective in *-a*; thus we have *-huedia-ni* 'womanfolk' (xlix. 10) as well as *-huediani* (xlix. 20). But the plural sign here denoted the sense of the word rather than its true grammatical construction; *tarsua-ni* 'soldiers,' for instance, is grammatically a singular. This is also the explanation of the forms *-ra-ni* (xxxix. 35) and *-ra-ni* (liii. 6), which are connected with the adjective *-a-ri-e* (v. 78, xxxi. 13). Nouns in *-u* formed the acc. pl. in long *û*, as *hakhau* 'chariots' (xxx. 20), *navû* 'horses' (xxx. 20), as well as *navuse* (xlv. 26). Nouns in *-a* similarly had an accusative in *-â*; thus we find *tarsua* 'soldiers' by the side of the sing. *tarsuani*, and *ebana* in l. 26.

Another accusative plural was made by reduplicating the local and locative suffixes *da* and *di*, and dropping the final vowel as in the adverbial case in *-kid*. Thus in xx. 3 we find *armanidad* 'tablets,' in l. 25 *bibudid* 'vases.' That the plural is intended here is shown by the form *-da-da-e-di-ni, nudadaedini* (xxx. 24) 'the people of the (two) kings.' Perhaps *-dad* expressed the dual and *-did* the plural.

When the local suffix denoted a single place in which a number of objects was collected, it was attached to the plural accusative of the noun; e.g. *asida* 'the site of the palaces' (xxx. 27). It thus frequently expressed an abstract, as *kurêda* 'tribute' (xxx. 14), and so a collective which has the

force of a plural, as *arnuyada* 'castles' (xxxi. 4). See note on xxx. 14.

It is possible that in the forms *Biaina-s-te* 'among the Biainian (gods)' and *Khatina-s-ta-ni* 'the seat of the Hittites,' the *s* before the suffixes *-di* and *-da* may represent a plural. But it may also be the adjectival formative which we have in *diru-si-s*.

Duration of time was expressed either by the nominative sing. as *atsus manus* 'each month' (v. 2) or the acc. sing. as *ardini* 'during the day,' 'publicly.' The distributive 'day by day' was expressed by *ardinini* (v. 2).

A case which may be termed perfective was formed by the suffix *-li*. When followed by a participle, this case represented the ablative absolute of Latin. Thus we have *inili* *zaduali* (v. 2) 'after this gate was built' and *inili* *zatuali* (v. 33) 'after these gates were built'; from which we learn that the form was the same in both sing. and plural. Elsewhere we read *mesuli* 'after the summer' (v. 30), and at the end of the sentence *dusisiuli-ni* 'after the winter' (v. 31), where the final *-ni* is the sign of the dative plural agreeing with the datives plural which have preceded it. In v. 9 occurs the expression *alus-urulive-siuali*, where the suffix *-ve* is a dative singular agreeing with 'god' understood, *li* the perfective suffix and *alus* the pronoun 'whoever' united with *uruli-ve* in a sort of compound. Literally the phrase runs: 'To him whoever (is) after the offspring when they have been carried away.'

These suffixes may be added one to the other, and new forms thus created. From *nu*, for instance, the accusative plural of *nus* 'a king,' we get *nu-dadae-di-ni*, where *di* is the suffix of agency, while *dadae* is the local plural, and *ni* the suffix of the accusative. *Agununêda*, again, 'the place of buildings' (xxx. 27), is composed of the local suffix *-da*, the accusative suffix *nê*, the plural *-u*, and the adjectival *n*.

The Declension.

Stems in *-a.*

	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.	Menuas	-as ('gods')
Gen.-Dat.	Menuai / Khara'a	——
Acc.	Menuani	ebana / (khuradia) / gunuse
Instr.	narani	——
Local	arnuyada	——
Locat.	Biainadi	Biainaste
Adverbial	adakid, adaki	——
Durative	——	——
Perfective	zaduali	zaduali

Stems in *-i.*

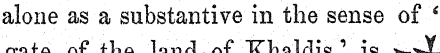
Nom.	Khaldis	——
Gen.-Dat.	Khaldi / Khaldie	Khaldini
Acc.	Khaldini, Argistikhi	suse, pakhini
Instr.	——	——
Local	pida, pidae, burudani	kurêda, asida, / armanidad
Locat.	Khaldêdi, Khaldidi	bibudid
Adverbial	ebaniki(di)	——
Durative	ardini (ardinini)	——
Perfective	inili	inili

Stems in *-u.*

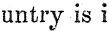
Nom.	atsus	tasmus
Gen.-Dat.	Sebitue, Iṣkigulu	——
Acc.	atsuni	hakhau, nu
Instr.	——	——
Local	buruda	nudada
Locat.	ulkhudi	——
Adverbial	kaiukid, kaiukê	——
Durative	atsus	——
Perfective	urpuli, urpuli-ni	——

Formative suffixes are numerous. We may first signalize the patronymic *khini*, as *Menua-khinis* 'the son of Menuas,' *Argisti-khinis* 'the son of Argistis.' This suffix seems a compound of two others, *khi* and *ni*, which will explain why it is that the second syllable (*ni*) is dropped in the accusative. We find *khi* in several words with the sense of 'belonging to,' 'originating from'; e.g. *arkhi* 'children' from the root *ar* 'to bear,' *tukhi* 'captives' from *tu* 'to carry away,' *alkhê* (l. 2) and *alkhi* 'inhabitants.' *Ni* or *n* is commonly employed to change a substantive into an adjective. Thus we have the genitive-dative *Menuai-ne-i* 'belonging to Menuas' (xxiii. 1), *Khaldi-ni-ni* 'to those belonging to Khaldis' (the gods belonging to the family of Khaldis), *khuradi-ni-da* 'the place belonging to the soldiers,' *i.e.* the camp (xlvi. 15), *Khaldi-ni-dasê* 'to those of the place belonging to Khaldis' (v. 15), where a fresh adjective in *-s* has been formed from the compound *Khaldinida*.

This adjectival suffix *-ni* must be carefully distinguished from the flectional *-ni* of the noun and verb, which seems to be derived from the demonstrative *ini* 'this.'

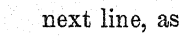
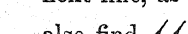
Side by side with this suffix *ni*, we find another adjectival suffix *na*, which has what may be termed a territorial sense. *Khaldi-nas* means 'belonging to the land of Khaldis' as opposed to *Khaldinis* 'belonging to Khaldis.' The latter may stand alone as a substantive in the sense of 'the Khaldinian.' 'The gate of the land of Khaldis' is  *Khaldina* (x. 4, etc.), not *Khaldini*. On the other hand we have *Khatinas* 'Hittite' (xxxiii. 11), *Khatinaidi* 'among the Hittites' (xxxviii. 12), by the side of *Etiu-nis* 'Georgian' (xliii. 34), *Etiuniedi* 'among the Georgians' (xliii. 47). See also *ebana* (l. 26).

-ue or *-ve* is a possessive suffix, denoting possession or attribute. Thus we get *ippue* (v. 4) '(to Teisbas) the inundator' from the root *ip* 'inundation,' *khula-hue* or *khulave* 'possessing kings' (l. 10), where the adjectival ending replaces the genitive of possession. It may be followed by the suffixes *di-a* as in *-hu-e-di-a* 'womanfolk.' Notice the remarkable *alus uruli-ve siua-li* of v. 9.

The suffix is attached to the territorial suffix *-na* when possession of a country is implied. Hence we have in the dative  *Ar-di-ni-na-hu-e* 'to the god of the city Ardinis,' *Ḳumenu-nave* '(to the god) of the city Ḳumenus' (v. 14). If the name of the country belonged to a stem in *a* preceded by *n*, the word was treated as if the final *-na* formed part of the suffix, as *Biainave* 'belonging to the land of Biainas' (xxvi. 6). The dative plural has the same form as the dative singular; e. g. *Khaldi-nave* D.P. *aśi* 'to the soldiers of the land of Khaldis.' The double suffix may be attached to the adj. in *-ni*; e. g. *Dhuspa-ni-na-ve* 'belonging to the land of the Tospian' (v. 14).

A frequent suffix, which indicates 'people of,' is *-a*. Thus we find *ebani-a tubi* 'the people of the country I carried away' (xxxii. 3, etc.), *Khaldi-a* 'for the people of Khaldis' (xxxvii. 16, etc.), *tarsu-a* 'soldiers,' *khuradi-a* 'armies,' *-vedi-a* 'womenfolk.' In the two latter words *-a* is attached to the suffix of agency *-di*, which is itself preceded by the suffix *ve* in the last word. In xliii. 75 we read XI.*dhuluri-a agunu-ni gunusâ khaubi* 'the people of eleven palaces (and) the plunder for a spoil I acquired,' and in xli. 13 *nuadi* 'among the people of the king.' The proper name Menuas probably contains the suffix, though it may be a past participle. Words to which it is attached are treated like stems in *-a*, but, as in nouns which terminate in *da*, the acc. suffix *-ni* may be dropped. Hence we find *tarsua* (xlv. 9) as well as *tarsuani*. If the acc. suffix is dropped however, the word ending in *-a* ought to be followed by another accusative to which *-ni* is attached (see xlv. 9, xliii. 75, etc.).

The suffix of agency is *-di*, which is also the locative ending. It is not difficult to understand how a suffix indicative of locality should come to be used in the sense of individuality or agency. The suffix occurs in the name of the supreme god *Khal-di-s*, as well as in those of the Sun-god *Ar-di-ni-s* and the Moon-god *Selar-di-s*. Compare also *Śar-dis* and *khura-di*. I have already referred to *ve-di-a* 'womanfolk,' where we have a form which is once written *Ḳakive-edia* (xlix. 14),

owing to the latter part of the word having to overlap into the next line, as well as to  -*da-da-e-di-ni* (xxx. 24). We also find  -*ve-di-a* (xlv. 15), literally 'people of the individuals of the kings.'

Mention has been made above of the gentilic suffix -*ka*, as in *Urbi-ka-s* (liv. 9), *Dhumeiski-ni-ka-i* (l. 11) where it is attached to the adjectival -*ni*, *Argisti-ka-i*, *Dadi-ka-i*, etc. *Inu-ka-ni* (xxi. 5) is 'a suite of chambers,' *iku-ka-ni* 'a series of furniture,' *i.e.* 'goods.'

We now come to a suffix -*tsi*, of the exact meaning of which I have some doubt. We find the following examples of it: xxxiv. 15, 'I changed the name of the city Lununis to *Menua* -*e-a-tsi-da-ni* 'of Menuas the place of the *chief* (?) of the citizens'; xxx. 28, 'the palaces, the place of plunder, *ebani-a-tsie-di-ni śudhuḳubi* the *chief* (?) inhabitants of the country I despoiled'; xxxviii. 15, *ustadi Khati-na-tsie* 'on approaching the *chief* (?) of the land of the Hittites'; l. 11, *aśi* -*tsi* 'the *chief* (?) of the cavalry'; vii. 1, *Khaldie urpu-a-tsi zaduni* 'the *chief* (?) men of the shrine of Khaldis he has made'; xlv. 40 (?) *a-ni-tsi dubi* 'the *chief of the people* (?) I destroyed.' Cf. . . . . *yasina-tsi-e* xlviii. 11 and xxxix. 12, and xliii. 12. The phrase parallel to *ebani-a-tsê-di-ni śudhuḳubi* is -*da-da-e-di-ni śudhuḳubi* (xxx. 24), and III. *ebanie-dae-di-ni śukhuḳubi* 'the inhabitants of the three countries I despoiled' (xlv. 8). Compare also xxxix. 5, 6, *arieni* *Dadi-kai* *Kulasini* *Babani śudhuḳubi* 'the possessions of the house of Dadis, the lands of Kulasis and Babas, I despoiled'; and xxxviii. 57, *tsi-e*. If my conjectural rendering of *tsi* by 'chief' is not accepted, the only other interpretation of it of which I can think is 'dependents' or 'all' (see xxxix. 5, 6, and xlix. 19).

There are three other suffixes which very rarely occur, and of which I can offer no explanation. These are -*me* as in *khasi-alme*, *askhu-me* (xxiv. 6), by the side of *askhu-da-ni*

(xix. 12)—for which see note on the passage, and cp. . . . *me* xix. 5 and . . . *daeme*, xli. 13;—*zi* in *armu-zi* (xxviii. 9) and *gala-zi* (xi. 4) by the side of *bur-gala-da* (xxxi. 3); and *-ta* or *-da*, which we have in the name of Khaldida or Khaldita, the father of the pretender to the throne of Babylon in the time of Darius Hystaspis.

One of the suffixes employed to form adjectives is *s* or *si*, as in *Khaldinida-s-e*, quoted above, *diru-sie* (v. 13), *alśui-si-s* 'multitudinous,' etc. The difference between the meaning given to a stem by *-si* and *-ni* is illustrated by the two adjectives, *alśui-si-s* 'being a multitude,' *i.e.* 'multitudinous,' and *alśui-ni-s* 'belonging to a multitude,' *i.e.* 'of multitudes;' see xx. 7.

Another formative of the adjective is *ś*, which especially follows the vowel *u*. Thus we have *alu-śe* 'inhabitant,' *nuśi(s)* 'royal,' *ma-śi(s)* 'powerful.' The adjective in *ś* may be used as a participle governing a case; thus *alušie Dhuspae* 'inhabiting Dhuspas' (where the substantive follows in the genitive), *adaiśi ikukanedini* 'assembling (?) the men of property' (li. 4). It is also attached to the local suffix, as *-ve-da-śi-nie* (xl. 79).

Ri is another suffix used to form adjectives, as in *eu-ris* 'lord,' *sekheris* 'alive.' Compare, too, *dhuluri(s)* 'a palace.'

Among the substantive suffixes is *-b*, which we have in *atibi* 'thousands,' and *niribi* 'the dead' (v. 20, etc.). Compare, too, *Teisbas* 'the Air-god.' I can offer no explanation of the suffix which we find in the dative plural *baddi-sa-ni* (*? baddisani*) by the side of *baddini* (v. 25).

Compound derivative forms worthy of attention are *aśi*()*-veda-du-da* 'the ruined quarters of the cavalry' (xliii. 43), *arni-u-si-ni-da* 'place of the fortress,' and *khuradini-da-ve-da* (xxxvii. 5).

Compounds were formed by dropping the flectional suffixes of the first of two compounded substantives, which, as in the Aryan languages, defined the second. Thus we have *arkhiuruda(s)* 'family' (literally 'children-household'); *ip-tu* 'to bring an inundation' (xliv. 13).

The genitive or defining word preceded the noun it defined, as in *Menuai pida* 'the memorial of Menuas' (xxii. 3); in the case of the personal pronoun, however, the genitive *mei* followed its governing noun. This also seems to have happened occasionally in other instances, since we have 'the gods of the languages' written ideographically in v. 3, where the ideograph of 'languages' follows that of 'gods.' It is possible, however, that in reading, the order was reversed (just as in Japanese when written in Chinese characters), the whole being regarded as a single ideographic expression.

The adjective preceded the word it governed, as in *alusé Dhuspae* 'inhabiting Tosp,' and if in the accusative, lost the suffix *-ni* like patronymics in *-khinis*.

Otherwise the adjective followed its noun.

In place of the genitive, the defining substantive might be changed into an adjective by the attachment of an adjectival suffix. In this case it might precede the word defined; e.g. *Menuainiei gislaye* 'of the mother (?) of Menuas.' But it may also follow, as *nue khulave* 'king of kings' (li. iii. 10), *nue* *Surave* 'king of Suras' (li. iii. 9).

The Numerals.—The numerals are denoted as in Assyrian, for 1, for 2, for 10, etc. However, or represents 9 and 4, to avoid confusion with (*sa*). is 60, but 70, 80, and 90. is 'twice' (xxxvii. 14, etc.), 'sixty' (xliii. 16, 78). Instead of writing XIIIM. or XXIIIM., the people of Van wrote XMIIIM. and XXMIIIM., from which we may infer that they said 'ten thousand, three thousand' and 'twenty thousand, three thousand' instead of 'thirteen thousand' and 'twenty-three thousand.' 'Thousand' was *atibi* (xxxvii. 14, etc.).

The noun following a numeral higher than 'one' was usually in the plural, though the singular might also be used (see v. 5–37).

The Pronouns.—Of the personal pronouns I have discovered only the third. This is *mes* 'he' (xxx. 16, xlv. 40), the genitive-dative being *mei*, the local case *meida* (xlix. 11), or

meda (liv. 5), and the possessive *meiesi(s)* (v. 31), with acc. sing. *mê-si-ni* in xxx. 15, xxxiv. 14, xlix. 17, etc. Unlike other adjectives, the possessive pronoun stood before its noun in a quasi-substantival sense, and the substantive which followed might accordingly drop the flectional suffix (*ni*). Hence we have *mesi-ni pi* and not *mesini pini* (*e.g.* xxxiv. 14). The accusative is *ma-ni* 'him' (xix. 19, etc.), and we also find *manini* (v. 24, xix. 6) used as a dative plural. While *mei* is employed in the sense of 'of him,' and made to follow its noun, *mu* is an indeclinable possessive pronoun signifying 'his,' 'its' and 'their,' attached enclitically to a substantive (xxxvii. 5, etc.). Instead of *mu* we have *ma* after *agununi* 'spoil' (xxxvii. 26, see xxxix. 62, xliii. 39).[1]

The third personal pronoun accordingly has the following forms :—

POSSESSIVE :

Sing.	*Nom.*	mes.
	Gen.-Dat.	mei.
	Acc.	mani.
	Local	me-da (liv. 5). See *meiada*, xlix. 11.
Pl.	*Dat.*	(manini, xix. 6).
	Acc.	? mani.
	Indeclinable	me 'his,' 'its,' 'their.' / ma[1] 'his.'
	Sing. Nom.	(meisis, mesis).
	Gen.-Dat. (and *Acc.*)	meisi.
	Acc.	mesini.

The analogy of the first person singular of the verb would lead us to infer that *bi* was the pronoun of the first person.

In liii. 6, *bi* seems a dialectal variety of *mu* : see note on the passage.

The relative pronoun is *ies*, as in *alus udas tiudae ies zadubi* 'whoever destroys that which I have done' (xx. 13, etc.),

[1] As *ma* is found only in one passage (xxxvii. 26), it is very possibly a false reading.

alus udas tiudae ies D.P. *Lununini khaubi* 'whoever destroys that in that I conquered the city of Lununis' (xxxiv. 18, 19). *Udas* is also written *hu-da-e-s* (xxxi. 29, etc.). We might read *udase* and *iese* as accusatives plural, but I prefer to regard *udas* and *ies* (or *yes*) as indeclinable pronouns in the same durative case as *atsus* (v. 2), since *udae-s-e* by the side of *udae* and *udani* would not be easy to explain. The adverb *iu* 'thus' belongs to the same root as the relative pronoun. *Alus* is the Indefinite 'whosoever,' and is followed by the verbal form in *-dae* or *-da*. We find the adverbial *alukid* (probably) in v. 26.

The Demonstratives are (1) *ini* 'this,' an acc. sing., the meaning of which was discovered by Dr. Mordtmann; (2) the indeclinable *eha* 'this' (v. 25, where it follows a noun of locality in the accusative;[1] xiii. 3, where it precedes the accusative singular, but without the acc. suffix; xliii. 16, 78, where it precedes the acc. plural; and xlviii. 29, where it also precedes the acc. plural); (3) *udas* 'that'; (4) *istis* 'this'; and (5) *sukhe* (v. 27, 28, 29) 'these,' 'this,' which always follows its substantive and seems indeclinable. *Udas* has already been noticed in connexion with the relative *ies*. Besides *udas*, we find the accusative singular *udani* (liv. 5), the acc. pl. *udaê* (xxi. 12, xxxiii. 24), and the gen.-dat. sing. *udai* (xliv. 8, xlviii. 19, l. 37). *Udas*, *udani*, and *udaê* are all used absolutely, without a noun; *udai* precedes a noun *turi* or *turie*.

Istis is only twice found in the singular (in the dative *isti* (xliii. 15) after *Khaldi*, and in the locative (*istidi*), l. 21, where it comes before its noun). Elsewhere it is always in the plural, following its noun, and forming the plural of the singular *ini* and *eha*. Besides the dative plural *isti-nê* or *isti-ni*, we find also the derivative *isti-ni-ni* 'belonging to these' (*e.g.* xxxviii. 43, D.P. *hase* D.P. *lutu siubi isti-ni-ni* 'the men, and the women belonging to them, I carried away'), as well as *isti-ni-ve-di-a* (xxxi. 15) 'the people belonging to them.' The plural dative *istinie* is construed with the col-

[1] Since it precedes its noun in other instances in which it is found, it is possible that here also we are to construe it with the plural nouns 'gods' and 'cities' which follow.

lective singular dative *Khaldia, Khaldia istinie* being 'for these people of Khaldis.'

The root of *ini* seems to be *i*, which we also find in *iu* and *ies*, from which it would appear that in Vannic, as in other languages, the relative was originally a demonstrative. *I-ni* probably had no nominative, and came to be regarded as the full form of the pronoun. Hence we have the local *inida* and perfective *inili* formed from it. The final *-ni* seems to have been the origin of the accusative suffix, which accordingly was not attached to a noun when *ini* preceded it. The noun is invariably placed after *ini*, which is written *i-ni-i*, xxxiii. 12. The local case *inida* is used as an adverb in the sense of 'here,' opposed to *sada* or *sadae* 'there.' When the perfective *inili* was followed by a substantive and a participle, the participle might drop the perfective suffix; thus we have *ini-li* *-li sidistua-li* 'after this gate had been restored' in xvii. 4, and xviii. 3, but *ini-li* *badušie sidistuali* in x. 8 (so also v. 2). We must not connect with *ini* the words *inu-ki* (iii. 1), *inu-ka-ni* (xxi. 5, xliv. 11), and *inu-šini* (xxi. 3), which mean respectively 'as a chamber,' 'a suite of chambers,' and 'belonging to the chambers.'

The Distributive pronoun is *manus* 'each,' as in *atsus manus* 'every month' (v. 2). From this we have *manudae* 'place of each' (liv. 8). The indeclinable *manu* might be attached to the stem of a noun in order to give it a distributive sense; e.g. *baddi-manu* 'each old man' (xxx. 17), *ada-manu* 'some and each' (xxxii. 10). *Manu* is also the acc. pl. which follows *agunu-ni* in xlix. 14, 15, 17, l. 20 (see also l. 6). The dative plural seems to be *mani-ni* instead of *manu-ni*: see v. 24; xix. 6.

The indeclinable substantive *ada* 'part' may also be reckoned among the pronouns. It is most frequently employed in the adverbial case; *ada-ki—ada-ki* being 'partly—partly,' *i.e.* 'some—others.' Its combination with *manu* in *ada-manu* has just been quoted. It is the origin of the copulative conjunction *ada* 'and.' Distinct from either *ada* 'part' or *ada* 'and,' is the verbal form *a-dae* or *a-da* 'he says' (root *a*). We have

also another *ada* meaning 'the sum-total' and used indeclinably as in *ada* *tu-khi* 'the sum of the captives' (xlix. 25). In xxi. 3 it is difficult to know whether *ada* signifies 'part' or 'the whole.' In xix. 7, 9 *ada—ada* is literally 'part—part,' *i.e.* 'both—and.' *Adae-da* in xlv. 33, may be 'the place of the whole,' 'the commonwealth.'

The pronoun *sa-* is the correlative of *ini*. The local case *sada* or *sadae* is used in the sense of 'there' (xxxix. 14, xl. 13, etc.), and the accusative *sa-ni* may perhaps occur in lv. 12 (cp. xi*a*. 3). The derivative adjective *sa-ve* 'belonging there' is found in li. 5 (cp. *istini-ve-dia* above). Perhaps the particle *sa*, with which *sa-tubi* and *sa-tuada* are compounded (l. 17, xxx. 14, l. 24), is the same pronominal stem. See also *sa-na* xi*a*. 3, and *sa-ni* lv. 12.

The Verb.—The verbal stem usually ends in *-u*. Thus we have *agu* 'to take,' *aru* 'to bring,' *asgu* 'to capture,' *du* 'to destroy,' *haldu* 'to remove,' *khau* 'to conquer,' *kharkharu* 'to root up,' *kudhu* 'to withdraw from,' *kugu* 'to write,' *paru* 'to carry away,' *siu* 'to carry off,' *tiu* 'to overthrow,' *tiru* 'to establish,' *ulu* 'to give,' *zadu* 'to make,' 'do,' *zasgu* 'to kill.' Very rarely do we find another vowel, as in *usta* (earlier *ustai*) 'to approach,' and *ti* 'to call.'

Several of the verbs are compounds; e.g. *ip-tu* 'to bring an inundation,' *sa-tu* 'to take hostages,' *śul-ustibi* 'I imposed,' *ul-ustaibi* 'I offered' (literally 'I approached with gifts'), *kabkar-ulubi* 'I approached' (literally 'I gave approach'), *sidis-tu* 'to restore' (literally 'to carry away back again'). As in the case of compound substantives, the defining word comes first.

These compounds take the place of the derived conjugations. At any rate—with the exception of a sort of passive—I have been able to discover no other conjugation besides the active. In place of the causative we have a compound like *ip-tu* 'to inundate,' formed by the stem *tu* 'to bring away,' 'cause.'

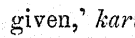
A kind of passive is formed by the prefix *ap*,—itself, however, really the first part of a compound. We find it in *ap-tini* (xi*a*. 3., xxxii. 6, 7, lv. 12) 'which is called.' The form

not only has a passive signification, but contains the relative pronoun as well.

The first person singular of the past tense is formed by attaching the suffix *-bi* to the verbal stem; e.g. *zadu-bi* 'I have done' or 'I did,' *zasgu-bi* 'I have killed' or 'I killed.'

The third person singular of the past tense is formed by attaching the demonstrative *-ni* to the verbal stem; e.g. *zadu-ni* 'he has done' or 'he did,' *ti-ni* 'he has called' or 'he called.'

The third person plural is the same as the third person singular, as is proved by No. v. where we have *te-ru-ni* (v. 27), after the double nominative 'Isbuinis and Menuas,' by the side of *te-ru-ni* (ll. 2 and 28). This curious fact may be explained partly by the want of conjunctions in the Vannic language, two nouns being coupled together without any conjunction and thus forming a sort of compound, partly by the origin and character of the suffix of the third person, which is identical with the suffix of the accusative singular and the dative plural. Thus at Palu (xxxiii. 2, 3, 8, 10) the forms *karu-ni* and *khau-ni* are actually datives plural of the participle governed by *ustabi,* like the adjective *Menua-ni* 'belonging to Menuas; and in the common formula: *Khaldi-ni ustabi maśi-nê gissurê karu-ni* 'to the Khaldises I approached, the mighty powers who have given,' *karuni* is similarly the dative plural of the participle. See xxxvi. 6.

Besides the past tense there is a present tense, which is also used in a future, a subjunctive and an optative sense. The third person of this tense is formed by the suffix *-daye*, *-dae* or *-da*, which seems to have been originally identical with the local affix of the noun. Thus we have the recurring phrase *X a-dae* or *a-da* 'So-and-so says,' *alus ini eśi tu-dae* 'whoever shall carry away this tablet.' Like the third person of the past tense, the third person of the present is the same in both singular and plural; *e.g.*  *-s . . . ulu-da* (or *-ulu-dae*) 'the gods shall give' or 'may the gods give.' See note on xx. 10. Nothing can show more plainly that the verb had not yet been distinctly separated from the noun and

become a true verb. The full form of the suffix of the third person of the present was primarily *-ada*, as in *sidistu-ada* (xx. 4), *satu-ada* (l. 24), but the sound of *a* eventually disappeared after the preceding *u*, resulting in *sidistuda* and the like. After the local case the form in *-ada* may be used in a relatival sense, as *armanidad khu-ada sidistu-ada*, 'the tablets which were destroyed he restores' (xx. 3).

Of other tenses there are no traces in the inscriptions.

The past participle was formed by suffixing *-as* (in the nominative) to the verbal stem. Hence we have, in the perfective case, *zadu-a-li* 'after having made' (v. 2), *sidistu-a-li* 'after having restored' (x. 8, xvii. 4, xviii. 4). When used in the sense of a Latin ablative absolute, this participle, with the suffix of the perfective, always followed its noun, which also had the perfective suffix. For the participial origin of the suffix *-ada* see note on xx. 10.

The present participle suffixed *-es* to the stem, as *sies* 'removing' (xli. 19). This suffix might even be attached to the first person singular of the past tense. Thus we find *kharkhar-sa-bi-es*, for *kharkhar-su-bi-es* 'digging up' (xli. 20), where the change of vowel must be noticed. These participles, like the persons of the verb, govern the accusative.

So also does the adjective in *-nis* when formed from a verbal stem; *e.g. Khaldi-ni-ni . . . usta-bi Argisti-ni . . . khau-ni Huluaniei ebani* 'to the children of Khaldis I prayed who belong to Argistis who has conquered the land of Uluanis' (xxxvi. 6).

A change of meaning is sometimes expressed by a change in the vowel of the first syllable of the verbal stem. Thus *karu-ni* is 'who have given,' while *kuru-ni* is 'the givers' (dative plural). Where, too, the verbal stem terminated in *-u*, as was usually the case, the corresponding nominal stem terminated in *-a*, as in *kudhu-bi* 'I departed,' by the side of *kudha-di* 'at the departure.'

Adverbs, Prepositions and Conjunctions.—The adverbs found in the inscriptions are not very numerous, and, apart from the adverbial cases in *ki*, the only ones of which I can be certain are *amas, sidis* 'anew,' and *nulus*. It will be noticed that

each of these three words observes a law of vocalic harmony, and all three terminate in *-s*. As, however, we find *sidisi* as well as *sidis* (iii. 1, ix. 2, x. 8, xiii. 2), it would seem that the more original termination was *-i*. Among the adverbs we may include the locals of the pronouns: *inida* 'here,' *sada* 'there,' and *manuda* 'in each place.'

Of similar formation to the adverbs are the two nouns *gieis* (v. 28) and *buras* (xlv. 18, 39, xlix. 17), whence the locative *buranadi* (l. 6). They are both used as accusatives plural. I cannot explain their forms except through the false analogy of adverbs like *sidis* and *amas*.

I know of only one preposition, *parê* or *pari* 'out of,' from the stem *paru* 'to carry away.' The noun follows in the genitive-dative.[1] When we compare *parê* or *pari* with *sidisi*, it becomes probable that the genitive-dative of the singular was the case which was stereotyped into an adverb, and more especially a preposition. The preposition is used after the locative of the noun; *e.g. kudhadi pare* 'on my return from,' as well as after the verb (liii. 7).

The copulative conjunction is rarely expressed, the nouns being coupled together without any indication of their relation beyond mere position, an illustration of the extent to which composition was carried in the Vannic language. Where the conjunction is expressed, it seems to be *ui* or *vi* (v. 28, xxxvii. 12), and *ada*. *Ui* simply couples together sentences and nouns, whereas *ada* may introduce a sentence (xlv. 19, 22), and *ada-ada* signify 'both—and' (xxi. 7, 8). *Iu* is 'thus.'

In the formation of words reduplication plays but a small part. We find, however, a species of it in the words *mu-mui-yabi* (xli. 15), *muru-muri-a-khini* (xli. 19), *khar-kharu* (xli. 18) and the like.

Syntax.—The adjective follows its noun, and has the same suffixes of case and number attached to it, unless the suffix is *-ni*; as *Menuas Isbuinikhinis* 'Menuas the son of Isbuinis,' ⟩⟩Y Y⟨⟨⟨-*aste* D.P. *Biainaste* 'among the gods of Van,'

[1] In liii. 7, where we are dealing with another dialect than the Vannic, the noun after *pari* is in the accusative.

but *Menuani Isbuinikhi, Kaldini masinê*[1] *gissurê* 'to the Khaldises, the great powers.' We may also have *Diave-khi nu dubi* 'I destroyed the king the son of Diaus' (xxxvii. 6). If, however, the adjectival suffix *-ni*, preceded the flectional *-ni* in the first word, the adjective also as the second word took the latter suffix; *e.g. Khaldi-ni-ni alšuisi-ni* 'to all the children of Khaldis.' The adjective in *-ve* may precede its substantive if the latter is the word 'God'; see v. 19.

The genitive preceded the governing noun, with the exception of the genitive of the third personal pronoun, which followed it. We also find genitives following the noun in v. 12 and v. 24. See also v. 17, 54.

The dative may be used to express advantage, as *gunusâ* 'for a spoil.'

The genitive-dative can be used in an instrumental sense, as *ainei* 'with dust,' xx. 12.

The use of the locative must be noticed in the phrase, xxxvii. 11, *siadi Eriakhinie ebaniedi* 'on despoiling the lands of the son of Erias.' Here *siadi* seems to be the locative of the participle, the construction being similar to that with the perfective case, while *Eriakhinie* is the genitive singular. The sense of the sentence is, 'while despoiling the lands of the son of Erias.'

After a locative like *ustadi* 'on approach,' an adjective follows with the locative suffix; *e.g. ustadi* 𒀸𒀸 *Abu-nie-di* 'on approaching the land of Abus.' But we may have another substantive in the locative, as *ustadi* 𒀸𒀸 *Urmedi* 'on approaching into the land of Urmes' (xli. 5).

A collective noun in *-a* may be construed as a plural; *e.g. Khaldi-a isti-ni* 'for these people of Khaldis.'

The nominative stands at the head of the sentence, except *mes* 'he,' which for the sake of emphasis, apparently, follows the verb (xxx. 16). The nominative may also immediately precede the verb at the end of the sentence, the dative and accusative coming before it; *e.g.* l. 29, *Khaldia istinie inanida*

[1] So too in the case of the local suffix (*e.g.* xxxi. 3) and locative suffix (*e.g.* xxxi. 6, 7).

. . . . *Śariduris Argistikhinis zaduni* 'for these people of Khaldis Śarduris son of Argistis built the city.'

The usual place of the verb is at the end of the sentence, and the preposition *pari* regularly follows it. Occasionally, however, it stands first, as in *aruni mes ada tasmus* 'he and the nobility brought' (xxx. 16). At other times it may stand in the middle, as 'its men partly I slew, partly alive I took (and) 25 horses, oxen, sheep' (xli. 8, 9).

The relative may be used absolutely, as in xxii. 10, *alus udas tiuda ies ini pidae zadubi* 'whoever undoes that which I have made, even this monument'; xxxiv. 18, 19, *alus udas tiudae ies* *Lununini khaubi* 'whoever undoes that (=the fact) in that I have conquered the city of Lununis.'

In place of the relative the adjective in *-nis* is commonly found, used as a participle; *e.g.* xxxiii. 2, *Khaldini* . . . . *karuni* *Puteriani* 'to the Khaldises . . . who have given the city of Puterias;' xxxvi. 4–6, *Khaldinini* . . . . *Argistini Menuakhie khauni* 'to the children of Khaldis . . . . belonging to (=of) Argistis, the son of Menuas, who has conquered.'

Composition plays so large a part in the Vannic language that conjunctions are rare; nouns are coupled together by their suffixes being the same, or by one of them being treated as an adjective, or by their being regarded as forming a single compound. Thus in xxx. 16, the ideographs of 'gold' and 'silver' are coupled together without a conjunction, and the affix of plurality attached only to the last; and in v. 31 a whole sentence is similarly treated as a compound, the grammatical suffix being attached only to the last word (see note on the passage).

III. The Inscriptions.

I must now explain the means whereby I have been enabled to decipher the inscriptions. The key to their interpretation have been the ideographs and determinative prefixes or affixes which the people of Van fortunately borrowed along with the selected characters of the Assyrian syllabary. The deter-

minatives indicate where we are dealing with the names of individuals, gods, countries, and cities, with the plural number or with words which denote stones, wooden objects, and the like. In this way it becomes possible to break up the inscriptions into sentences, and to guess at the meaning of a good number of them. The other ideographs here come in to render further assistance. When we find the ideograph which denotes 'cities' followed first by the phonetic complement *-ni*, then by the ideograph of 'burning,' and that, again, by the syllable *bi*, we are justified in concluding that *-ni* denotes the accusative case of the noun, and *bi* some person of the verb. Duplicate texts and parallel passages sometimes furnish us with phonetically written equivalents of the ideographs whose meaning we know, and in this way enlarge our knowledge of the vocabulary. Thus the duplicate text of the inscription of Mühür Kapussi informs us that the Vannic name of the Moon-god was *Selardis*, while No. xlv. 9, compared with parallel passages in other inscriptions, shows that *abidadubi* signified 'I burnt.'

As I have pointed out in an earlier part of this memoir, the palæographical character of the Vannic syllabary proves that it must have been borrowed from Assyria in the age of Shalmaneser II., at a time when Assyrian monuments and inscriptions had been erected by the kings of Nineveh in different parts of Armenia, and we may therefore expect that the same similarity which prevails between the Vannic and Assyrian modes of writing prevails also between the Vannic and Assyrian modes of expression. That is to say, the style and formulæ of the Vannic texts may be expected to be modelled after those of Assyria.

Now an attentive consideration of the ideographs, and the positions in which they are found prove that such is actually the case. Let us take for example the favourite formula of Assur-natsir-pal: "From the land of Dagara I departed; to the city of Bara I approached; the city of Bara I captured; 320 of their soldiers I slew; their oxen, their sheep, and their spoil I carried away; . . . the cities I burned with fire." With this we may compare the equally favourite formula of

the Vannic texts: *ustadi* *Manaidi khahubi* *Irciuni kudhadi pari* *Assur-nini* *Algani* VIMCCCCXXI. -*i* *adaki zazgubi adaki* *agubi* CCLXXXVI. IIMCCLI *pakhini* VIIIMCCV *suse* . Here the ideographs give us the following translation:—". . . the country of Mannai . . . the country of Irciyun . . . the country of Assyria . . . the country of Alga(ni); 6421 men . . . . . alive . . . 286 horses, 2251 oxen . . . 8205 sheep." The usage of the Assyrian inscriptions, in which an ideograph is often followed by the word which it represents sometimes written phonetically in full, sometimes only represented by the last syllable or two, shows us that *pakhini* and *suse* are either the Vannic words for 'oxen' and 'sheep' or the concluding portions of them. The ideograph which expresses 'alive' followed by the determinative affix of plurality plainly refers to the 'men' mentioned previously, and when taken in connexion with the twice-repeated *adaki* and the two forms in *-bi*, which are proved by other passages to be the first persons of verbs, makes it clear that we have before us a Vannic rendering of the common Assyrian phrase "the men partly I slew, partly alive I took." When we further learn from other inscriptions that the root *paru* signifies 'to remove,' that *khahubi* is shown by numerous passages to mean 'I conquered,' that *-di* is the locative termination, and that *ustabi* is used of 'approaching' the gods, we can have no hesitation in translating the whole passage: "On approaching the land of the Mannai I conquered the country of Irciyun; on departing out of the country of the Assyrians and the country of Alganis, etc." The passage also gives us certain details as to Vannic grammar. Thus we learn from it that the suffix *-ni* marks an oblique case, that the plural of the word for 'men' ended in *-i*, and that the copulative conjunction was little used in Vannic, while the fact that in parallel passages the ideograph for 'alive' is replaced by the word *sekheri* increases our knowledge of the Vannic vocabulary. In an earlier part of this memoir (p. 386) I have

referred to the important discovery of M. Stanislas Guyard, which has thrown so much light on the grammar and vocabulary of the Vannic inscriptions. This discovery was entirely due to the observation of the fact that in a series of words attached to the end of a number of Vannic texts, the ideograph of 'tablet' and the names of certain gods occurred just where they did in the imprecatory formulæ attached to the end of many Assyrian inscriptions. It will be seen from the analysis of the inscriptions which follow, that I have tried to follow up the discovery of the French scholar, and with the help of similar phrases in the Assyrian texts to determine the meaning of the various words which occur in the formula in question.

The analysis of the inscriptions will sufficiently furnish further illustrations of the way in which it has been possible, first to ascertain the signification of certain Vannic sentences, then by this means to sketch the outlines of Vannic grammar, and finally to discover the similarity between the stereotyped phrases of the Vannic texts and those of the Assyrian texts of a particular epoch. I have given in every case the evidence upon which the meaning I have assigned to the Vannic words and grammatical forms rests, and there is no need of quoting any more examples of it here. I would only draw attention to the fact that the two earliest inscriptions of Van are not only written in the Assyrian cuneiform characters of the age of Assur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser, but are also in the Assyrian language, and repeat the very phrases of the so-called Standard Inscription of the first-named Assyrian king.

Inscriptions of Śar-duris I.

The only two at present known are both written in Assyrian. The second (No. II.) was copied by Schulz, but very incorrectly, and is described by him as engraved on a stone in the ruined church of S. John, at the foot of the citadel of Van. Dr. Mordtmann explained it with the help of an Armenian dictionary! The accurate copy given here for the first time was made by Sir A. H. Layard. No. I., copied by Sir A. H. Layard, is also here published for the first time.

I.

1. (?) sa -dur abil Lu-ti-ip-ri sarru

The Tablet (?) of Śar-dur son of Lutipri, the

rab-e sarru dan-nu sar cissati

great king, the strong king, the king of multitudes,

2. sar Na-i-ri sarru sa-nin-su la ibs- hu

king of Nairi, the king (of whom) his rival existed not;

rihu tap-ra-te

the shepherd of habitations;

3. la-di-ru tu (?) -ku-un-te sarru mu-sac-nis

he who fears not opposition the king who subdues

la-can-śu-te-su

those who are not obedient to him.

4. -dur Lu-ti-ip-ri sar sarra-

Śar-dur the son of Lutipri, the king of kings,

ni sa cal su-nu sarra- ni

of whom, all of them, the kings,

5. ma-da-tav (?) am-khar -dur Lu-ti-

the tribute I received. Śar-dur the son of Lu-

ip-ri ca-ca-ar (?)

tipri ground

6. ma-a ana (?) cu-bu-la-ni an-nu-te istu lib-bi

this for *cubulani* these from the midst of the

Al-ni-hu-nu

city of Alniun

7. na-tsa-cu ana-cu dur an-ni-hu ar-ti-tsi-ip

I remove; I this citadel have built.

In the second inscription the first word is represented by , which, like , denotes the Air-god when preceded by the determinative of deity, but also signifies, among other things, 'a tablet.' This meaning is not certified for , though the latter sometimes expresses the Assyrian *śilu* 'a rock;' but it suits the context here and may have been assigned to by the Vannic scribe on account of the interchange of this character with in the name of the Air-god. The inscription is not written in very correct Assyrian and betrays its foreign origin. Thus *sarru rabe* ought to be *sarru rabu* (though here the Vannic scribe could claim Assyrian authority for his error), *sa* 'who' is omitted before *sanin-su*, *ladiru* is contracted from *la-adiru*, *sa cal-sunu sarrani madatav* is not an Assyrian construction, though it may well be a Vannic one, *annihu* should be *anni*, *cacar kakar*, and the Iphteal *artitsip artetsip*. It is possible, however, that we are intended to read the Iphteal *u'artitsip* where the Assyrian would have said *urtatstsip* or *urtetstsip*.[1]

With the name of Lutipri we may compare that of the god *Elipri* (v. 8). *Lutu* signifies 'women.' The reasons for reading the name of the goddess who answers to the Assyrian Istar as Śar have already been given in an earlier part of the memoir (p. 413).

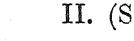
Taprate (l. 2) is the plural of the fem. noun *tapratu* explained by *bit-rie* 'shepherd's hut,' with which Guyard connects the verbal form *listabru* (*Jour. Asiat.* Jan. 1880).

In line 6 Layard gives *na* instead of *ma*, as also in the 7th line of the second inscription, where Schulz more correctly has . This inclines me to believe that in the last line we ought to read *matsacu*, the Permansive 1st pers. 'I found' (מצא), instead of *natsacu*. Here also Schulz has *ma*.

Cubulani is the plural of *cubulu*. What this may be I cannot say, as I have never found the word in Assyrian. It may be of Vannic origin, or a mispronunciation of the Assyrian *cuburani* 'halls.'

[1] If we are to read *anniu*, it would betray a diphthongisation of the Assyrian *u* (in *annu*) on the part of the Vannic scribe.

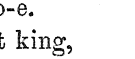
II. (Schulz I.)

1. sa  -dur Lu-ti-ip-ri
? duppu
The tablet (?) of Śar-dur the son of Lutipri,
sarru rab-e.
the great king,

2. sarru dan-nu sar ɔissati sar Na-i-ri
the strong king, the king of multitudes, king of the land of Nairi,
sarru sa-nin-su
the king (to whom) his rival

3. la ibs-hu rihu tap-ra-te la-di-ru
was not; the shepherd of habitations; he who fears not

4. tu-ku-un-te sarru mu-sac-[ni]-is la can-śu-
opposition; the king who subdues those who are not
te-su
obedient to him.

5.  -dur Lu-ti-ip-ri -ni
Śar-dur the son of Lutipri, the king of kings,
sa cal su-nu
of whom all of them,

6. sarra-ni ma-da-tav am-khar -dur
the kings, the tribute I received. Śar-dur
Lu-ti-ip-ri
the son of Lutipri

7. ca-ca-ar ma-a [ana] cu-bu-la-ni an-nu-te istu lib-bi
the ground this for *cubulani* there from the midst

8. Al-ni-hu-nu na-tsa-cu ana-cu dur an-ni-hu
of the city of Alniun I remove; I this fortress
ar-ti-tsi-ip
have built.

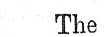
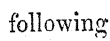
In line 4 *ni* has been omitted by the original scribe, as the

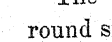
copies neither of Schulz nor of Layard contain it. This is another proof of his imperfect knowledge of Assyrian. It must be noticed that Śar-duris is always mentioned without the case-termination (*-is*) of his name, from which we may infer that the case-endings of Vannic names are not always represented in the Assyrian inscriptions. The Assyrian "land of Nairi" is made the equivalent of the Vannic "land of Biainas," which takes its place in all other Vannic inscriptions.

Inscriptions of Isbuinis.

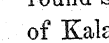
III. (Schulz XXXVI.)

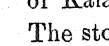
The following inscription was copied by Schulz upon a round stone which had been turned into an altar in the church of Kalachik or Kalėjik, a village about a mile north of Van. The stone had evidently formed the base of a column, and was discovered in the earth near a pyramidal rock, on the top of which there is now a small church, but which, according to tradition, once bore a celebrated temple and idol. The second line of the inscription is merely a repetition of the first, as is not uncommon in Vannic inscriptions, more especially those which were engraved on columns.

1.  Is-pu-hu-i-ni-is  (-dur-khi)-ni-s bur-ga-
na-ni si-di-si-tu-ni

2.  Is-pu-hu-i-ni-is ( ) -dur-khi-ni-s bur-ga-
na-ni si-di-si-tu-ni

Ispuinis, son of Śarduris, the *altar* (?) has restored;

1.  khal-di-ni-ni us-(gi-ni)
( ) Is-pu-hu-(i)-ni-is (-dur-khi-ni)-s

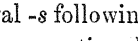
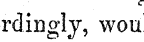
2.  khal-di-ni-ni us-gi-ni
( ) Is-pu-hu-i-ni-is -dur-khi-ni-s

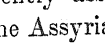
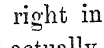
for the gods children of Khaldis the *favorable* (?)
Ispuinis son of Śarduris

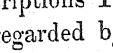
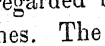
1. -i-ni si-di-si-tu-ni i-nu-ki . . . du-śi-ni . . .
as-
gi-e-i-si-da . . .

2. -i-ni si-di-si-tu-ni i-nu-ki ba-du-śi-ni . . .
as-
(gi)- e-i-si-da . . .

the temple has restored; as a chamber which was decayed . . . the place of images, the country . . .

Here, as in all other inscriptions, the name of the king when standing at the head of the sentence ends in *-s*; we must, therefore, conclude that this is the termination of the nominative singular. Dr. Hincks long ago pointed out that the name of the father is added to that of the son, with the suffix *-khini* attached to its stem, and the nominatival *-s* following. *-khini-*, therefore, forms patronymics. In the accusative, however, as we shall see, the *-ni* disappears, *-khi* alone remaining to denote the patronymic. The suffix *-khi*, accordingly, would seem to be that which properly and specially denotes 'derivation.' This is borne out by our finding it attached by itself to other roots or stems besides those of proper names. Thus we have *al-khi* or *alkhe* 'inhabitants' (xxxiii. 16, l. 2, 6), *tu-khi* 'captives' (xliii. 16, 78, xlviii. 26, etc.). On the other hand, the suffix *-ni* forms adjectives, and may usually be rendered 'belonging to.' This is clear from xxiii. 1, *Menuai-nei* *gislaie* 'to the wife of Menuas,' or v. 15,  *Ar-tsu-i-hu-ni-ni* 'to the gods belonging to the city of Artsuyun'; not to mention many other passages which will be noticed hereafter. We may, therefore, analyze *Śardurkhinis* into *Śardur-khi-ni-s*. We learn from it that the adjective follows the substantive, and, as in the Aryan languages, assumes the same flectional suffix as the substantive with which it agrees. Since the substantive ends in *is*, it is evident that Dr. Hincks was right in regarding final as expressing merely *s*. The name of the goddess  was pronounced Śar, as we learn from the Assyrian inscrip-

tions, where the Vannic royal name is variously written *Śar-duri(s)*, *Śaraduri(s)*, *Śariduri(s)*, and *Seduri(s)*, as well as from liii. 2, where it is written phonetically. In Assyro-Babylonian  symbolized the goddess Istar, and we may consequently assume that the Vannic Śar was the equivalent of the Assyrian Istar. Perhaps Mr. George Smith may have been right in thinking that the Vannic deity and her name were actually borrowed from the Assyrian. At any rate, it is curious that she does not occur among the list of Vannic divinities enumerated in the inscription of Meher-Kapussi (No. v.). I believe that  came to be regarded by the Vannic scribes as a phonetic complement, since, according to the rules of Vannic grammar, we should have to read Śari rather than Śar. *Dur* is similarly written for *duri*, which appears elsewhere (*e.g.* v. 1), in imitation of the Assyrianizing inscriptions I. and II. The Vannic flections were usually disregarded by the Assyrians in their reproduction of proper names. The meaning of Śar-duris I cannot explain. Possibly *duris* may come from the root *du* 'to destroy,' with the help of the adjectival suffix *ri*; so that the word might mean 'he who destroys for Śaris.' Since, however, we find *t* now and then softened into *d*, it is possible that the word may be connected with *turis*, for which see note on xx. 14.

In place of the non-existent character  of Schulz's copy, I read  *na*, and so get the word *burgana-ni*, which occurs in v. 29. Here we read that Ispuinis and Menuas *burgana-ni sukhe teruni* 'have set up this . . . .' As the *burgana* was restored before the temple, it must mean either the altar or the image, and, for reasons which will be given under v. 28-29, it would seem to signify rather the former than the latter. The suffix *-ni* denotes the accusative, as was first perceived by M. St. Guyard in consequence of his discovery of the relationship between the favourite formula with which the dedicatory inscriptions of Van conclude and the concluding formula of similar Assyrian texts. I shall therefore defer a proof of the fact until we come to deal with the formula in question (No. xx.). *Na*, as we shall see here-

after, is an adjectival suffix, so that the stem of the word is *burga*. No other similar word occurs in the inscriptions, unless it be *buruda-ni* (xix. 8) or *burgala-da* (xxxi. 3, 11).

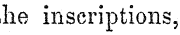
Sidisi-tuni is shown by a comparison with the other inscriptions to be a verb. In xvii. 5, 10, it is written *si-di-is-tu-hu-ni*, which shows that must be pronounced *tu*, not *par* as Dr. Mordtmann supposed, the rule in the Vannic inscriptions being to write a vowel after an open syllable which ends with the same vowel, not after a closed syllable which ends with a consonant. Now in some inscriptions the verbal form after a singular nominative terminates in *-ni* as here, in other inscriptions in *-bi*. Thus we have *Menuas . . . zaduni* (xxi. 2), 'Menuas has built,' and *zadubi* in xx. 14. That the termination *-bi* marks the person of a verb is clear not only from the place it invariably occupies in the sentence, but also from its being attached to the ideograph 'to burn' following the ideographs 'cities.' The only question is what persons or tenses *-ni* and *-bi* respectively indicate. Now I can find no difference between the construction and sense of the sentences in which the two are used which would lead me to suppose they denoted a difference of tense or mood; I therefore conclude that they denote a difference of person. The Assyrian inscriptions, though generally in the first person, are also sometimes in the 3rd, and it is these two persons which I believe to be expressed by the suffixes *-ni* and *-bi*. My reasons for thinking that *-bi* signified the first person and *-ni* the third are the following: (1) The phrases '[I] burnt the cities,' '[I] dug up the palaces' and the like, which are frequent in the historical inscriptions, are mere stereotyped repetitions of the same formulæ which appear time after time in the Assyrian texts, and the latter are always in the first person singular. (2) The forms with *-bi* occur after the introductory phrase 'X says,' which is not the case with those in *-ni*. (3) The forms in *-ni* are hardly to be distinguished from the accusatives in *-ni*, which may perhaps be connected with the demonstrative pronoun *ini*. In fact, they can also be used as verbal adjectives agreeing with the dative plural of another

adjective; *e.g.* xxxvi. 6, *Argisti-ni* . . . . *khau-ni* '(to the Khaldises of) Argistis who has conquered.' I have no hesitation, accordingly, in treating *sidisitu-ni* as a third person singular. The word is evidently compounded of *sidisi* and the common root *tu*, which means 'to carry away,' as is shown by such passages as (xlix. 17) *-ni* *Bu-i-ni-al-khi* *Bu-ra-as tu-bi* 'the king of the inhabitants of the city Bui(s) (and) court I carried away,' or (xx. 10) *alus ini* *tu-dae* 'whoever shall carry away this tablet.' The context of the inscription with which we are at present dealing leaves no doubt that the compound verb here must have some such sense as 'carrying away back again,' *i.e.* 'restoring.' *Sidisi*, therefore, will be an adverb signifying 'again,' 'back,' 'afresh.' In all the later inscriptions the word appears under the contracted form *sidis*, from which we gather that a certain number of adverbs ended in *-s*. The verb *tu* is compounded with two other adverbs of a similar formation, *nulus-tubi* (xxxviii. 42) and *amas-tubi*, and it is singular that in all three cases there should be complete vowel-harmony, the two vowels of *sidis* being both *i*, those of *nulus u* and those of *amas a*. The proper name Śarduris had already taught us that compounds are not infrequent in Vannic. As in the Aryan languages, the defining element is placed after that part of the compound which is defined. The final *-s* of the adverbs is shown by *sidisi* to be contracted from an earlier *-si*.

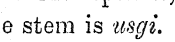
The great inscription of Meher Kapussi, as we shall see, affords us a considerable number of datives. Among these we have *Khaldie*, *Khaldini*, and *Khaldinini*, all derivatives of *Khaldis*, the name of the supreme Vannic deity. *Khaldie*, as will appear, is the dative singular, *Khaldini* is shown by the numeral '4' which is coupled with it (v. 12) to be the plural; but what is *Khaldinini?* We have already seen that *-ni* is an adjectival suffix; the name of *Ispuinis* itself, for example, is an adjective formed by this suffix from the stem *Ispu*; and *Khaldini(s)*, accordingly, would mean 'he who belongs to Khaldis,' like the Latin *consularis* from *consul*. The dative plural of *Khaldinis* would be *Khaldi-ni-ni*, which

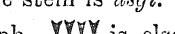
would accordingly signify 'for those belonging to Khaldis.' Consequently there were not only the several local Khaldises worshipped in different parts of the Vannic kingdom, but also a large progeny of gods who were considered their offspring. *Usgi-ni* is shown by the suffix to agree with *Khaldini-ni*. It must be either a substantive in apposition, or an adjective; more probably the latter. I have found no other example of *usginis* in the inscriptions, and have no clue to its exact meaning. The stem is *usgi*.

The ideograph is elsewhere replaced by *asi*, showing that *asis* was the Vannic word for 'temple.' Thus in xiv. we have:—*ini* *asi khúše zaduni* 'this temple *khuše* he has built.'

In xxx. 27:—  *asi-da* 'the palaces.'

In xxxi. 12:—*asida* 'the palaces.'

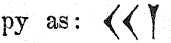
In xxx. 9:—  *-si-da* 'the palaces.'

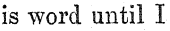
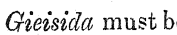
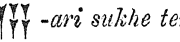
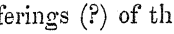
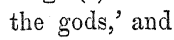
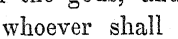
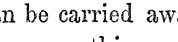
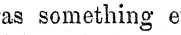
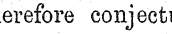
In v. 12 again we read  *Khaldi-ni* *-ni* *asie* 'to the 4 Khaldi's of the temple.' The final *-ni* of *asini* must denote the accusative as in *burgana-ni*; we cannot read *ini* 'this,' as the demonstrative always precedes its noun.

Inuki will be an adverb. At least such is the force of the final *-ki* in the word *adaki* in the phrase which I have analyzed above (p. 449). Besides *adaki* we also find *adakid* with instead of . This I conceive to be the earlier form, the final dental being perhaps shortened from *da* or *di*. In l. 27, we have *ebani-ki-di*, where the locative termination *di* is added to the adverbial *-ki* attached to *ebani* 'country.' *Inu-ki*, however, cannot be dissociated from the *inu-ka-ni*[1] of xxi. 5 and xliv. 11 (where we have *alus giei inukani eśinini siudaie* 'whoever shall carry away . . .'), or the *inu-śi-ni* of xxi. 3. Here *inuka-ni* must denote something that the king has set up or constructed, and, as we shall see, can signify only 'a series of chambers.'[2] The next word is given in Schulz's

[1] A word of similar formation is *ikuka-ni* 'property.'

[2] The root of *inus* 'chamber' and *inas* 'city' seems to be the same. If so, the primitive Armenians would appear to have been troglodytes.

copy as:  . This clearly stands for *badušini*. I must reserve a discussion of this word until I come to No. ix.

Gieisida must be compared with v. 28: *Khaldie luese* (?)  *-ari sukhe terumi ui gieis*  'to Khaldis these offerings (?) of the men they have established and the images of the gods,' and xliv. 11: *alus giei inuka-ni ešinini siudaie* 'whoever shall carry away the . . .' The latter passage shows that *giei* must represent something contained in what can be carried away, while the former passage implies that it was something erected in honour of the god Khaldis. I therefore conjecture that it must mean 'an image.' The suffix *-da* is explained by No. xxiv., where we read: *Menuainei*  *gislaie*  *Taririai ini*  *uldi*  *Taririakhini-da tini* 'of the mother of Menuas, Taririas, this memorial one has called the place of the son of Taririas.' So, too, we have *inida* 'here,' *sada* 'there,' etc., as well as *asida* 'palaces,' literally 'house-place,' from *asis* 'house.' The inserted sibilant in *giei-si-da*, denotes the plural, as is evident from such forms as the dative plural *alšu-si-ni* by the side of the dat. sing. of the adj. in *ni-*, *alšusi-ni* (*e.g.* xxii. 4, 5,  *Khaldinini alšusini*  *Menuani* . . .  *alšuini* 'to the multitudinous children of Khaldis belonging to Menuas the king of multitudes'). We must therefore analyze the word as *giei-si-da*, stem + plural affix + local affix.[1]

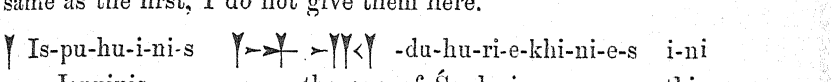
What follows, the copy of Schulz leaves doubtful. The second line, however, contains the ideograph of country, which can hardly be right, as it does not suit the context.

IV.

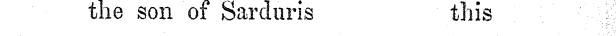
The following inscription runs round a pillar in the possession of a native named Hosain, in the village of Zustan, about six miles to the north of Van. A squeeze of it has been taken

[1] *Si-*, however, in both *giei-si-da* and *alšui-si-ni* may be the adjectival suffix.

by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, and it is now published for the first time. The inscription consists of three lines, each of which contains the same words. The repetition of an inscription in this way is not uncommon in the case of the early Vannic monuments. As the second and third lines are precisely the same as the first, I do not give them here.



Ispuinis the son of Śarduris this



house has built.

The spelling *Śardurêkhinês* shows how little distinction there was in pronunciation between *i* and *e*. I imagine that *i* was short, *e* long *i*.

For (*as*)*e* see iii. (*asini*). After the demonstrative *ini* the acc. suffix *-ni* is always omitted. *E* here represents the *i* of other inscriptions, as in the case of *Śardurêkhinês*, which elsewhere is written *-khinis*.

For the proof that *ini* is the demonstrative 'this'—a discovery due to M. Stanislas Guyard, though already divined by Dr. Mordtmann—see No. xx.

Zaduni is the 3rd pers. sing. perf. of a verb *zadu*. The meaning is fixed not only by the context of this inscription, but also by that of many others, as was seen by Mordtmann. A favourite formula, which we shall have to discuss hereafter, is *alus udas tiudaie ies zadubi* 'whoever destroys that which I have made' (xx. 13, 14, etc.).

V. (Schulz XVII.)

This inscription is engraved on a square tablet of rock, called Meher Kapussi (Mühür Kapussi), 14 ft. 7 in. high by 6 ft. broad, at the top of the Akkirpi, the western spur of the Zemzem Dagh, about two miles east of Van. Akkirpi 'the white hedge' is so inappropriate a name as to have suggested to Schulz the possibility of its being a corruption of some older designation. According to tradition, the semicircular

scarped cliffs of the Zemzem Dagh have been separated from the acropolis of Van by a recent volcanic catastrophe. The crater of the Nimrud Dagh, it may be observed, is declared by the natives to have been in eruption only four centuries ago. The tablet is divided into two, and hence looks like a gate at a distance. This has produced a legend which relates how that it is the entrance into a great subterranean city inhabited by the Divs. Hence the name Meher-Kapussi or Mihr-Kapussi, "the Gate of Meher," which has no meaning in either Turkish, Kurd or Armenian, but, Schulz suggests, may represent Mithra the Sun-god. It is only on the feast of S. John at midsummer, it is believed, that the gate opens of its own accord. The inscription consists of the same text twice repeated with slight modifications, the first half containing 31 lines, the second half 53 lines, the greater part of which is now obliterated. They are separated from one another by a blank space. As will be seen, it gives an exhaustive list of the deities reverenced by the primitive people of Van, and the offerings prescribed to be made for them, and shows that Ispuinis towards the end of his reign associated his son Menuas with himself in the government. The Meher-Kapussi is still a place of pilgrimage, and above it about 10 minutes to the east, on the highest peak of the Zemzem Dagh, are the remains of an ancient fortress, once approached by a corridor with a stair-case of 50 steps. Hard by is a conduit, which communicates with a long series of caverns and excavations in the rock. Shortly before Schulz's visit, some Turkish children had found here a small black cylinder covered with Cuneiform characters, which, however, they unfortunately lost. As the neighbourhood is strewn with fragments of pottery, it would seem that the fortifications of the ancient capital of the Vannic kingdom once extended thus far.

1. ( ) Khal-di-e e[1]-hu-ri-e Is-pu-hu-i-ni-s
Śar-du-ri-e-khi-ni-s Me-nu-hu-a-s

32. Khal-di-e e-hu-ri-e Is-pu-hu-i-ni-s
 Śar-du-ri-e-khi-ni-s (33) Me-nu-hu-a-s

To Khaldis, the lord, Ispuinis the son of Śarduris [and] Menuas

2. Is[2]-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s i-ni-li za-a-du-hu-a-li
33. Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s i-ni-li za-a-tu-hu-(a)-li

the son of Ispuinis, {*this gate* / *these gates*} *having been built,*

2. te-ru-ni ar[4]-di-se a-tsu-s ma-nu-s
34. te-ir-tu[3] ar-di-se -ni-ni a-tsu-s ma-a-nu-s

have set up the regulations of sacrifice, day by day (for) month each.

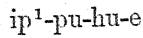
3. Khal-di-e-i
34. Khal-di-e (35)

To Khaldis, Teisbas (the Air-god) [and] the Sun-god, the gods of the peoples,

3. Khal-di-e ni-ip-śi-di ha-a-l
35. Khal-di-e ni-(ip)-śi-di ha-(a)-li

6 *lambs* . *To Khaldis* . . . . . *for sacrifice*

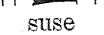
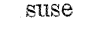
[1] So Layard. Schulz has a non-existent character.
[2] So Layard. Schulz has a blank.
[3] So both Layard and Schulz. But we must plainly read *tu-ni.*
[4] Schulz has here forgotten to repeat the final of the character *ar.*
[5] If is right—and both Layard and Schulz give it—we must suppose that the Vannic scribe has confounded the two characters 'people' and 'language.'

4. Khal-di-e
ip[1]-pu-hu-e
Teisbâ pakhini suse

pakhini suse

36. Khal-di-e ip[1]-pu-hu-e
pakhini suse

pakhini suse Teisbâ pakhini suse
[3]

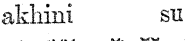
17 *oxen*, 34 *sheep*. *To Khaldis* (*and*) *the inundator the Air-god* 6 *oxen* 12 *sheep*. *To the Sun-god* 4 *oxen*, 8 *sheep*.

5. Khu-dhu-i-ni-e 
Dhu-ra-ni-i-e 

37. Khu-dhu-i-ni-e
Dhu[4]-[ra-ni-i-]e

To Khudhuinis 2 *oxen*, 4 *sheep*. *To Dhuranis an ox*, 2 *sheep*.

6. Hu-a Na[5]-la[6]-i-ni-e

38.  Hu-a
Na-la-[i-ni-]e

To Huas 2 *oxen*, 4 *sheep*. *To Nalaïnis* 2 *oxen*, 4 *sheep*.

[1] So Layard. Schulz has the non-existent and .

[2] Layard and Schulz have .

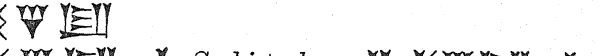
[3] So Layard. Schulz has . The triad of Khaldis, the Air-god and the Sun-god, so frequent in the inscription, requires Layard's reading.

[4] So Layard. Schulz has blank.

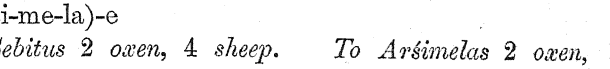
[5] So Layard. Schulz has blank.

[6] So Layard. Schulz has *te* in this line, *la* below.

6. Se-bi-tu-hu-e Ar-śi-me-la

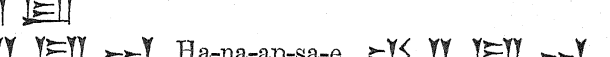
39.  Se-bi-tu-hu-e Ar(-śi-me-la)-e

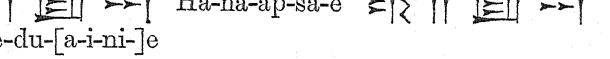
To Sebitus 2 *oxen*, 4 *sheep*. *To Arśimelas* 2 *oxen*, 4 *sheep*.

7.  Ha-na-ap-sa-a Di-du-a-i-ni-[e][1]

40. Ha-na-ap-sa-e Di-e-du-[a-i-ni-]e

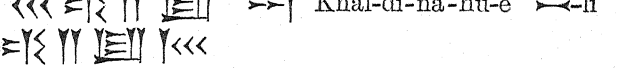
To Hanapsas an ox, 2 *sheep*. *To Deduainis an ox*, 2 *sheep*.

7.  Khal-di-na-hu-e -li

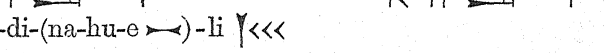
40.  Si[2]-e-la-ar-di-e Khal-di-(na-hu-e)-li

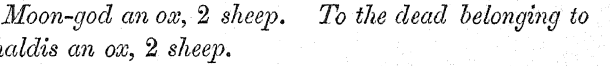
To the Moon-god an ox, 2 *sheep*. *To the dead belonging to Khaldis an ox*, 2 *sheep*.

8. At-bi-ni-i-e Ku-hu-e-ra-a

40.  At-bi-ni-i-e Ḳu[3]-(hu)-e-ra-a

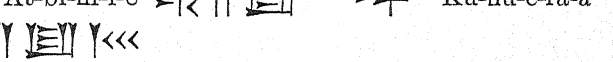
To Atbinis an ox, 2 *sheep*. *To Ḳueras an ox*, 2 *sheep*.

8.  E-li-ip[4]-ri-e Khal-ra-i-ni-e

41.  E-li-ip-ri-i-e (Khal-) ra-i-ni-e

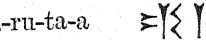
To Elipris an ox, 2 *sheep*. *To Khalrainis an ox*, 2 *sheep*.

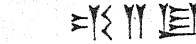
[1] Layard's copy allows space for this letter, and marks a flaw in the rock.

[2] Layard has  . This would make Selardis the name of the Moon-god. As Schulz has a *lacuna* before the first character (*me*) of the name, this is most probably the correct reading.

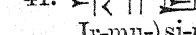
[3] So Layard.

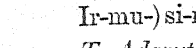
[4] So Layard. Schulz has *lu*, but *ip* in the duplicate.

9. A-da-ru-ta-a  Ir[1]-mu-si-ni-e

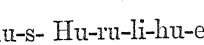
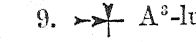
41.  A-da-ru-ta-a (Ir-mu-) si-ni-e

To Adarutas an ox, 2 sheep. To Irmusinis an ox, 2 sheep.

9.  A[3]-lu-s- Hu-ru-li-hu-e- Si-hu-a-li

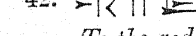
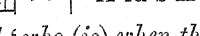
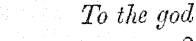
42.  A-lu-s-Hu-ru-li-(hu)-e-[4] Si[4]-(hu)-a-li

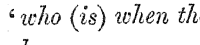
To the god 'who (is) when the offspring are carried away' an ox, 2 sheep.

10. Al-du[5]-tu-si-ni-e  E-ri-na-a 

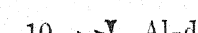
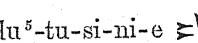
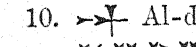
43.   A-du-tu-si-ni-e () E-ri-na-a

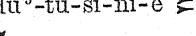
To Aldutusinis an ox, 2 sheep. To Erinas an ox, 2 sheep.

10.  Si[6]-ni-ri-i-e  Hu-ni-na-a 

44.  Si-ni-ri-e () Hu-ni-na-a

To Siniris an ox, 2 sheep. To Huninas an ox, 2 sheep.

11.  A-i-ra-i-ni-e    (?)[7] Zu-ma-ru-e 

45.  A-i-ra-i-ni-e ( ) Zu-ma-a-ru-e

To Airainis an ox, 2 sheep. To the god of the city Zumar an ox, 2 sheep.

[1] So Layard. Schulz has *ni*.
[2] So Layard. Schulz has *ri!*
[3] So Layard. Schulz is unintelligible.
[4] So Layard.
[5] So Layard. Schulz has *ap*. Both Layard and Schulz have *ap* in the duplicate, but *alap* would be written *a-la-ap*, not *al-ap*.
[6] So Layard.
[7] The character is doubtful in both Layard and Schulz. It may be *zu*. In this case the god's name would be Zuzumarus.

11. Kha-a-ra-a A-ra-za-a

46. Kha-a-ra-a A-ra-za [1]-a

To Kharas an ox, 2 sheep. To Arazas an ox, 2 sheep.

11. Zi-hu-ḳu-ni-e (12.) Hu-ra-a

47. Zi-(hu)-ḳu-hu-ni-e Hu-ra-a

To Ziuḳunis an ox, 2 sheep. To Huras an ox, 2 sheep.

12. Ar-tsi-bad-di-ni-e Ar-ni-i-e

48. Ar-tsi-bad-di-ni-e Ar-ni-i-e

To Artsibaddinis an ox, 2 sheep. To Arnis an ox, 2 sheep.

12. Khal-di-ni [2]-ni [3] a-si-e

49. Khal-di-(ni) [4] -ni a-si-e

To the four Khaldises of the house an ox, 2 sheep.

12. Khal-di-ni al-śu-i-si-e

49. Khal-di-ni al-śu-hu-si-e

To the multitudinous Khaldises an ox, 2 sheep.

13. Khal-di-ni di-ru-si-i-e

50. Khal-di-ni di-ru-si-i-e

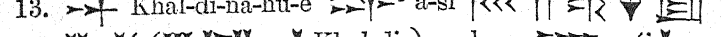
To the Khaldises of . . . . . an ox, 2 sheep.

[1] Schulz has here introduced the *ru* of the preceding line. It is omitted by Layard.

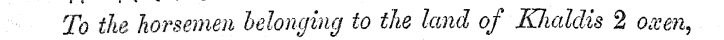
[2] Layard has *i*. But *ini* 'this,' does not suit the inscription, as it was not set up inside or outside a house. Moreover *ini* is not genitive.

[3] Layard has *ri* here and in the duplicate line. But in the latter Schulz has the ideograph of "house" very clearly, and other inscriptions (see p. 459) show that this reading is right.

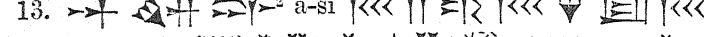
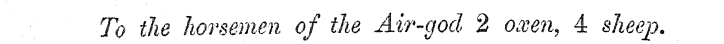
[4] Omitted by Layard. Schulz has the two lower wedges only.

13.  Khal-di-na-hu-e a-śi[1]
50. (Khal-di-) na-hu-e a-śi

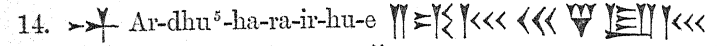
To the horsemen belonging to the land of Khaldis 2 *oxen*, 4 *sheep.*

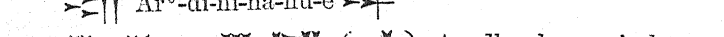
13.  a-śi[2]
51. e a-śi[3][4]
Teisba-e

To the horsemen of the Air-god 2 *oxen*, 4 *sheep.*

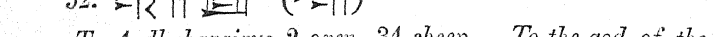
14.  Ar-dhu[5]-ha-ra-ir-hu-e
Ar[6]-di-ni-na-hu-e
51. Ar-dhu-ha-ar-ir-hu-e
52.  [7]

To Ardhuharairus 2 *oxen*, 34 *sheep. To the god of the city Ardinis*

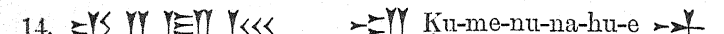
14.  Ḳu-me-nu-na-hu-e

52. Ar[6]-di-(ni)-na-hu-e  Ḳu-me-nu-na-hu-e

an ox, 2 *sheep. To the god of the city of Ḳumenus an ox*, 2 *sheep.*

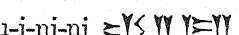
14. Dhu-us-pa[8]-ni-na-hu-e [9]
53.  Dhu-us-pa-na-hu-e

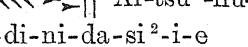
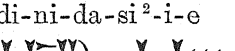
To the god of the city of Dhuspas an ox, 2 *sheep.*

15. Khal-di-ni-ni -ni
53.  Khal-di-ni-ni

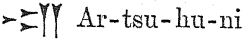
To the gods, the children of Khaldis of the city an ox, 2 *sheep.*

[1] Both Layard and Schulz have *du*, incorrectly, as is shown by the equivalent ideograph in the duplicate line.
[2] So Layard. [3] So Layard. [4] So Layard.
[5] So Layard. Schulz has *ku*, but *dhu* in the duplicate text.
[6] So Layard. Schulz has *rad.*
[7] So Layard.
[8] Layard has *ni-di*, plainly incorrectly. [9] Layard omits.

15. Ar-tsu[1]-hu-i-ni-ni 
Khal-di-ni-da-si[2]-i-e

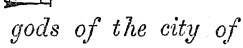
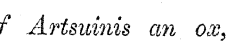
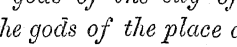
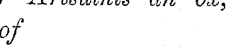
54. () Ar-tsu-hu-ni-(ni)


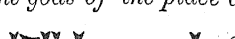
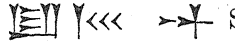
To the gods of the city of Artsuinis an ox, 2 sheep.
To the gods of the place of

15. Su-ba-a 

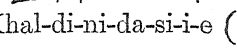
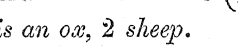
54. Khal-di-ni-da-si-i-e () Su-hu-ba-a

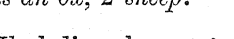
Khaldis an ox, 2 sheep. *To Subas an ox, 2 sheep.*

16.  Khal-di-na-hu-e 
 E-ri-di-a-ni 

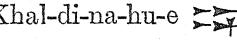
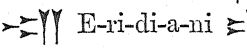
54.  Khal-di-na-hu-e (
) Ir-di-ya

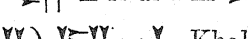
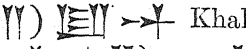
To the gate of the city of Khaldis an ox, 2 sheep.
To the gate of the city of Eridias of the Air-god an ox, 2 sheep.

16.  Hu-i-si-ni-ni
 E-li-a-ha-a

54.    Hu-i-si-ni
(E-)li-e-ha-a

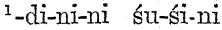
To the gate of the Sun-god in the city Huisis an ox, 2 sheep.
To Eliahas an ox, 2 sheep.

17.  Khal-di-ni ar-ni-i-e
 Khal-di-ni us-ma-si-i-e

54.  Khal-di-ni ar-(ni)-i-e (
 Khal-di-ni) us-ma-si-e

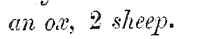
To the Khaldises of the citadel an ox, 2 sheep. *To the Khaldises the gracious an ox, 2 sheep.*

[1] So Layard. Schulz inserts a character which may be *i*.
[2] Layard has *me*; but as he has *si* in the duplicate line, Schulz must be right.
[3] So Layard.

17. (Khal)[1]-di-ni-ni śu-śi-ni 

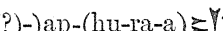
54. Khal-di-ni-ni (śu)-hu-śi-ni

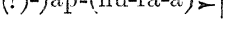
To the gods the children of Khaldis of the { *building* (*s*) / *wall* (*s*) *an ox, 2 sheep.*

18.  Ta-la (?)[2]-ap-hu-ra-a Ḳi[3]-li-ba-ni

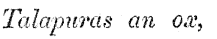
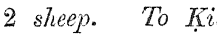
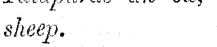
55. (Ta-la(?)-)ap-(hu-ra-a) Ḳi-li-ba-(ni-e)

To Talapuras an ox, 2 sheep. To Ḳilibanis an ox, 2 sheep.

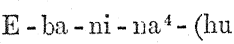
18. E-ba-ni-na[4]-(hu-e) Al[5]-ga[5]-ni-na-hu-e) 

56. (E-ba-)ni-(na-hu-)e (Al-ga-ni-na-hu-e) 

To the god of the country an ox, 2 sheep. To the god of the country of Alganis an ox, 2 sheep.

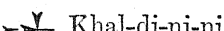
19.  (?) Tsu(?)[6]-i-ni-na-hu-e   At-ḳa[7]-na-na-hu-e

56. (?) Tsu(?)-i-ni-na-hu-e

57. 

To the god of the city of Tsuinis (?) an ox, 2 sheep. To the gods of the city Atḳanas

[1] This is omitted in both Layard and Schulz, and may have been an oversight of the original engraver.

[2] Layard has ; Schulz  .

[3] So Layard.

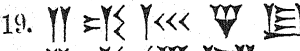
[4] So Layard.

[5] So Layard.

[6] Layard has ; Schulz .

[7] Layard has ; Schulz . Mordtmann conjectures *li*, but both Layard's copy and the duplicate text show that this is wrong.

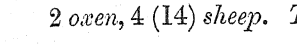
[8] So Schulz, probably rightly when we compare the next paragraph.

19.  . . . di[1]-ra[1]-hu-e

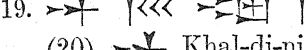
57. . . . . (58)

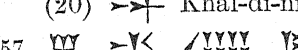
. . . di-)ra-hu-e

2 *oxen*, 4 (14) *sheep*. *To the god of . . . diras* 2 *oxen*, 14 *sheep*.

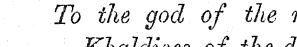
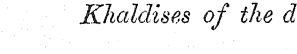
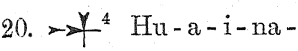
19. 

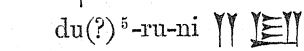
(20) Khal-di-ni ni-ri-bi[2] [3]

57. 

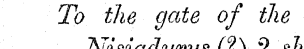
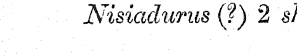
(58)  Khal-di-ni ni-ri-bi-i

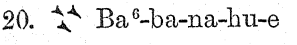
To the god of the nations, 4 *oxen*, 18 *sheep*. *To the Khaldises of the dead an ox*, 2 *sheep*.

20.  [4] Hu-a-i-na-hu-e  Ni-si-a (?)[5]-du(?)[5]-ru-ni 

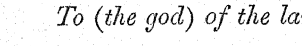
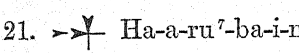
58.  Hu-a-i-na-hu-e Ni-si-a(?)-du(?)-ru-)ni

To the gate of the city of the god Huais the city Nisiadurus (?) 2 *sheep*.

20.  Ba[6]-ba-na-hu-e 

58.  Ba-ba(-na-hu-e)

To (the god) of the land of Babas 10 *sheep*.

21.  Ha-a-ru[7]-ba-i-ni-e 

59. Ha-a-ru-)ba-a-ni-e

To Harubainis a wild ox, a sheep.

[1] So Layard. Perhaps we should read *di-ra-hu-he*, "to the gods of Diras."

[2] So Layard, doubtfully; Schulz has a *lacuna*. The reading *ni* is certified by l. 20.

[3] So Layard.

[4] So Layard.

[5] So Layard. Schulz has a *lacuna*.

[6] So Layard.

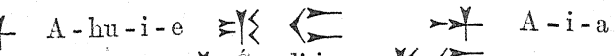
[7] So Layard.

21. Ba-ba-a Dhu-us-pu-a[1]

59. ....

.....

To Babas a wild ox, a sheep. To Dhuspuas (the god of the people of Dhuspas) a wild ox, a sheep.

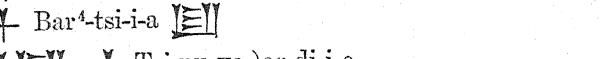
21.  A-hu-i-e A-i-a (22) Śar-di-i-e

60. ....

....

To Auis (the Water-god) a wild ox. To Ayas (the Earth-god) a wild ox. To Śardis a wild ox.

22. Tsi-nu-ya[2]-ar-di-e Ip[3]-kha-ri-e Bar[4]-tsi-i-a

62. ( Tsi-nu-ya-)ar-di-i-e .....

.....

To Tsinuyardis 2 sheep. To Ipkharis a sheep. To Bartsias a sheep.

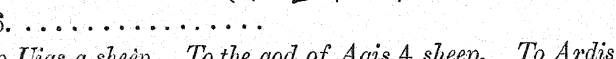
22. Śi[5]-li-i-a Ar-ha-a (23) A-di-i-a

64. (?) ....

.....

To Śilias a sheep. To Arhas a sheep. To Adias a sheep.

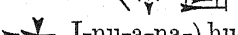
23. Hu-i-a A-a-i-na-hu-e [ ] [6] Ar-di[7]-i-e[8]

65. ..... ( A-a-i-na-) hu-e

66. .....

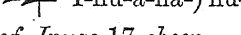
To Uias a sheep. To the god of Aais 4 sheep. To Ardis 2 sheep.

[1] So Layard. [2] So Layard. [3] So Layard.
[4] So Layard. Omitted by Schulz. [5] So Layard.
[6] Layard has . Schulz omits.
[7] So Layard. [8] So Layard.

23.  I-nu-a-na-hu-e

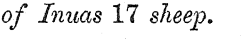
66. (I-nu-a-na-) hu-e.

To the god of Inuas 17 *sheep.*

24.  Khal-di-ni bad-di-ni   bad-di-ni ma-ni-ni ul[2]-gu[3]-se

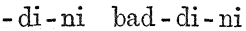
67. (Khal-di-ni bad-di-ni)   bad-di-ni (ma-ni-ni ul-gu-se)

To all the Khaldises, the gods, food for all (and) each (and) shields

24.  Is-pu-hu[4]-i-ni Śar-du-ri-khi-ni Me-nu-a Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi-ni

68. (Is-pu-hu)-i-ni   Śar-(du-ri-khi-ni (69) Me-nu)-a Is-pu-(hu-i-ni-e-khi-ni)

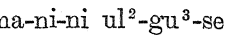
by Ispuinis, son of Śarduris (and) Menuas son of Ispuinis.

25.  Is-pu-hu-i-ni-s   -du-ri-khi-ni-s a-da[5] () Me-nu-a-s Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s

70. (Is-pu-hu-i-)ni-s   -(du-ri-khi-ni-s a-da[5]

71. Me-nu)-hu-a-s Is-pu-(i-ni-khi-ni-s)

Ispuinis son of Sarduris, and Menuas son of Ispuinis

25. śi-  [6] Khal-di-ni bad-di-sa-ni ḳa-ab-ḳa-ri-da-ni e-ha ([7]

72. (.... Khal-) di-ni bad-di-(sa-ni (73) ḳa-ab-ḳa-ri-da-)ni e-ha ( )

..... *to the Khaldises of every kind place of approach this to the gods of the nations*

[1] So Layard. Schulz has the non-existent .
[2] So Layard. [3] So Layard. [4] So Layard.
[5] Layard and Schulz have *li*, but *ada* is elsewhere the copulative conjunction.
[6] So Layard.
[7] So Layard. Schulz has , doubtfully.

26. hu-i nu(?)-su[1] la-ku-ni a-lu-kid ar-di-ni khu-ru-la[2]-i.[3]

73. . . . . i e ti ip na . . . . . (74) khu-ru-la-a-i

3 *oxen*, 30 *sheep, and the* . . . . *they have given* (?) *in any case publicly for sacrifices* (?)

26.	(si-li)	gu-[4] li	ti-su-ul-du-li-ni
74.	si-li	gu-li	(ti-su-ul-du-li-ni)
	after dawn,	*after dusk* (?),	*after dark* (?).

27. Is-pu-hu-i-ni-s Śar-du-ri-khi-ni-s Me-nu-hu-a-s Is-pu-hu[5]-(i-ni-khi-ni-s) ul-di-e su-khe te[6]-ru-ni [7] Khal[7]-di-e

75. (Is-pu-hu-i-ni-s) 76 () Śar-du-ri-(khi-ni-s Me-nu-hu-a-s Is-pu-hu-(i-ni-khi-ni-s) ul-(di-e su-khe te-ru-ni Khal-di-e)

Ispuinis son of Śarduris (and) Menuas son of Ispuinis monuments these have set up to Khaldis;

27. lu-hu-e-se(?)[8] (28) -a-ri su-khe[9] te-ru-ni hu-i gi-e-i-is

77. (lu-hu-e-se (?)) -a-ri-e (su-khe te-ru-ni hu-i gi-e-i-is)

the { *gifts* (?) / *works* (?) } *of the men these have established and the images*

28. (gi-) is-hu-ri Is-pu-hu-i-ni-s   Śar-du-ri-khi-ni-s

78. (gis-su)-hu-ri-e () Is-(pu-hu-i-ni-s   Śar-du-ri-khi-ni-)s

of the mighty gods. Ispuinis the son of Śar-duris

[1] So Layard. Schulz has .
[2] So Layard.
[3] So Layard.
[4] So Layard.
[5] So Layard.
[6] Schulz has *la*, incorrectly.
[7] So Layard.
[8] So Layard, doubtfully.
[9] Layard has , incorrectly.

29. Me-nu-hu-a-s Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s bur-ga-na[1]-ni

79. (Me-nu-hu-a-)s Is-pu-hu-(i-ni-)e-khi-ni-s (bur-ga-na-ni)

(and) Menuas the son of Ispuinis altar

29. su-khe te-ru-ni te[2]-ru[2]-ni ar-di-se a-se hu-i al-di-ni-i-e

80. (su-khe te-ru-ni te-ru-ni ar-di-se) a-se (hu-i al-di-)ni-i-(e)

this have set up; they have set up the regulations (and) the gods of wood and (stone ?)

29. sal[3]-du[3]-hu-li (30) Khal-di-(i)-e

81. (sal-du-hu-li ha-)a-li Khal-(di-e

after .....; to Khaldis 3 sheep to be sacrificed (and) 3 sheep

30. a-se ul-di {um / dub}[4]-nu-li Khal-di-e

81. (82) (a-se ul-di {um / dub}-nu-li ha-a-li Khal-

to the gods of the peoples, the gods of the monument after the spring; to Khaldis 3 sheep

30. a-se ul-di me-su-li

82. di)-e ur(?) ..... (me-su-)li

to be sacrificed, (and) 3 sheep to the gods of the peoples, the gods of the monument after the summer;

[1] See note on III. 1.

[2] So Layard.

[3] So Layard. Probably we should read *si* for *sal*, as in VII. 5.

[4] Layard has *ta*, Schulz has *ta*. The correct reading is given by Mr. Rassam's squeeze of No. VII. line 6, where we have *um* or *dub*. I have no means of deciding which of these two values the Vannic scribes retained for the character, but it was more probably *um*. At the same time was *gis*, and not *iz*.

31. Khal-di-e

83. (ha-a)-li (Khal-di-e)

to Khaldis 3 *sheep to be sacrificed, (and)* 3 *sheep to the gods of the peoples*

31. du-si-si[1]-i-hu-li-ni me-i-e-si me-tsi[2] el[3] mu[3] tu(?)[3] . . . .[4]

83. (du-si-si-i-hu-)li-(ni (84) me-)i-e-si me-(tsi . . . . . .

after the winter. Their . . . . . .

31. a-nu-hu-ni

83. . . . . .

they have . . . .

[A blank line intervenes between the two duplicate texts.]

Philological Analysis.

The context of the inscription, as gathered from the ideographs it contains, shows that we have a list of the sacrifices to be made to the various gods of the Vannic state, and that the names of the deities must consequently all be in the dative; see *e.g.* lines 5, 6, 7, etc. This allows us to determine an important part of Vannic grammar. The datives terminate in *-ie* as *Khaldie*, *-nie* as *Atbinie*, *-ue* as *Sebitue*, *-nahue* as *Dhuspanahue*, *-â* as *Kharâ*, *-ae* as *Teisbae*, *-ni* as *Khaldini*, or *-nini* as *Khaldinini*. Now as we have already seen that the nominatives singular of Vannic nouns may end in either *-as*, *-is*, or *-us* (as *Menuas*, *Ispuinis*, *alus*), it is clear that there must have been three classes of nouns, distinguished by the final vowel of the stem preceding the case-ending, of which the datives singular were respectively *-ae*, contracted into *-â*, *-ie*, and *-ue*. As *-ae* could be contracted into *-â*, we

[1] So Layard.
[2] Schulz has *tsi*, Layard doubtfully *tsi* or *śar*.
[3] So Layard.
[4] One character is lost here.

may expect to find that *-ie* and *-ue* could also be contracted into *-î* and *-û*.

1. *Khaldie*, as we have just seen, is a dative. This and most other Vannic inscriptions show that Khaldis was the supreme god. He was not, however, either the Sun-god or the Moon-god, who are distinguished from him (lines 3, 4). Sargon tells us that the god Khaldia, whose image he carried away from Muzazir, was the god of Urśa, king of Ararat (see p. 348).

Eurie, from its position and termination, must be an adjective agreeing with *Khaldie*. The meaning is fixed by a comparison of the duplicate texts lii., from which it appears that it was equivalent to 'lord.'

Throughout the inscription, with one exception, the names of Ispuinis and Menuas are coupled together in the nominative without a single character being interposed between them which could denote the conjunction. We must therefore conclude that the Vannic language made little use of conjunctions, the flexions serving to connect words together, and the words which follow the first substantive being all regarded as adjectival and in agreement with it.

2. In this way alone we can explain how it is that no difference is made in the termination of the verb, whether it follow one or more nominatives. Here we have *teru-ni* used as a 3rd pers. plural, although elsewhere it expresses a 3rd pers. sing. (iii. 1). *Teru-ni* is from a stem *teru*, which is of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions. Its signification is fixed by li. 3: *ini* *du teruni* 'this monument he has set up.' As we shall see, it cannot mean to engrave or inscribe, another word (*kuguni*) being employed in this sense. For *ter-tu* see xxi. 5.

ini-li is plainly the demonstrative *ini* with a flexion. The same flexion is attached to *zaduali*, and we must therefore couple the two together as one phrase. *Zadu* is 'to build' or 'make' (iv. 1). We must notice that it is spelt *zatu* in the duplicate text, the harder pronunciation being probably the more archaic one. It is possible, as we shall see, that the two

verbs *du-bi* and *tu-bi*, which have similar meanings, are originally one and the same, and we shall find more than one instance in which *tu* in composition is written *du*. Similarly after *s* the suffix *di* became *ti* or *te*, as in *Bianaste* for *Bianas-de*. Between *inili* and *zaduali* comes the ideograph of 'gate,' in the duplicate text 'gates.' Just as the acc. suffix *-ni* is not attached to the noun which follows *ini*, so here the suffix *li* is not attached to the word for 'gate.' We have a similar expression in xvii. 4, 5: *khal-di i-ni-li* *-li si-di-is-tu-a-li i-ni* *si-di-is-tu-hu-ni* '(Menuas), after restoring this gate, has restored this palace.' Here, however, the suffix is attached to the substantive as well as to the demonstrative and participle. The two parallel expressions leave no doubt as to the sense we must attach to the construction. The suffix *-li*, accordingly, must mark a perfective case, like the ablative absolute in Latin; the participle of the verb is placed at the end of the sentence and takes the same suffix, inserting the vowel *a* between the latter and the stem, from which we may infer that the nom. sing. of the participle would be *zaduas, sidistuas*.

No change is made in either demonstrative or participial form, whether they are joined with a singular or with a plural substantive. The acc. *ini*, therefore, may be considered to be indifferently singular and plural.

We cannot read *ardis* a nominative sing., since the sense requires an acc. of the object following the verb, and the form will therefore be *ardise*. In line 29, we once have *ardise* following *teruni*, and in xix. 6 *ardise* appears again. Now, as the vocabulary will show, we frequently find *hase* or *hase* (xlix. 9) 'men,' and *suse* 'sheep' following a verb in the accusative; and as the ideograph of plurality is affixed to them, while we once find *su-hu-se-e* (xlviii. 29), it is clear that *-e* denotes the plural accusative of stems in *-i*. On the other hand, we also have *pakhini* 'oxen' as an accusative plural. *Lutu* 'women,' we shall see, is the accusative plural of *lutus*.

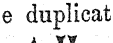
 is the Sun-god, as in numberless passages. In the two duplicate texts xx. 16 we have the nom. -*s* of the one text corresponding to -*ni-s* in the other, from which we may infer that the name terminated in -*nis*. Similarly we have -*ni-s* in xxx. 33, and -*ni-di* in l. 8. The full name is given in l. 39, where the text is unfortunately not quite certain, but seems to read *Ardinis*. In Assyrian signified 'the day' as well as 'the sun,' and this must be the meaning of the ideograph in such passages as xx. 16 (see also xlviii. 10). As the compound ideograph is joined with the ideograph of 'month' in the present passage, we can have no hesitation in rendering it here also by 'day.' The two syllables -*ni-ni* are attached to it in the duplicate text. With this we must compare the adjectival dative *Khaldi-ni-ni* 'to those belonging to Khaldis,' and explain the word as the dative plural of an adjective in -*ni* meaning 'diurnus.' The word would consequently signify 'for what belongs to the day,' *i.e.* 'day by day.' and *atsus* are coupled together without a conjunction, like *Ispuinis* and *Menuas* above.

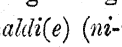
Atsus is explained by the ideograph which precedes it. As it consists of two syllables, we may assume that it expresses the whole word, and not merely the final portion of it, since the rule in these Vannic inscriptions is either to write the word in full, or to give merely the last syllable of it, if nothing more than a phonetic complement is intended to be expressed. Thus we have either the full word *ebanie* 'country' ('countries') or the last syllable -*nie;* never -*ba-nie*. *Atsus* will be the same case as that of the adverbs *sidis* or *nulus*, and since *sidis* is contracted from *sidisi*, it would seem that these durative cases (as we may term them) were originally genitives singular.

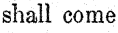
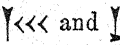
Manus is clearly an adjective in agreement with *atsus*. The context shows that it must signify 'each' or 'every.' The inscriptions furnish us with other forms of the same pronoun; *manu* acc. pl. xxx. 17, xlix. 14; *manuda*, local case liv. 5;

manini, dat. pl. v. 24. Comp. *mes* 'he,' *mei* 'of him,' *mani* 'him.'

3. 'the Air-god' is transliterated *Te-e-i-s(e)-ba-a-s* in the duplicate text xx. 15. Accordingly we have the dat. *-a* (*Teisbâ*) xxvi. 1, and *-e* (*Teisbae*), line 51.

The compound ideograph  is given in a list of domestic animals, after the sheep, W.A.I. ii. 44, 3, 13. It literally signifies 'small offspring,' and as it is here preceded by the ideograph of 'sheep,' it is plain that 'lambs' are intended.

Nipśidi is an adj. agreeing with *Khaldie*, perhaps compounded of *nip*, and *śid*, the latter being again analyzable into the root *śi* and the suffix *di* (as in *Khaldis*).[1] What it means I have no means of guessing. Apparently we have the same word in xix. 7, *Khaldi(e)* (*ni-ip-*)*śi-di-e*  *-e*. Here the ideograph , with the phonetic complement *-e*, takes the place of the *hali* of our text. Further on in our present inscription (lines 29 and 81, 30 and 81, 31 and 83) we find *hali* in the duplicate text answering to in the other text. Now represents in Assyrian the verb *dhabakhu* 'to cut the throat of a lamb,' 'to sacrifice,' and this is plainly its meaning in the passages with which we are dealing. *Hali* will be the dative of a noun *halis* 'sacrifice.'

4. Numberless passages in the historical inscriptions, to which we shall come hereafter, furnish us with the words  *pa-khi-ni*  and *su-(u)-se* , where the ideographs show that we have before us the plurals of the Vannic words for 'oxen' and 'sheep.' *Susê* cannot be merely the phonetic complement of the ideograph because (1) it consists of more than one syllable, (2) it is always so written without any indication of another syllable preceding it, and (3) it is conjoined with *pakhini*, which is obviously a full word.

Ippue is an adj. in *-ue* like the adjectives in *-nahue* which we

[1] Or perhaps, more probably, the *śi-* is the adjectival suffix, as in *alu-śi*, *nu-śi*.

shall consider presently. Just as *Dhuspanahue* signifies 'to him who belongs to (the city of) Dhuspas,' *ippue* ought to signify 'to him who belongs to *ippus*.' The form of the sentence makes it evident that the word is an epithet of the dative *Teisbâ* and is coupled (without a conjunction) with *Khaldie*. It is clear from xliv. 13 (on which see note) that it means 'inundating,' an epithet applied to the Air-god in the Assyrian inscriptions.

5. *Khudhuinis* is formed like *Ispuinis* by the help of the adjectival suffix *-ni*. Compare *khudhu* xliii. 12, 78, xlviii. 28, where it seems to mean 'a portion.'

6. *Huas*, according to line 20, was the god of the gate of the city Nisiadurus.

7. With *Diduainis* or *Deduainis* compare *didu-li-ni* (xvi. 3).

7. We may accept *Selardis* as the correct reading of the name given as the equivalent of 'the Moon-god' for the reasons assigned in the foot-note. The root *ar* or *aru* means, as we shall see, 'to bring;' from this *ardis* would be formed by the individualizing suffix *-di*, which denotes a noun of agency, as in *Khal-dis* from *khal; ardis* being accordingly 'the bringer.' If so, *sel-ardis* ought to signify 'the light-bringer,' in which case *sel-* would be 'light.' See notes on lines 26 and 23.

Khaldinahue is evidently a dative of an adjective formed from Khaldis by the suffix *-nahu-*. Further on we shall find similar adjectives formed from the names of cities, and placed before the word 'god,' showing that they must signify 'to the god belonging to such and such a place.' Above (line 4) we have had an adjectival ending *-ue* (from nom. *-us*), and elsewhere we get the adjectival suffix *-na*, as in *Khaldi-na*, 'the gate of the land of Khaldis' (x. 4, xi. 3), *Khaldi-na-ni* *baddi-ni* 'for all the gates of the land of Khaldis' (xi. 2). Consequently *Khaldina-ve-s* will be formed from the adjectival *Khaldinas*. Since the suffix *hue-* (*ve-*) does not of itself imply the idea of locality, as is clear from the word *ippue* above, the territorial sense of adjectives in *na-ve* must lie in the first suffix *-na*. This is confirmed, as we shall

see, by the use of these adjectives. Above (line 4) *-ue* denoted the dative sing.; here the ideograph attached to ⟝*-li* shows that it also represents the plural.

⟝ *-li* is probably the ideograph ⟝ 'a corpse,' 'to die,' with the phonetic complement *-li* following it. Compare the name of the Aralez and the Accadian *arali* mentioned on p. 415.

8. With the termination of *Elipris* comp. that of *Lut-ipris*. *Ipris* may be formed by the help of the adjectival suffix *-ri* (as in *sekheris* 'alive') from *ip* 'a flood.' The god Eliahas occurs in line 16.

9. As we shall see hereafter, *alus* is 'whoever,' and *uru-da* 'family.' *Siuali* must be formed like *zaduali* in line 2, from the stem *siu*, which we learn from the historical inscriptions meant 'to carry away.' *Uru-li-hue* is a similar formation to *Khaldi-na-hue*, the suffix *li* taking the place of *na*, and the pronoun *alus* is united with it in a sort of compound. Consequently the exact rendering will be 'to (the god) belonging to whoever (may be) to the offspring when they have been carried away.' This may possibly relate to a legend of Vannic mythology, or may have a more prosaic reference to a god invoked to protect captive children.

10. *Eri-nas* seems to be a derivative from the same word as the royal name Eri-menas (lii.) and the name of the city Eridias or Irdiyas (line 16).

11. With *Kharas* compare the reduplicated *kharkharu* 'to dig up' or 'destroy.'

12. *Artsibaddinis* is compounded with *baddis* 'all.' With the first part of the word compare the name of the city Artsuinis (line 15).

Arnis is connected with *arniusinida*, for which see line 17.

Khaldini is shown by the numeral which follows to be a dative plural. We may notice the agreement of the numeral adjective which follows with it.

For *asie* see note on iii. 1. If it is in the genitive singular, we should have expected it to precede its governing noun. On the other hand, if it were an adjective, it ought to be *asinie*. In line 24 also the genitive follows its noun.

Alśuisie is an adj. formed by the suffix *si-* agreeing with the dat. pl. *Khaldini*. Compare *dirusie* in the next line. Besides *alśuisie* we find *alśuini* formed by the adjectival suffix *-ni* and *alśuisini* dat. pl. of the adjective in *si-* agreeing with *Khaldinini*. The meaning is fixed by the frequently-recurring title of the Vannic kings, in which 𒌷𒌷 *alśuini* takes the place of the Assyrian *sar cissati* 'king of multitudes.'

13. I have no clue to the meaning of the adjective *dirusie*.

The determinative by which *aśi* is preceded shows that it signifies a class of persons. In xliii. 14 we have 𒀀-*śi*-𒌷𒌷 *-i-e*, from which we learn that the full form of the acc. pl. ended in *-ie*. The exact meaning of the word is established by xxx. 20. The analogy of the datives plural would lead me to read the word in the passage before us *aśini*. We must notice that *Khaldinahue* is here dative plural, not singular. 'The horsemen of the land of Khaldis' must be some class of divine beings.

14. Dhuspas, the capital of the Vannic state, now Van, whence the Lacus Thospitis of classical geography and the modern Tosp. See p. 388. It is curious that Tiglath-Pileser calls the city Dhuruspa. As the name is always written Dhuspas in the native inscriptions, the Vannic *r* when flanked by vowels must have had a very soft sound, and have tended to disappear in ordinary pronunciation. Comp. *Cisester* for *Cirencester*. *Dhuspa-ni-nahue* is formed not from *Dhuspas* like *Dhuspa-nahue*, but from the adjective *Dhuspanis* 'Dhuspanian.'

15. 𒀀𒌷-*ni* must be the dative pl. of an adjective formed from the word for the city, which, as we shall see hereafter, was *inainis* or *inanis*. Similarly *Artsuinini* is the dative pl. of the adjective *Artsuininis* from Artsuinis. As this city is mentioned in an inscription (xi. 1) which comes from Sirka about three miles east of Van, we may assume that it stood here.

Khaldinidasie is a dative pl. of an adjective in *s* like *alśuisie*. *Da* we have seen (p. 460) is the localizing affix, while *-ni* denotes adjectives formed from substantives. The word therefore is to be analyzed into *Khaldi-ni-da-sie* 'to those who belong to the place belonging to Khaldis' or 'the Khaldi's.' Comp. the

formation of *Dhuspa-ni-nahue* above, as well as *khura-di-ni-da* 'a camp' (xxxii. 4, etc.).

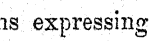
16. *Eridiani* is the dat. sing. of the adjective in *-ni(s)* from *Eridias*. *Irdiya* will be the genitive of the substantive.

Huisini may similarly be the genitive of the substantive Huisinis; but I am inclined to regard it as the dative sing. of the adjective in *-nis*, *Huisinini* being the dative of an adjective formed from the adjective *Huisinis* 'Huisian.'

17. *Arnie* is a genitive-dative like *asie* in line 12. The root is perhaps *aru* 'to bring.' In the historical inscriptions we find a derivative *arniusinida*, a discussion of which I must reserve at present, merely stating that it seems to signify 'the citadel' of Van. Literally it would be 'the place belonging to that which is fortified,' in which case *arnis* will mean 'a fortress.' *Arnuyada* has nearly the same signification in xxxi. 4, xlv. 34. We must notice that in line 12, the god Arnis precedes 'the four Khaldises of the house.' *Usmasie* is a dative pl. of an adjective in *si* formed from a substantive *usmas*. In the later inscriptions it is the stock epithet applied to 'the children of Khaldis,' and I have rendered it 'gracious' not because I have any grounds for doing so, but because some general term of the kind was needed. On the whole, I am most inclined to believe that it meant 'belonging to the city,' coming as it does here between two epithets, which refer one to the fortress, and the other to the wall of a town; but, as I have no means of verifying this belief, I retain the more indefinite 'gracious' in my translations. *Śuśini* is a dative pl. of an adj. in *-nis*. In xvii. Menuas describes his rebuilding first 'this *śuśi*,' then 'this gate,' and finally 'this palace.' This fixes the meaning of the word either to 'foundation platform' or to 'wall.' The first meaning, however, is excluded, because (1) we should then have expected the ideograph , (2) we have no reason for thinking that in a mountainous country like Armenia a palace would be built on a platform as was the case in the plains of Babylonia, and by way of imitation in the relatively level country of Assyria, and (3) a gate would not be built without a wall, the previous construction of which it presupposes. In the inscriptions of Argistis and

his son Śarduris, a word *sušini* occurs, which I believe is the same as *šuši*, but with the initial sibilant softened, just as the softer *šudukubi* takes the place of the older *šudhukubi* in a text of Śarduris II. (l. 27). Thus we read *arniušinida sušini zadubi* 'the citadel (and) wall I have built' (xxxviii. 24, etc.), '14 palaces 100 cities *sušini* (and) villages I took' (l. 16), '23 cities *sušini* I took' (lv. 13). Here *sušini* must obviously signify 'fortresses,' and the analogy of the Latin *mœnia* makes it probable that the word first meant 'wall,' then 'fortified wall' and finally 'fortress.' It is possible that if *sušinis* and *šušis* are originally one and the same, the sense of 'wall' of any kind remained attached to the first, while *šušis* acquired the special signification of 'fortified wall' or 'fortress.'

18. *Ebani-nahue* will be derived from a substantive *ebanis*, which is of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions. It is always preceded by the ideograph of 'country' and as we have *e-ba-ni*, etc., interchanging with *-ni*, etc. (*e.g.* xl. 16, 17, and xliii. 34), it is clear that it is the Vannic word for 'country,' 'land.' *Ebanis* seems to have been originally an adj. in *-ni*, which has itself come to be used as a substantive like *inanis* 'a city,' and *Biainas* 'Van' (which must primarily have been *Biai-na-s* 'belonging to the land of Bias'). Hence we find *eba-na* (xlix. 26), and *eba-hu-sie* (xi. 5) as if from *ebas*.

19. It will be noticed that whereas the singular 'god' follows the adjective which agrees with it, the plural  precedes.

The collocation of the ideographs expressing 'the gods of the nations' shows that the genitive might follow the governing noun (as in line 17 above). This seems to have been preferably the case with a plural noun.

20. *Niribi*—the reading is certified by l. 20—occurs again in the sepulchral inscription xxi. 9. Here, as we shall see, the word appears to signify 'corpses.' The termination is the same as that which we find in *atibi* 'thousands' (xxxi. 15), and *azibi* or *azibie*.

We have already had the god Huas in line 6.

Babanahue is used absolutely like an adj. in Latin, without any substantive being expressed. A land of Babas is mentioned in connexion with Melitene in l. 14, another in connexion with Bustus (on the south-western shore of Lake Urumiyeh). The Babas meant here must have lain within Vannic territory.

21. As the name of the god Harubainis intervenes in the middle of a list of geographical deities, I fancy the word must mean 'belonging to the country or city Harubas.' For the diphthong comp. *Nalainis* (line 6), *Deduainis* (7), *Khalrainis* (8), and the name of *Biainas*. *Dhuspuas* must be distinguished from *Dhuspu-nahus* 'the (god) of the land of Dhuspas' (line 14). *Dhuspuas* (formed like *Menuas*, *tarsuas*, etc.) is rather 'the God of the people of Dhuspas,' as Assur was of the city of Assur and the country of Assyria. Consequently Babas, in the same way, will be 'the god Babas,' as distinct from 'the god of the country of Babas' in line 20. With the latter we may perhaps compare the city of Babite, which adjoined Zamua (W.A.I. i. 20, 24), or the town of Babutta in Ararat (Biaina), captured by Tiglath-Pileser II. (Lay. 18, 27).

For the proof that *auis* or *avis* is 'water,' see xx. 19. Its association here with *ainis* 'earth,' indicates an elemental deity. In the formula of execration we find at the end, *narâ auie uludaie* (*e.g.* xx. 19), 'to fire (and) water may they consign.'

Ainis means 'earth' or 'dust' in the execration formula (*e.g.* xx. 12), where the phrase *alus ainiei inida dudaie*, 'whoever shall destroy this place with dust,' corresponds with the Assyrian *sa ina epiri icatamu*, 'he who (this) with dust shall cover.' *Ainis* seems to be formed by the adjectival affix *-ni*, so that it would properly denote 'belonging to the earth,' *i.e.* 'dust.' In this case we should expect to find a simple substantive *ayis* signifying 'earth.' Now in xxv. 6 we actually have ᚠ *Menuani aie*, where the most natural, if not the only possible, translation is 'in the land of Menuas.' From *ayis* we should get *aias* 'he who is of the earth,' and this is the very word which we meet with in the present passage as the name of the earth-god, which naturally follows that of the

water-god. We may therefore assume that *aiis* or *ayis* meant 'earth,' *aias* or *ayas* 'the earth-god.'

That *Śardis* is the right reading is proved by liii. 2. According to J. Lydus (*de Mens.* 3, 14), σάρδις in Lydian signified 'the year,' and represented the Sun-god of the Lydian capital.[1] The ancient name of what was formerly the first month of the Armenian year (August) was Navasard 'the new *sard*,' from which we may gather that at one time *sard* meant 'year' in the Armenian language. The word, however, is not Aryan, and it may therefore be regarded as derived from the language of the people who inhabited the shores of Lake Van before the arrival of the Aryan Armenians. In Ossetic *sărd(e)* is 'summer.' It is curious that the Armenian *hori* and *sahmi*, 'September' and 'October,' closely resemble the Georgian numerals *ori* 'two' (Mingrelian *shiri*) and *sami* 'three,' while *mareri* 'May' is plainly *mareli*, the Georgian name of the 10th month. *Śardis* is formed like *Khaldis* and *Selardis* by the help of the suffix *di*.

The ideograph 𒆳 is explained in the syllabaries (W.A.I. ii. 2, 386) as *arkhu* (Accadian *ab*), the Arabic أرخ 'an antelope.' From W.A.I. iv. 9, 26–27, compared with 28, 9–10, we learn that 𒆳 also had the value of *rimi* (*rimu*) in Assyrian, from which Prof. Delitzsch has rightly gathered that it had the signification of 'wild bull.' Accordingly in a list of animals (W.A.I. ii. 44, 10) 𒄵𒆳 comes between 𒄵 'oxen,' and 𒄵𒁍 'oxen for sacrifice' (? beef). In W.A.I. ii. 32, 50 *sq.* the compound ideograph 𒆳𒁍 is stated to have been pronounced *hunu* and *utul* in Accadian, and is rendered in the Assyrian column by *utullu* (so in W.A.I. v. 12, 40), 𒆳 having in Accadian the value of *u*, and 𒁍 that of *tul* or *dhul*. In W.A.I. v. 12, 38, 'the herdsman' of the *utullu* is mentioned. From a comparison of these passages I conclude that the 𒆳 was *rimu* 'the wild ox,' but was

[1] It must, however, be remembered that Joannes Lydus adds that the Lydian historian Xanthos called Σάρδις Ξύλοις, which presupposes a root *khshwar* or *kswar*.

specially used of the animal when it had been partially tamed and sent to pasture.

22. In *Tsinuyardis* we have the same element *ardis* 'bringer' as in *Selardis*. With *Śilias* compare the locative *śiluadi* (xxx. 15, l. 24).

23. For Ardis 'the bringer,' or 'arranger,' see line 7.

Aai-nahue implies a city or country Aais, as Inua-nahue does a city or country Inuas.

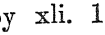
24. *Baddi-ni* is a dat. pl. agreeing with *Khaldi-ni*. In line 25 we find *Khaldi-ni baddi-sa-ni*, where the pronominal *sa* (as in *sa-da* 'there') makes its appearance. In xxx. 17, we have *bad-di-ma-a-nu* '. . . each,' the suffixed *manu* signifying, as we have seen, 'each.' Here the stem *baddi* can hardly have any other meaning than 'all,' so that the phrase will mean 'all and each.' Consequently the dat. pl. *baddini manini* in the present passage will also be 'to all and each.' *Baddisa(ni)*, I conjecture, must be rendered 'of every kind,' literally 'to all there.' *Badi-ni-ni* in xliii. 2, may be the same word. Comp. the name of the god Artsi-baddinis above (line 12).

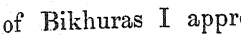
The inscription on the shield of Rusas, where we have *algusiyani*, shows that *ulguse* must signify the sacred "shields," which were hung up on the walls of a temple in honour of the gods. The genitives *Ispuini* and *Menua* indicate that the shields were dedicated by these kings. The two genitives are subjective, not objective, and are accordingly placed after the governing noun. In xi. 2, the word occurs again. Here we read ( ) *Khaldi-na-ni* *baddi-ni ulgu(se)* 'for all the gates of the land of Khaldis shields.'

Ispuini Śardurikhini is the genitive after *ulgus*. The final *-ni* of *Śardurikhinis* is retained, as *-ni* in *Ispuini* is not the accusatival suffix, but part of the word itself.

25. For the first and last time a word couples the two nouns Ispuinis and Menuas together, which must therefore be the copulative conjunction. But I find no other instance of the use of *ali* in the inscriptions. We must therefore assume that the copyists, as frequently elsewhere, have confounded *da*

and *li* together, and that the word is really *ada*, which, as we shall see, signifies 'and.'

Ḳabḳaridani is the local case of a noun *ḳabḳaris* with the accusatival affix attached to it. The meaning of the word is indicated by xli. 17,  (*Bi-khu-ra-*)*a-ni ḳa-ab-ḳa-a-ru-lu-u-bi*, which the context shows can only mean 'the city of Bikhuras I approached,' and l. 22, *istidi ulkhudi* *Melidhani ḳabḳarulini* 'in this campaign after the city of Melitene had been approached.' So in xl. 80, we have 'the people *ḳabḳarubi* I approached.'

Eha is proved to be a demonstrative pronoun by xiii. 3,  *Menuas* *Ispuinikhinis sidisi-tu-ni eha* *eha* 'Menuas son of Ispuinis has restored this palace (and) this city.' In every other passage in which it occurs it precedes its noun, and since in most of them (xliii. 16, 78, xlviii. 29) it is used as a plural, I am possibly wrong in construing it here with *ḳabḳari-da-ni*, and not rather with the words which follow ('to these gods of the nations').

26. The space of two lines which precedes this line shows that there must be a break in the sense here. However the two texts do not agree, and consequently there seems to be something wrong in our copies.

That *ui* (*vi*) means 'and' is plain from several passages (see line 29, xxxvii. 12).

If *nusu* is the right reading here, which is unfortunately doubtful, it will be the plural of a noun *nusus*, like *lutu*, which may perhaps be connected with *nus* 'a king.' The meaning of *nus* is proved in the following way. The common phrase in the historical inscriptions which answers to the Assyrian 'royal city' is *nu-śi* or *-śi* (xxxvii. 12), where *nuśi* is the acc. sing. of the adjective, formed by the suffix *ś* from a stem *nu*. That *nuśi* must be the full word, and not its last two syllables only, is made clear, not only by the rule already mentioned that the phonetic complement of an ideograph is represented by one syllable not by two, but also by the variant form *-śi*, where only the phonetic complement

is expressed. If further proof were wanting, it is found in xxiv. 8, where we read the full word *nu-u-s* (>-¥ *Śari-s nus* 'Śaris the queen'). Genders, it must be remembered, were unknown to the Vannic language.

Lakuni is the 3rd person pl. of a verb. But I have not found the stem *laku* elsewhere. Possibly it is a softened form of *laḳu* 'to give.'

Alukid is an adverb formed by the suffix *kid* or *kit* from the stem *alu* which naturally connects itself with *alus* 'whoever.' See note on *inuki* No. III. Just as *inuki* is formed from the stem *inu*, *alukid* would be formed from the stem *alu* and so signify 'in whatsoever case.'

For *ardini* see l. 39, and xlv. 23.

Khurulai is the genitive of a substantive *khurulas* like *Menuai* (xi. 4, xxii. 3). The word is not found elsewhere, but may be connected with *khuradis* 'a soldier.' In this case it might mean 'sacrifice,' just as in Assyrian *dictu*, literally 'slayable,' signifies 'soldier.' The termination is the same as in *gislais* 'mother,' and *burga-la-da*, xxxi. 3.[1]

Si-li is the perfective case of the noun *sis*. As we have seen (line 7), *Selardis* 'the moon' is probably a compound of *sel* 'light,' and *ardis* 'bringer' or 'arranger.' Now *se-l* is possibly a derivative from the stem *si-*. At all events, I believe we must render *si-li* 'after day-break' or 'dawn.' See line 29 (*salduli*), vii. 5, and xl. 72.

Gu-li, which is coupled with *si-li*, can then hardly signify anything else than 'after dusk' or 'night.' *Gus*, however, does not occur in any other inscription.

Tisuldu-li-ni I cannot explain. The final suffix is like that of *dusisiu-li-ni* (in line 31, upon which see note), and agrees with *ardini*, while *li* is the suffix of the perfective case. We find *-ni* attached to *-li* again in *didu-lini urpu-lini* (xvi. 3). The word seems a compound, made up of *tis* of unknown meaning, and *uldu*, which may be the same as *uldi* 'a monument.'

[1] It is possible that this termination *-la* may be a suffix bearing the same relation to *-li* that *-na* does to *-ni*. In that case *khuru-la* might signify 'he who is after the slaying,' *i.e.* 'the priest.' The passage perhaps refers to the portion assigned by the kings to the officiating priest.

27. The meaning of the latter word (*uldie*) is fairly fixed by the context in this and the following lines. It is rendered certain, however, by xxiii. 2, where we have *Menuainei* *gislaie* *Taririai ini* *uldi* 'for the mother of Menuas this monument.' The determinative prefix proves that the monuments of Van were of wood before stone came to be employed in imitation of the Assyrians. This may account for the loss of all monuments prior to Śarduris I., which may nevertheless have existed and been inscribed with native characters, possibly resembling those of the Hittite inscriptions.

Sukhe can only mean 'these.' It will be observed that it follows its noun, and is declinable, being, like its noun, in the accusative case plural.

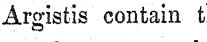
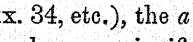
Luese ought to be another accusative plural from *luesis*. The verb *lubi* occurs in l. 18, where, however, the sense is not clear. On the whole, I am inclined to think the signification of 'works' the most probable that can be assigned to *luese*.

28. The ideograph shows that the word which terminates with *-arê* denotes 'men.' According to the usual rule observed in these Vannic inscriptions, as also in the Assyrian texts, *-are* should be the full word and not the phonetic complement. But I doubt whether the rule is followed in this instance, though I have no idea what the full word was. On the other hand, in liii. 6, we have *-ra-ni* in the accusative plural, which may perhaps imply that *-r(a)* only was the phonetic complement, the initial *a* of the present text being the beginning of the word. A word of similar formation is *ibirani* (xix. 11, xxx. 18). Since *-arê* implies *-aris* (possibly an adj. in *-ris* like *sekheris*), the *a* of *-ra-ni* must be due to the analogy of forms in *-a* (*ebania*, etc.).

Gieis, though coupled with an acc. pl., must be a nom. sing., at all events so far as its form is concerned. Perhaps we should translate 'and (there is) an image of the great gods.' Possibly, however, has been written by the scribe in mistake for .

Gissurie or *gisuri*, an adj. in the dat. pl., is constantly used in the historical inscriptions as an epithet of the gods, and is plainly the word required here. It must signify 'mighty' or 'great,' and the phrase found here corresponds with the Assyrian formula 'the great gods,' which occupies a similar place in the inscriptions.

29. *Sukhe* is here accusative singular. Just as in *Menuani* *Ispunekhi* the adjective which follows the substantive drops the suffix *-ni* which has already been attached to the substantive, so after *burganani* we find *sukhe*, not *sukheni*.

Ase is a difficult word to interpret. It is the accusative pl. of *asis*, and *asis*, as we have seen, meant 'house.' But 'houses' is quite out of place in the context, and we should have expected the ideograph which denotes the same idea to have been written either in the first or in the second text. In the following line, *ase* occurs twice after the ideographs denoting 'peoples,' whereas in line 31 it is omitted in an otherwise similar passage. This would lead to the supposition that *ase* must be equivalent to 'gods.' Now the inscriptions of Argistis contain the phrase  *Bianaste*, where the context shows that we are dealing with a plural locative, and that *-te* consequently stands for *-de* or *-di*. *Bianaste* must be a contracted form of the adjective *Bianasi-de*, but this explanation will not apply to the preceding word, as the adjectival suffix *-si* has no place in a substantive like 'god.' I therefore look upon *-aste* as representing the plural *-ase-de* from a sing. nom. *-asis*. The question is whether this is the whole word that signified 'god,' or only the latter portion of it. In favour of the first supposition is the fact that, often as the phrase occurs, we never find a fuller form than *aste*. On the other hand, it would be a little strange if the words for 'god' and 'house' both had the same pronunciation in the Vannic language. But as we find simply the phonetic complement *-se* or *-s* in the nom. pl.  (xxx. 34, etc.), the *a* of *aste* may be the beginning of the word. Elsewhere *ase* signifies 'houses' or 'temples' only, *e.g.* in li. 5, or x. 2, 4, 5, 6, where, unfortunately, the lines are broken, but

where it once follows -*se* 'of cities' (xxiv. 6, and more especially vi. 1 *B*. *ase*).

Since is 'wood,' or rather 'pieces of wood,' *aldinie*, with which it is coupled by the conjunction *hui*, would naturally mean 'stones.' The word is acc. pl., and is formed from *aldis*, which I have not met with elsewhere, by means of the adjectival suffix *-ni*. Hence supposing *aldis* is 'stone,' *aldinie* would be literally 'the things belonging to stone,' *i.e.* 'stone-work.'

Salduli may also be read *rakduli*. The suffix shows that it is in the perfective case. It introduces a group of three sentences, each of which is the same, except for a word ending with the suffix *-li* with which it concludes. Each sentence sums up, as it were, the contents of the preceding inscription; Khaldis and the other gods named in it are to have sacrifices performed to them after particular events or occasions. The event or occasion can only be one of the seasons of the year, of which the Proto-Armenians, like their neighbours the Assyrians and most other ancient nations, reckoned but three. *Salduli* would therefore seem to mean 'after the beginning of the year' (or possibly 'during the year'). Though the Armenian year began with September, it is more probable that the Vannic year commenced with March. In this case, the three terms which conclude and distinguish the three sentences will be respectively *umnuli* 'after the spring,' *mesuli* 'after the summer,' and *dusisiuli-ni* 'after the winter.' If, on the contrary, the year commenced with the autumn, we should have to render 'winter,' 'spring,' and 'summer.' *Mesuli* and *umnuli* occur again in vii. 4, 6, where the last follows the word *siduli*. It is possible that this is the correct reading of the *salduli* of our present text, where Sir A. H. Layard gives , which may easily be a mistake for *si*, and Schulz has . However this may be, it is curious to find that the names of the seasons all belong to the *u*-declension, like *atsus* 'a month.'

30. *Uldi* is genitive. 'Houses' for *ase* would not make sense here.

31. The final suffix of *dusisiuli-ni* is to be explained by its closing the whole series of sentences which stand in the relation of plural datives after *teruni*. So *Khaldi-ni* 'to the Khaldi's.' It is interesting to find this suffix thus attached to unite clauses which are otherwise disconnected, and is another example of the replacement of the copulative conjunction in Vannic by adjectival suffixes. Comp. *tisuldulini* in line 26. In *dusisiu-* we have the adjectival *-u* as in *eba-u-sê* (xi. 5) and *arni-u-si-ni-da*.

Meiesi is clearly the genitive or dative of an adjective in *-si* from *mes* 'he,' *mei* 'of him.' For the proof of the signification assigned to the latter words see xx.

I can make nothing of the following words or word, the reading of which is not absolutely certain. *-anuni* must be the 3rd pers. pl. of a verb, but I know of no root with which it can be connected.

There is no need of pointing out the importance of the foregoing inscription for what may be called the theology of the early inhabitants of Armenia. The deities mentioned in the inscription have been already enumerated in an alphabetical list: all that is now necessary is to group them according to the value of the sacrifices to be offered to each. In this way we shall be enabled to have an idea of their relative importance and position in the Vannic Pantheon.

The Trinity of Khaldis, Teisbas (the Air-god) and the Sun-god	6 lambs
Khaldis	17 oxen 34 sheep
Teisbas	6 oxen 24 sheep
The Sun-god	4 oxen 8 sheep
Khudhuinis, Huas, Nalainis, Sebitus, Arśimelas, The horsemen belonging to Khaldis, The horsemen of the Air-god, Ardhuharairus, The gods of Atḳanas.....	2 oxen 4 sheep
Dhuranis (following Khudhuinis), Hanapsas, Deduainis, the Moon-god (Selardis), the dead (?) belonging to Khaldis, Atbinis, Ḳueras, Elipris, Khalrainis, Adarutas, Irmusinis, Alus-Hurulihue-	

Sihuali, Aldutusinis, Erinas, Siniris, Huninas, Airainis, The god of the city Zumar, Kharas, Arazas, Ziukunis, Huras, Artsibaddinis, Arnis, The 4 Khaldi's of the house, The multitudinous Khaldi's, The Khaldi's of . . ., The god of the city Ardinis, The god of the city Kumenus, The god of the city Dhuspas, The children of Khaldis of the city, The gods of the city Artsuinis, The gods of the place of Khaldis, Subas, The gate of Khaldis, The gate of the city of Eridias of Teisbas, The gate of the Sun-god in the city of Huisis, Eliahas, The Khaldi's of the Citadel, The gracious Khaldi's, The children of the Khaldi's of the wall, Talapuras, Kilibanis, The god of the country, The god of the land of Alganis, The god of the city Tsuinis, The Khaldi's of the dead	1 ox 2 sheep
The god of . . . diras	2 oxen 14 sheep
The gods of the Nations	4 oxen 18 sheep
The gate of the city Nisiadurus (?) of the god Huais, Tsinuyardis, Ardis	2 sheep
The god of the land of Babas.....	10 sheep
Harubainis, Babas, Dhuspuas	1 wild ox 1 sheep
Auis (the water-god), Ayas (the earth-god), Śardis (the year-god ?)	1 wild ox
Ipkharis, Bartsias, Śilias, Arhas, Adias, Huias	1 sheep
The god of Aais	4 sheep
The god of Inuas.....	17 sheep[1]

[1] Since the above was in type it has occurred to me that the correct translation of the difficult passage in ll. 29-31 (81-83) is as follows :—"After the beginning of the year 3 sheep to be sacrificed to Khaldis (&) 3 sheep to the gods of the peoples, of the chapels (&) of the monument after the spring; to Khaldis 3 sheep to be sacrificed (&) 3 sheep to the gods of the peoples, of the chapels (&) of the monument after the summer; to Khaldis 3 sheep to be sacrificed (&) 3 sheep to the gods of the peoples after the winter."

VI.

The following fragmentary inscription from a squeeze taken by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam may also belong to Ispuinis. It is engraved on a broken stone in a wall in the village of Zustan, from which No. IV. came. Its mutilated condition makes any attempt of translation out of the question.

A.

1. ( ) Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-(i-si-ni) . . . .
   To the Khaldis-children the multitudinous
2. (? da)-e mu-hu [1] . . . . .
3. (? us)-gi-ni te-(? ru-bi) . . .
   the favourable (?) I have set up (?) . . .
4. ( ) ḳu-e-ra . . . .
   the god Kueras . . . .

B.

1. . . . a-se . . .
   the houses . . .
2. (pu-lu-)śi ku-gu-bi . . .
   an engraved stone I inscribed . . .

C.

1. (? Is-pu-i-)ni-ka-i . . . .
   ? to the family of Ispuinis . . .
2. . . . na a (?) ra . . .
   . . . a tablet (?) . . . .
3. . . . ni-khu (?)-bi (?) . . .

D.

1. . . . (? da)-e la . . .
2. . . . (? da)-e . . . .
3. . . . a-nu-ni

For the proof of the translations given in B. 2. and C. 1. see xxvi. 4 and xxxvii. 18.

[1] Possibly *mu-hu-(mu-i-ya-bi)*, as in xli. 15. Cf. *mumuni*, lxv. 23.

(To be continued.)

Inscriptions of Menuas.

Menuas, to judge from his inscriptions, was preeminently a builder. His name has the form of a perfect pass. participle, but I do not know the meaning of the stem *menu*. A district of Armenia, north of Lake Van, is still called Manavaz; possibly it derived its name from the old Vannic king. At all events, it has nothing to do with the Mannai of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Mana of the Vannic texts, and the Minni of the Old Testament, called Minyans by Nikolaos of Damascus, who lay between the kingdom of Van and Lake Urumiyeh (see pp. 389, 400).

VII.

This inscription is published for the first time from a squeeze taken by Mr. H. Rassam. It is found on a stone built into a wall below the monastery of Kaminwan Magramana, about five miles to the east of Van. Though unfortunately a mere fragment, it will be seen to belong to the same class of texts as the inscription of Meher-Kapussi.

1. . . . (-)di-e ur-pu-a-tsi za-du-ni
   . . . of Khaldis the chief ministers he has made (built)
2. . . . e as-kha-as-tu-li kha-lu-li
   . . . after the bringing of the food, after the . . .
3. . . . gu-di -di-a-tu-li-i-e
   . . . of the . . . after the bringing of the men of the . . .
4. . . . śa-li me-su-li ka-am-ni-ni
   . . . after the . . . after the summer, for the possessions
5. . . . si-i-du-li a-i-ni
   . . . after the beginning of the year (?) of the dust (earth)
6. . . . si-i-du-li um-nu-li
   . . . after the beginning of the year (?) after the spring
7. . . . (Me-nu-a-s) Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s
   . . . Menuas son of Ispuinis.

1. We find *urpu-a-tsi* again in xvi. 5 associated with 'the gate of the land of Khaldis.' *Urpuli* occurs in xi. 3, and *urpu-li-ni* in x. 6 and xvi. 3, in connexion with *ase* 'temples' and 'the gate of the land of Khaldis,' while *urpu-dai-ni* is met with in xlviii. 12, where it can hardly mean anything else than 'shrine.' The suffix *-tsi* has been discussed in the section on Grammar (p. 436), and *-a* is shown by such passages as xxxii. 3 to denote 'man' or 'men of.' Consequently *urpu-a-tsi* would mean 'the chief men of the shrine,' *i.e.* the chief ministers or priests.

2. *Askhas-tuli* must be a compound like *amas-tubi*. *Tuli*, however, cannot be the perfective of the participle, as that would be *tuali*, and the spelling *tuli-i-e* in the next line shows that we have to deal with a substantive formed from the stem *tu* by the suffix *l*. As we shall see later on, *tu* enters into composition with many words, e.g. *ip-tu* 'to bring an inundation,' *sidis-tu* 'to bring back,' *amas-tu* 'to bring destruction.' *Askhas-tu* is formed like *sidis-tu* and *amas-tu*, and, as *sidisi-tu* shows, stands for an earlier *askha-si*, an adjectival formation in *-si* from *askha* (see p. 437). If *askha-* signifies 'food,' *askhas-tu* will be 'to bring food,' *i.e.* 'to feed.' Cf. *askhas-tese* and *askhas-ti* (x. 2, 5).

I cannot guess the meaning of *khaluli* (comp. x. 3). The stem *khal* is that which we have in *Khaldis*.

3. . . . *gu-di* may be the latter part of *ulgu-di*, formed like *Khal-di-s* and meaning the 'shieldsman' (see v. 24).

I do not know what Assyrian character the ideograph is intended to represent. As we shall see hereafter, *-di-a* means 'people of.' The word is compounded with *tu*, and the way in which the suffix is written shows that it had the long sound of *-lê*.

4. With . . . *śa-li* comp. x. 5, xii. 2.

Kamni-ni will be the dative pl. of *kamnis*, an adjective in *-nis* from the root *kam*. In xxx. 19 we have *kamnâ* *Di-a-hu-e-khi-ni-i*, where the context shows that we must translate 'the (landed) possessions of the son of Diaves.' No better proof can be given of the difference between the two suffixes

-ni and *-na* than the use of *kam-nis* and *kam-nas*, the latter in reference to territorial possessions, the former to possessions generally.

5. For *siduli* see p. 493. We must compare *si-li* (v. 26) and *sidubi* (xl. 72), which seems to mean 'I established' or 'inaugurated.' The word may mean literally 'dawn-bringing.' For *aini* see note on v. 21.

VIII.

The following fragmentary inscription comes from the same monastery and is published from a squeeze taken by Mr. Rassam. It is No. xxiv. of Schulz, who saw it in the court of the church of Shushanz, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Van.

1. . . . . .

2. . . Khal-di-ni-ni . . .
   . . . to the children of Khaldis . . .

3. . . . Me-i-nu-(a-s) . . .
   . . Menuas . . . . . .

4. . . . Khal-di-i-ni . . .
   . . to the Khaldi's . . . . . .

5. . . . si-i-di-i(si-tu-ni) . . .
   . . . he has restored.

IX.

This is another mutilated inscription, published from a squeeze for the first time, which runs round the fragment of a column in the same monastery.

1. . . . . (Me-nu-a-s Is-pu-hu)-i-ni-khi-ni-(s) . . . .
   . . . . . Menuas son of Ispuinis . . . . .

2. (ba-du-śi-(e) si-di-si-tu-ni si-di-si-tu-ni
   the old palace has restored, the city has restored
   hu-i . . . .
   and . . . .

3. (Me-nu-as Is-pu-hu)-i-ni-khi-ni-s si-di-si-tu-ni
   Menuas the son of Ispuinis has restored.

I have been able to restore this inscription partially by the help of No. xiii.

2. *Baduśe* is an adj. in *ś* from a stem *badu*. The context in which it occurs not unfrequently (*e.g.* xiii. 2, xvii. 5, xxxv. 4) shows that it must mean 'old' or 'decayed.' We find a similar phrase in the Assyrian inscriptions.

X.

This inscription, which contains an account of the meat-offerings to be made to Khaldis, exists in the Church of Sirka, about three miles east of Van. It is here published for the first time from a squeeze taken by Mr. Rassam. The small fragment No. xxvi. of Schulz from the Church of Shushanz belonged to a duplicate of it. See No. xii.

1. . . . . (Khal-)di -ni pa-ri Khal-(di-e) . . .
. . . . . of Khaldis the food; from Khaldis . . . .

2. . . . . (as-)kha-as-te-e-se a-se Khal-di-i . . . .
. . . . . the food-removers the houses of Khaldis . . . .

3. . . . . ni a-lu-s kha-lu-li-e . . . . .
. . . . . whosoever after the . . . . . .

4. . . . . (Khal-di-)na -ni
. . . . . for the gate of the land of Khaldis, the food;
-se a-se . . .
belonging to the cities the houses . . .

5. . . . . (śa-) li as-kha-as-ti -ni a-se . . . .
. . . after the . . . . of the food-remover a living-creature, the houses an ox . . .

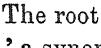
6. . . . . (ur-)pu-li-ni a-se ni-ḳa-li . . . .
. . . . . after the shrine; the houses after . . .

7. . . . . (e-)hu-ri-i-e Me-nu-a-s (Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-
. . . . . to the lords (the Khaldises) Menuas son of Ispui-
ni-s) . . .
nis . . . . .

8. . . . . (i-ni-)li ba-du-śi-i-e (si-di-si-tu-a-li)
. . . . . after this old gate (had been restored).

1. *Pari*, also written *parie*, is shown by the position it frequently occupies to be a preposition. It occurs most often after *kudhadi* 'on departing,' and before the name of a country or city, as in xl. 57 *cudhadi parie* *Aladhaie*, where the meaning can only be 'from' or 'out of.' It always takes the genitive-dative after it. The root is *par*, which we find in the verb *parubi* 'I took away,' a synonyme of *tubi*; *e.g.* xxxvii. 15 '1114 horses I carried away.' It is curious that in Georgian *par* is 'to steal.'

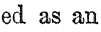
2. With *askhas-tese* comp. *askhasti* in line 5. Since *d* becomes *t* after *s*, *askhastese* might stand for *askhas-dese* and *askhasti* for *askhas-di*, the latter being the locative singular, and the former an adjective in *-si*, formed from the locative. But as we have found *askhas* used as an adverb in composition with *tu*, it is better to regard both words as compounded with the root *tiu* 'to undo' or 'remove.' Just as the present participle of *si-u-bi* is *sies*, so the present part. of *tiudae* would be *ties* or *tès*. From this we should get the adjectival *tesis*. The use of *pari* indicates that this explanation must be the right one. *Askhasti* will be the genitive-dative singular.

4. The phrase *Khaldina*  occurs again, xvi. 2, 5, 6. *Khaldina* is the genitive or dative sing. of an adj. *Khaldinas*, on which see p. 434.

5. We learn from the variants 'alive' and *sekheri* (xxxii. 9 and xxxvii. 14) that the pronunciation of *-ni* was *sekherini*. The beginning of the line is completed from No. xii. 2.

6. *Nikali* is a word I cannot explain.

7. For the common epithet *ehurie* or *eurie* see note on v. 1. It is completed at the beginning from No. xii. 4.

8. *Inili* is restored from a comparison with xvii. 4 (9) *Khal-di ini-li* *-li sidistua-li*, 'after this gate had been restored for Khaldis.' We should have expected  *-li*, but the immediate attachment of the adjective *badušie* seems to have occasioned the loss of the suffix. We must notice that in sentences of this sort the word which comes at the end, and

as it were incapsulates them, may alone take the suffix of the first word in the clause, the intervening words being regarded as parts of a compound. Comp. note on v. 31.

XI.

This inscription is published for the first time from a squeeze taken by Mr. Rassam. The original is found in the same church as the preceding inscription. It is very possible that the two inscriptions belong to the same monument, and that the one which follows is an earlier portion of No. x. It is interesting as showing that the name of the town on the site of which Sirka now stands was Artsuniuis in Vannic times. The gods of Artsuinis or Artsunis are mentioned in v. 15.

1. . . . . Ar-tsu-ni-hu-i-ni-e . . . .
. . . . belonging to the town of Artsuniuis . . .

2. . . . ( ) Khal-di-na-ni bad-di-ni ul-gu-(se) . . .
. . . for all the gates belonging to the land of Khaldis shields . . .

3. . . . . zi-ni-e-i ur-pu-li Khal-di-na (?) . . . .
. . . . after the shrine of (? the god of the town . . . zis) the gate (?) of the land of Khaldis . . .

4. . . . . (Me-)nu-a-i ga-la-zi su-i-ni-ni khu-su mu . . .
. . . . . of Menuas the altars (?), of lambs (?) the flesh of them . . .

5. . . . . () Khal-di-ni e-ba-hu-si-i-e Khal-di-ni
. . . . .
. . . . for the Khaldises of the country, for the Khaldises . . . .

1. The variant spelling of this name is instructive: { Artsu-yu-n-is / Artsu-n-yu-is / Artsu-n-is }. Compare the name of the city *Alniunu* in i. 6.

2. The omission of the plural sign after is justified by its omission after the ideographs 'ox' or 'sheep' when preceded by a plural numeral in the Meher-Kapussi text. 'Gate' is attached to *baddini* as though it were the first part of a compound word.

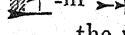
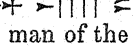
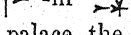
3. The broken word . . . *zinie* must be the gen.-dat. sing. of an adj. in *-ni*.

4. With *gala-zi* compare *bur-gala-da* xxxi. 3, and the note thereon. *Sui-ni-ni* ought to be the dat. pl. of an adj. in *-nis*, from *sus* or *suis*, perhaps connected with *susis* 'a sheep.' The word is found in other sacrificial inscriptions (xix. 8 and xxix*b*. 8). The meaning of *khusu* is given by liv. 4, where it explains the ideograph 'flesh.' The word is in the acc. pl., the sing. nom. being *khusus*. If *mu* is not the first syllable of a word, it will be the suffixed possessive pronoun of the 3rd person, for which see xxxvii. 5.

5. *Ebahusie* will be the adj. of the stem which gives us *ebanis* 'country,' formed like *dirusie*, v. 31.

XI*a*.

The following fragment exists in the same church as the two preceding inscriptions, and is copied from a squeeze taken by Mr. Rassam. Strangely enough, a duplicate fragment of marble, now in the possession of the Russian Consul at Van, was found in a cave near Van, along with other pieces of marble and some copper weapons and tools, and must have formed part of a slab which lined the wall of a palace.

1. . . .  -ni  -ni  . . . . . .
the . . . . , the man of the palace, the slave . . . .

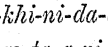
2. . . . ni-i . . . .
. . . . . the firmly-fixed house, 3551 houses . . . . .

3. . . . . ri-bi-i sa-na ap-ti-i-ni . . . . .
. . . . the dead (?) of that country (?) which were called . . .

1. In one copy the first character is *na*, perhaps for *inani* 'city.'

2. The ideograph is the Assyrian *cânu* 'to establish,'

but I have never found the compound in the Assyrian texts.

3. Instead of the first word the duplicate text has *a-zi-bi-i*. *A-zi-i-bi-e* is found in a mutilated passage (xxxvii. 1), where the final *e* shows that *i* in our present inscription belongs to *azibi*, and that the latter is accordingly not the 1st person of a verb. For the termination we must compare *atibi* 'thousand.' A similar passage probably occurs in lv. 12, where, after a list of countries in the accusative, we seem to read { *si-ri* / *ar* }*-i sa-ni ap-ti-ni*. The last word is found in a passage, again unfortunately mutilated (xxxii. 6, 7), which runs *Sa-da-ha-da-e-khi-ni-da-a-ni ap-ti-i-ni* . . . .  *kab-bi-e* *Kha-ti-na-as-ta-a-ni ap-ti-ni* . . . . 'the place of the son of Sadahadas which was called . . . . . the place of the Hittites which was called.' I think we must read *ni-ri-bi-i* in our present text, and translate 'the dead.' In this case *azibie* will have the same meaning. But we may also read (*ka-*)*ar-bi-i*, and perhaps render the word 'statues.'[1] *Sa-na* must contain the pronoun which we have in *sa-dae* (xxxix. 14), *sa-a-da* (xl. 13) 'there,' *sa-tuada* and *sa-tubi* (l. 24, l. 17), as well as in *sa-ve* (li. 5). *Sa-na* will be 'belonging to that country,' an acc. pl., while *sa-ni* in lv. 12 would represent the acc. pl. of an adjective in *-nis*.

I have assumed that *aptini* should be decomposed into *ap* and *tini*, the latter of which signifies 'he has called' or 'named,' in which case *ap* must be a sort of relative prefix. *Abi-dadubi*, however, means 'I burnt,' and it is quite possible, therefore, that *aptini* may be a compound of *abi* 'fire,' or a full word of unknown signification from the stem *apti*. The broken condition of the passages in which it is found does not allow us to decide the question. If *ap* is a relative prefix, we may compare the latter part of the word *adai-aba-di*. For *tini* see xxii. 3.

[1] In xxxvii. 26 we find: *Mu-ru-ba(-a-ni) ma-ri-ni kar-bi agunu-ni-ma gunusâ khaubi* 'Murubas, (and) his [*ma*] . . . statues (?) (and) goods for a spoil I captured.' Here the word occurs without the determinative of 'stone.'

XII.

Schulz came across the following fragment, along with the two others already mentioned (pp. 499, 500), in the court of the church of Shushanz. It is his No. xxv., his No. xxvi. forming the continuation of it.

xxvi.

1. . . . ( ) *-ni* *-se* a-se . . . .
. . . . the food, belonging to the cities the houses . . .

2. . . . . śa-li as-kha- as-ti (-ni) . . .
. . . . after . . . of the food-remover, a living creature . . .

3. . . . . (um-)nu-li-ní a-se ni-(ḳa-li) . . .
. . . after the spring, the houses after . . . .

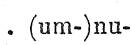
4. . . . ( ) Khal-di-i-e e- u-ri-i-e . . .
to Khaldis the lord . . . . . .

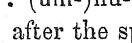
1. This is completed at the beginning from No x. 4. We must read *inani-se*.

3. No. x. 6 has (*ur*)-*pulini* instead of (*um-*)*nulini*, but Schulz's copy may be wrong.

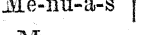
XIII.

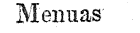
This is No. xxiii. of Schulz, and comes from a round stone in the court of the church of Shushanz. It is identical with No. ix., but the text is in a more perfect state.

1. (Khal-di-ni-ni) us-ma-a-[1](si-ni Me-nu-a-s Is-)
To the children of Khaldis the gracious, Menuas son of
pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s  dhu-lu-(hu-)ri(-ni)
Ispuinis the palace

2.  ba-du-śi-e si-di-si-tu-ni si-di-
the palace which had decayed has restored; the city has
si-tu-ni hu-i gi-e-i is-ti-ni si-da-hu [2]
restored; and images these (has established?)

[1] So Dr. Lambrino from another fragment of stone.
[2] So Layard.

3. Me-nu-a-s Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s si-di-si-tu-ni e-ha
Menuas son of Ispuinis has restored this
 e-ha
palace, this city.

1. The suffix *-ni* is probably to be supplied. Line 3 shows that *dhuluri(s)* is the equivalent of the ideographs of 'palace' in the second line. The termination is rendered certain by xliii. 75, where we have the plural  *-ri-a*, to be read *dhuluria*.

2. The latter part of this line has been restored with the help of Layard's copy. For *giei* see p. 460. The meaning of *istini* is settled by the numerous passages in which the word occurs (*e.g.* xxxvii. 16, xxxviii. 3, etc.). We should probably read *sida'u-ni* connected with *sidubi*, xl. 72. See vii. 5. Possibly the characters *da* and *hu* have been transposed by error, the word being *si-hu-da-da*, as in xxi. 7, where in that case we should read *si-hu-da-a-da*.

XIV.

This inscription is on the fragment of a column in the monastery of Yadi Kilissa, about six miles east of Van, and is given here from a squeeze. It was first published by Dr. Mordtmann in the *Z.D.M.G.* xxxi. (1877), who has, however, omitted the characters in the middle. The same text is thrice repeated in three successive lines.

Me-nu-a-s Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s i-ni a-si khu-hu-śi-e
Menuas son of Ispuinis this house holy
za-a-du-hu-ni
has built.

The meaning I have given to the adjective *khuśie* is of course conjectural; but I can think of no other that would well suit the passage. *Khu-bi* in xxxviii. 13 and xl. 54 seems merely a contraction of *khaubi* 'I captured.' 'Prison-house' is not likely.

XV.

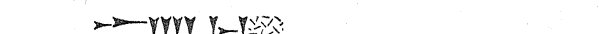
The following also runs round a column now in the pos-

session of Attam Aga of Van, and is copied from a squeeze of Mr. Rassam. The inscription is thrice repeated.

Me-nu-a-s Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s i-ni a-si khu-hu-
Menuas son of Ispuinis this house holy
śi-e za-du-hu-ni
has built.

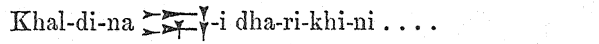
XVI.

The following fragmentary inscription is copied from a squeeze taken by Mr. Rassam.

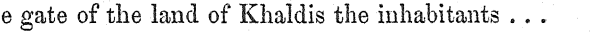


1. . . . . tablet . . . . . .

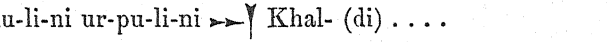
2. Khal-di-na -i dha-ri-khi-ni . . . .
of the gate of the land of Khaldis the inhabitants . . .



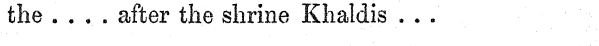
3. di-du-li-ni ur-pu-li-ni Khal- (di) . . . .
after the . . . . after the shrine Khaldis . . .



4. za-na-ni-ni kha-i-ti-ni Khal-di-na
for those that belong to . . . a monument belonging to the
-na . . .
land of the gate of the land of Khaldis . . .



5. ur-pu-a-tsi Khal-di-na -e . . .
the chief ministers of the gate of the land of Khaldis . . .



6. kha (?)-a-i-ti (?) Khal-di-na
of the monument (?) of the gate of the land of Khaldis
Khal-di-i-e
to Khaldis.

2. The meaning of *dhari-khi-ni*, formed by the suffix *khi*, which denotes descent, is determined by xxxvii. 12, where we have *khaubi* *Hurieyu-ni* *nu-śi-e hu-i dha-ru-khi-ni-i*, 'I captured the city of Hurieyus, the royal city, and the inhabitants.' So, too, xlv. 37, *hui dha-e-ru-khi-i-ni-e-i* *e-ba-(ni)* 'and the inhabitants of the country.' We must

notice the variation of vowel in the second syllable, implying that *u* was pronounced *ü*.

3, 4. *Didu-li-ni* and *zana-ni-ni* are not found elsewhere, and I have no clue to their signification.

khaiti-ni may possibly be connected with *khaidi-a-ni* li. 6, which the context shows must mean 'workmen' or something similar. It is, at all events, akin to *khaitu* in xxxii. 4.

XVII.

This inscription, No. xxx. of Schulz, is found in the church of Koshbanz, about twelve miles east of Van. Each line is repeated twice.

1. Khal-di-i-ni-ni us-ma-a-si-i-ni
   To the children of Khaldis the gracious,

2. Khal-di-i-e e-hu-ri-i-e Me-nu-a-(s)
   to Khaldis the lord Menuas

3. Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s i-ni śu-śi si-di-is-tu-(ni)
   son of Ispuinis this wall has restored:

4. Khal-di i-ni-li -li si-di-is-tu-a-li
   of Khaldis after this gate had been restored

5. i-ni si-di-is-tu-hu-ni ba-du-hu-śi-i
   this palace he has restored which had decayed.

We must notice here the different terminations of the genitive *Khaldi* and the dative *Khaldie*. For line 4 see note on x. 8.

XVIII.

This inscription comes from the same church, which is dedicated to St. George. It stands on the right of the entrance. Schulz numbers it xxxi.

1. () Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-a-si-(ni)
   To the children of Khaldis the gracious

2. (Me-)nu-a-s Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-(ni-s)
   Menuas son of Ispuinis

3. () Khal-di(i)-ni-li -(li)
of Khaldis after this gate

4. (si-)di-is-tu-a-(li)
had been restored

5. (ba-)du-śi-i . . . . . .
which was decayed . . . . . .

XIX.

The following inscription (Schulz xxxiii., xxxiv., xxxv. and xxxii.) is engraved on four of the sides of a stone, which now forms the altar of the same church. Dr. Mordtmann first arranged the several parts of the inscription in their right order. Mr. Rassam has lately obtained squeezes of the whole inscription. The upright lines mark the edges of the stone.

1. Khal-di- | ni-ni us-ma-si-ni | Me-nu-a-s
To the children of Khaldis the gracious Menuas

2. Is-pu- | hu-i-ni-e-khi-ni-e | -s i-ni
son of Ispuinis this

3. bar-śu- | di-bi-du-ni za-du-ni Me-nu-a-i
(house) a chapel has built. Of Menuas

4. bar-śu- | di-i-(bi-du)-hu-ni | ti-i-ni
(the house) the chapel he has called (it);

5. Khal-di- | i . . . . . me (?) -na[1] |
of Khaldis all-belonging-to-the-land of the victims
ku-ru-ni
(and) the gifts

6. ma-ni-ni is- | ti- (ni-ni Me-) nu-hu-a |
belonging to each (even) to these (gods), of Menuas
ar-di-se
{ the regulations of sacrifice
{ the offerings

[1] Possibly we should read (*ru-ḳu*)-*si* -*na*.

7. a-da Khal-di- (e ni-ip-) śi-di- | e -e
hali
{ in part / some } to Khaldis . . . . . to be sacrificed,

8. a-da pu- | ru-da-(ni) -hu-e | su-i-ni-ni
{ in part / some } the place of sacrifice (?) belonging to . . . of lambs.

9. bar-za-ni | zi-el-(di Me-) nu-a | Khal-di-s
The . . . . . of Menuas Khaldis

10. hu-tsu-ni | (a-se-)di is- | ti-ni-ni
has destined (?) among the gods belonging to these (things)

11. hu- | tsi-di (? a-da-) i-śi i- | bi-ra-ni
(and) among kings future assembling (?) the men

12. Me-nu-a- | i-ni bar-(śu-di-)bi[1]-du as | -khu-da-ni
belonging to Menuas of the chapel (as) a place of eating.

13. a-lu-s tu-hu-da-i-e
Whoever shall carry away,

14. a-lu-s ru-ḳu du-da-(i-e)
whoever the victims shall withhold,

15. a-lu-s e-śi-i-ni-e
whoever the ordinances

16. śu-hu-i du-da-i-e
all (?) shall destroy,

17. a-lu-s se-ri du-da-e
whoever the characters shall destroy,

18. tu-ri-ni-ni Khal-di-s
for what belongs to the stone (?) may Khaldis

19. ma-a-ni   pi-e-i-ni
him during the day, the name
. . . . . .

[1] So Rassam's squeeze.

3. *Barśu-di-bidu-ni*, in the acc., is evidently a compound of *barśu-di*, formed by the individualizing or locative suffix *-di*, and *bidu(s)*, which we may perhaps also get in *ada-badi*, written *ada-bidi* liv. 6, 10, 11. *Bidu-ni* appears alone in xxx. 17, xliii. 60. Comp. *bidi-a-dibad* l. 18. The whole compound word is found in xxv. 3, 5, where it seems to mean 'a chapel.' It cannot be 'temple' here, as the *barśudibidus* is called after the name of the king. The ideograph of 'house' which precedes the word fixes its signification within narrow limits, while the mention of sacrifices made to Khaldis in connexion with it shows that it could not have denoted a merely secular building. I conclude, therefore, that it meant the private chapel of the king. The simple *bidus* seems to have meant 'priest.'

4. For *tî-ni* see xxii. 3.

5. The determinative indicates the meaning of the word which follows. From line 14 it would appear to be *ruḳu*, which is plural like *lutu* 'women.' The territorial suffix *-na* I do not understand, unless it refers to temple-lands on which the victims were fed. For the proof of the signification of *kuruni* see xxx. 3.

6. For *manini* see v. 24. The word here, however, may be a derivative from *mani* 'him,' and so mean 'belonging to him.' *Ardise* here will be rather 'offerings,' from *ar* 'to bring,' than 'sacrificial regulations.' Comp. xlviii. 10.

7. *Adakid* or *adaki*, as we shall see, is an adverb meaning 'partly,' so that *ada* must signify 'part,' 'some.' We have already met with *ada* in the sense of 'and.' Here it may be translated 'both—and,' as well as 'some—some.' The restoration *Khaldi-(e ni-ip-)śidie* seems pretty certain when we compare v. 3. The acc. *buru-da-ni* may be compared, as to form, with *uruda-s* 'a family,' *da* being the localizing affix. It may possibly be connected with *burganas* 'an altar'; if so, it would signify 'a place of offering' or 'sacrifice.' Cf. also *buras* 'court.' The termination *-hue* belongs to *puruda . . .*, and perhaps we ought to read *puru-da-ni-na-ve*. The word is a dative plural corresponding with *Khaldie nipśidie* in the cor-

relative clause, and agreeing with 'the divine children of Khaldis' understood.[1]

9. *Barza-ni* may be compared with the name of the town Barza-nistun, near Amid (Diarbekr), captured by Assur-natsir-pal. I have, however, no clue to its meaning. The phrase *barza-ni zil-di* occurs again in liv. 3.

10. *Utsu-ni* seems to be connected with *utsi-di* in line 11, where the analogy of the Assyrian inscriptions would lead us to translate 'future.' In this case it would signify 'has destined,' 'has marked out for the future,' literally 'has futured.' *Hu-tsi-di*, however, may be the phonetic complement of 𒌷𒌷 𒁹𒄿𒄿𒄿, and we ought possibly to read *nu-tsi-di* 'among the chief kings.' For my reasons for reading (*a-se-*)*di* see note on v. 29.

Isti-ni-ni is used like *turi-ni-ni* in line 18. I do not see how it can agree with the locative which precedes it, and it must therefore stand alone—'for what belongs to these things' —or refer back to *barzani*.

11. That we should supply (*ada-*)*iśi* here is made probable by li. 4, upon which see note. I do not know why the locative suffix is not attached to the word. But as we find *adaiśi* construed with a singular accusative in li. 4, the form seems to be indeclinable.

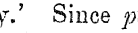
We find *ibira-ni* in xxx. 18, where it comes after *bidu-ni*, and appears at the end of a list of tribute. If *bidu-ni* meant 'priest' (see note on the passage), *ibirani* might be 'princes.' But it is possible that it is the phonetic reading of 𒀸𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒄿𒄿𒄿 *-ra-ni* 'men' (xxxix. 35, liii. 6).

12. Schulz gives 𒌷𒁹𒀸 *si*; but we must clearly read 𒀸𒁹𒀸 *bar*. The squeeze unfortunately has nothing here. The word is in the gen.-dat. sing.

Askhu-da-ni is the accusative of a noun formed by the

[1] The general sense of the passage will be: 'The temple-lands of Khaldis (and) the gifts coming from each for these gods (are) the offerings of Menuas, both for sacrifice to Khaldis the . . . . , and for the gods who belong to the shrine, consisting of lambs.' If *kuruni* can be taken as a 3rd person singular, the construction will be simpler: 'The temple-lands of Khaldis he has given for each of these gods as the offerings of Menuas,' etc.

localizing suffix *da* from the stem *askhu*, which we have already had in *askha-asti*, etc. Comp. *askhu-me* xxiv. 6. Since *u* usually marks the verbal stem as opposed to the nominal one (as in *cudha-di* by the side of *cudhubi*), *askhu-da* must be regarded as formed from the verb.[1]

13. For the proof of the meaning of *alus* and the form in *daie* or *dae* see xx. The root *tu* is shown by numerous passages to signify 'to take away.' Since *pa-ru* seems to have had the same meaning, Mordtmann read as *par*. This, however, is proved to be incorrect by the fact that stands by the side of  (xxxii. 3, xxxix. 39). Here the vowel as usual indicates the sound to be ascribed to the preceding character, while *par-bi* would be an anomalous form, all other verbal forms in *-bi* being preceded by a stem-vowel, which is preferably *u*. See p. 424.

cannot here be the determinative of 'sheep,' which is *susis*; it must therefore have its other determinative value of 'sacrifice' (as in the Assyrian imprecatory formula W.A.I. i. xvi. col. 8, 58). *U* in *ruḳu* is the termination of the accusative plural, as in *lutu* 'women.'

For the meaning of *dudaie* see xx. The literal signification is 'destroy.'

15. *Eśi-nie* is of frequent occurrence, especially in the imprecatory formulæ. In xxi. 2, Menuas states in an inscription cut by the side of a rock-tomb that he had 'made this *e-śi*,' and in xliv. 12, a text contained in a tablet cut upon the rock on the right of the rock-hewn sepulchres of Van, he denounces curses on 'whoever shall remove the images and the chambers *eśi-ni-ni*.' Here the 'chambers' belong to the *eśini*. Elsewhere the word appears on detached stones (*e.g.* xxix*b*. 6), so that it cannot signify a 'rock-tomb.' We have, therefore, only two significations to choose from, 'a tomb' in general or 'an inscription.' But the signification of 'tomb' would not suit the present inscription any more than xxviii. 4, where we

[1] The general sense of the clause must be: 'The . . . of Menuas Khaldis has marked out (*or* consecrated) among the gods that are here (and) among the kings hereafter, who assemble the people, as the eating-place of the chapel of Menuas.'

have *e-śi-i-ni*, or liv. 4, where we find *e-śi-ni*. Now *eśinis* is a derivative in *-ni* from *eśi-s*, and the simple *eśis* is found, besides xxi. 2, in xlv. 22, 40, where we are told that 'he (*i.e.* the king of Lusas) brought to Argistis the *eśi*,' and 'he the *eśi* took.' Here only one meaning is possible, that of 'laws' or 'commands.' This signification is confirmed by the derivative *eśi-a* in xlv. 17, where we read 'governors and *eśi-a* (*i.e.* lawgivers) I appointed.' Hence *eśis* will be 'a law,' 'injunction,' 'statute,' while the derived *eśinis* will be 'that which belongs to a law,' the 'text' or 'inscription,' namely, which contains it.

16. *Śui* is an adjective agreeing with *eśine*. We find the word similarly coupled with *eśini* in xxviii. 5 and xlviii. 15; also perhaps in a mutilated phrase xxxix. 31, and certainly in xliii. 2 (where it follows *badi-nini* 'old'). We see from xxxi. 10 that it cannot signify 'inscribed;' possibly it is 'all.'

17. *Seri* is from *seris*, and occurs again in l. 36, where it can hardly mean anything else than 'characters.'

18, 19. For *turi-nini*, *mani* and *pieni*, see xx.

XX.

The three inscriptions which follow are repetitions of one and the same text engraved on a pyramidal fragment of rock, about fifty feet high, a few steps to the right of the Khazané-Kapussi or 'Gate of Treasure,' one of two artificial caves, with vaulted roofs, cut for sepulchral purposes in the east face of the rock of Van. The old tomb has become a place of pilgrimage, and the natives believe that vast treasures of diamonds are hidden beneath it, guarded by two men with flaming swords. The inscriptions are numbered xiii. xiv. and xv. in Schulz.

1. Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni Me-nu-a-s

1. Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni Me-nu-a-s

1. Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni (Me-nu-a)-s

To the children of Khaldis, the gracious, Menuas

2. Is-pu-u-ni-khi-ni-s i-ni-da
2. Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi-ni-e-s i-ni-(i)-da
2. Is-pu-(u-ni-khi-ni-s i-ni-) da
son of Ispuinis here

3. [1] ar-ma-ni-da-ad khu-a-da
3. ar-ma-a-ni-e-da-ad khu-hu-a-da
3. [2] (ar-ma-)a(-ni-da-ad khu-a-da)
the tablets destroyed

4. si-di-is-tu-a-da Khal-di-ni-ni
4. si-di-is-tu-a-da Khal-di-ni-ni
4. si-di-is-(tu-a-da Khal-di-ni-)ni
restores. To the children of Khaldis

5. al-śu-si-ni Me-nu-a-ni
5. al-śu-hu-i-si-ni Me-i-nu-a-ni
5. al-śu-hu-(i-si-ni Me-nu-a-ni)
the multitudinous belonging to Menuas

6. Is-pu-u-ni-e-khi tar[3]-a-i-e
6. Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi
6. Is-pu-hu-(ni-e-khi tar-a-i-e)
son of Ispuinis, the mighty king,

7. al-śu-ni Bi-a-i-na-e
7. al-śu-(hu)-i-ni Bi-i-na-e
7. ( ) al-(śu-i-ni Bi-a-i-na-)e
king of multitudes, king of the country of Van,

8. a-lu-śi Dhu-us-pa-e
8. a-lu-śi Dhu-us-pa-a-e
8. (a-)lu-(śi Dhu-us-pa-e)
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

[1] Layard (incorrectly) *ra*. [2] Layard (incorrectly) *ta*. [3] So Layard.

9. 𒀸 Me-nu-a-s 𒀸 Is-pu-u-ni-khi-ni-s
9. 𒀸 Me-nu-a-s 𒀸 Is-pu-hu-ni-khi-ni-s
9. (𒀸 Me-)nu-hu-(a-s 𒀸 Is-pu-hu-ni-khi-ni-s)
Menuas son of Ispuinis

10. a-da a-lu-s i-ni tu-da-e
10. a-da a-lu-s i-ni tu-da-e
10. a-da-e (a-lu-s i-ni tu-da-e)
says; whoever this tablet carries away,

11. a-lu-s pi-tu-da-e a-lu-s
11. a-lu-s pi-tu-da-e a-lu-s
11. [omitted by Schulz]
whoever carries away the name, whoever

12. a-i-ni-e-i i-ni-da du-da-e
12. a-i-ni-e-i i-ni-da du-da-i-e
12. a-i-ni-(e-i i-ni-da du-da-e)
with the earth here destroys,

13. a-lu-s hu-da-s(e) ti-hu-da-e
13. a-lu-s hu-da-s(e) ti-hu-da-i-e
13. a-lu-s (hu-da-s[e] ti-hu-da-e)
whoever that undoes

14. i-e-s(e) za-du-bi tu-ri-ni-ni
14. i-e-s(e) za-a-du-bi tu-ri-ni-ni
14. i-e-s(e) (za-du-bi tu-ri-ni-ni)
which I have done; for all that belongs to the rock (?)

15. 𒀭 Khal-di-s 𒀭 -a-s
15. 𒀭 Khal-di-s 𒀭 Te-e-i-se-ba-a-s
15. 𒀭 Khal-(di-s 𒀭 -a-s)
may Khaldis, the Air-god

16. 𒀭 -s 𒀭 𒀸<<<-s ma-a-ni 𒀭 -ni
16. 𒀭 -ni-s 𒀭 𒀸<<<-s ma-a-ni 𒀭 -ni
16. 𒀭 (-ni-s 𒀭 𒀸<<<-s ma-a-ni 𒀭 -ni)
(and) the Sun-god, the gods, him publicly

17. pi-i-ni me-i ar-khi-hu-ru-da-a-ni
17. pi-e-i-ni me-i ar-khi-hu-ru-da-a-ni
17. pi-e-i-(ni me-i ar-khi-hu-ru-da-a-ni)
name his, family

18. me-i i-na-ni me-i na-ra-a
18. me-i i-na-i-ni me-i na-ra-a
18. me-i i-(na-i-ni me-i na-ra-a)
his, town his to fire

19. a-hu-e hu-lu-da-e
19. a-hu-i-e hu-lu-da-e
19. a-(hu-i-e hu-lu-da-e)
(and) water consign.

2. *Inida* is formed by the localizing affix *-da* from the demonstrative *ini*.

3. The determinative fixes the meaning of *armanidat* or *armanidad*. That the termination denotes the plural of nouns with the localizing affix appears from xxx. 24. See p. 431. *Armanis* would therefore be 'a text' or 'tablet,' *armanida* 'the place of texts' or 'tablets,' *armanidad* 'tablets.'[1]

Khu-a-da may be the 3rd pers. of the present, with the relative understood, '(which) one destroys.' But in this case we should have expected the past tense. I prefer, therefore, to make *khuada* a participle agreeing with *armanidad* and formed like it by means of the suffix *-da*. In xxxvi. 6 we find *khau-ni* similarly used as a participle agreeing with the accusative *Argisti-ni*. The meaning of the stem *khau*, here contracted to *khu*, as in xxxviii. 13, is shown by the numerous passages in which it occurs; *e.g.* xxxvii. 6, 7, *Di-a-hu-e-khi* *nu du-hu-bi kha-hu-bi* *Se-ri-i-a-zi* *-bi* 'the son of Diaves, the king, I destroyed; I conquered the land of Seriazis; the cities I burned;' xxi. 8, *a-lu-s khu-a-da a-hu-i-e-i* 'whoever destroys with water.' Just as the termination *-ni* of the 3rd person denotes indifferently the singular and plural,

[1] Can this *armani-s* be the origin of the name of Armenia which first makes its appearance in the Akhæmenian texts,—Armina in Old Persian, Harminuya in the Amardian or 'Protomedic' transcript? The uncultured eastern neighbours of Ararat might well have called it Armana-s 'the land of writings.'

so too does the termination *-daye, -dae* or *-da*, as we see from lines 12 and 19 of the present text. The explanation is given by the fact that the termination is really a participial one (see p. 444).

5. The adjective *Menua-ni* must agree with *Khaldi-ni-ni*. Comp. xxii. 4, xxxvi. 5, etc.

6. After a word terminating with the suffix *-ni*, the patronymic *-khinis* loses, as usual, its nasal (see p. 434). It should be noticed that when the syllable *pu* in the name of *Ispuinis* is not followed by *i*, the vowel *u* is expressed by ⟨ not 𒅆𒉿𒅆. From this I infer that ⟨ represented *ü*; whereas the addition of *i* was required for the representation of this sound when 𒅆𒉿𒅆 *u* was employed. The ideograph 𒅆𒉿 𒀭 gives us the meaning of the equivalent Vannic word *tarais*. That the phonetic value of *tar* is to be selected for 𒋾 seems to be indicated by the female name *Taririas* xxiii. 2, 5; perhaps also by *tar-sua-ni* 'soldiers.' See p. 424.

7. The invariable Assyrian formula: '*X sarru dannu sarru cissati sar mat Assuri* (so i. 1, ii. 2), shows that *alśuini* here is equivalent to the Assyrian *cissati* 'multitudes.' The word is an adjective in *-nis*, literally 'belonging to multitudes.'. It is thus distinguished from the adjective *alśuisis* (line 5) from the same stem, which the sense of the passage shows must mean 'multitudinous' ('being a multitude'). *Biainae* is the genitive singular of Biainas. For the name Biainas see pp. 394 *sq.* It is interesting to find from the second copy of our text that the diphthong *ai* might pass into simple *i*. Elsewhere we find it passing into *a* (*e.g.* xxxix. 2).

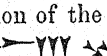
8. The adjective *alu-śi* is formed like *nu-śi* 'royal' (p. 437) from a verbal stem *alu*. This of course must be distinguished from the pronoun *alus*. The most natural sense to be assigned to *aluśi* might appear to be 'governing,' 'ruling;' but I do not think that this was really the meaning of the word. In xlix. 17 we have ⟨⟨ *-ni* 𒅆𒉿𒅆 *Bu-i-ni-al-khi* . . . . . *tu-bi* 'the king of the people of the city Buinis . . . . . I carried away;' in l. 2, 'Khilaruadas son of Sakhus' ⟨⟨ 𒅆𒉿𒅆 *Me-li-*

dha-al-khi-e 'king of the people of Malatiyeh;' and similarly in xxxviii. 41 and xxxiii. 16. Here, certainly, we might translate 'Buinis-ruling,' 'Melitene-ruling,' etc., but it seems more natural to take *alkhe* in the sense of 'inhabitants.' This becomes almost a matter of certainty when we observe that it is formed from the root *al* by the patronymic suffix *-khinis*, which could easily be attached to a root which signified 'dwelling' ('proceeding from the dwelling') but hardly to one which denoted 'ruling.' *Alu-śi-nini* is frequently combined with *alśuisini*, referring to the numerous gods of the inhabitants of Van (*e.g.* xxxvii. 23). Moreover, 'lord,' is interchanged, not with *alušis*, but with *ehuris*. *Aldinis* (v. 29) must belong to another root. The meaning of 'inhabitant' for *alušis* is finally put beyond doubt by lvi. iii. 5.

The postposition of shows that Dhuspas was called 'the city of Dhuspas,' as being the capital. The noun defined is, as usual, placed after the noun defining it.

10. *A-da* is ordinarily written *adae*, as in the 3rd copy of the text, so as to distinguish it from *ada* 'and' or 'part.' The invariable position of the word after the name of the king in the nominative and at the head of a sentence proves, as Mordtmann perceived, that it must mean 'he says.' As *-dae* is the suffix, the root will be *a*. The formula is a remarkable one, as it does not appear in the Assyrian inscriptions, but does so in those of the Persian kings, and also seemingly in the Hittite texts of Carchemish and Hamath. I conclude, therefore, that it was of Hittite origin, and was eventually passed on from Van to the Persian kings. Its use is one of several indications that a system of writing was known in Armenia before the introduction of the cuneiform syllabary, and this system I believe to be that of the Hittite hieroglyphics (see note at the end).

We now come to a formula which forms the conclusion of most of the Vannic texts, like the imprecatory formula at the end of Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian inscriptions, as well as of many of the Greek inscriptions in Asia Minor. In the case of the latter, the formula is in several instances in the

Phrygian language, indicating its ancient employment in the country before the introduction of the Greek language.[1] M. Stanislas Guyard, as I have already observed, had the acuteness to notice that this concluding formula of the Vannic texts was similarly an imprecatory one; and, what is more, that it was closely modelled after that of the Assyrian texts. This he inferred from the fact that the ideograph of 'tablet' occurred in the position in which it would stand in the Assyrian formula, as did also the constantly repeated word *alus*, if this corresponded with the Assyrian pronoun 'whoever,' while the names of the gods found a place just where they would have done in the Assyrian imprecation. He did not, however, carry his analysis of the formula much further; but this, as we shall see, is no difficult task with the Assyrian and Persian formulæ before our eyes. Perhaps I ought first to notice, that while the formula hardly varies at all in the Vannic texts, it does so a good deal in the Assyrian ones. The framework of it, however, always remains the same: "Whosoever removes or injures this tablet and does this or that, may the gods curse and destroy him, his family, his memory, and his land!" Bearing this general framework of the formula in mind, it will be seen at once that (1) *alus* must mean 'whoever,' (2) *ini* 'this,' and (3) *mei* 'his,' and that (4) *dae* must denote the 3rd person of the present or future of the verb, while (5) *-ni* is the suffix of the accusative of the noun. We know already that *-s* marks the nominative singular, and that *-a*, *-i*, and *-e* represent the genitive and dative. The signification of the first sentence is therefore perfectly clear: *alus ini*  *tudae* 'whoever carries away this tablet.' Why is added to I do not know, since *armanis* and *eśinis* mean 'tablet' and 'inscription,' and it must therefore be an ideograph. As an ideograph it denoted 'a foundation-stone,' and the Vannic borrowers of the Assyrian syllabary may have misunderstood the phrase 'tablet of the foundation-stone,' and believed that it meant 'tablet' only. Perhaps, however, it represents the phonetic complement of

[1] See Moriz Schmidt.

the Assyrian word *duppa-te* 'tablets,' the ideograph and its complement being regarded as a compound ideograph like *dan-nu* above. In *a-dae* the termination can only have a present signification, while in *uludae* below it must have a future sense; consequently no distinction can have been made in the Vannic language between present and future time. Even in English we can use the present for the future. Possibly, however, there was an original distinction between them, the ending of the present being properly *-ada* or *-adae*, and that of the future (or precative) *-da* and *-dae*. At all events we have *sidistuada* in line 4, while *tudae* appears in line 10. In this case *a* will have been absorbed in the preceding *u*, as has certainly happened in *khubi* for *khaubi* (see p. 517), while *adae* will stand for *a-adae*. It will be observed that *tuas* was a participle (see p. 478), and that, therefore, *tuada* was primitively a participial form.

11. For *pi-tudae* see note on line 17.

12. For *ainei* see note on v. 21. The genitive-dative is here used apparently in an instrumental sense.

13. The general sense of *tiudae* is fixed by *zadubi*. Its meaning cannot be defined more closely.

Udas(e) is evidently the object to which *ies(e)* refers, and the analogy of the Assyrian and Persian texts, as well as the introduction of the word *zadubi*, makes it certain that *ies(e)* must be the relative pronoun. We have already learnt to see a plural accusative in the termination *-se* (p. 478). The meaning of *udas(e)* is thus narrowed to either 'stones,' 'works,' 'records,' 'inscriptions,' or 'these things.' We know that the idea of 'inscriptions' is denoted by another word, while if it meant 'records' or 'works' a demonstrative would have to precede it. It must, therefore, either be the demonstrative itself, or else signify 'stones.' The first explanation is supported by *udai turi* in xliv. 8, where it is difficult to see how the meaning of 'stone' would suit, although the other explanation is countenanced by the comparison of *alus ainiei inida dudae* line 12 with *alus udae inida dudaie* xxi. 12. But the question is settled by xxxiv. 18, 19. Taking *udas(e)* as a demonstrative, we must read the durative case *udas* and

ies, since *uda-s-e* by the side of *udae* could only be explained by supposing that *uda-s-e* was an adj. in *-si*.

14. The relative *ies* seems to have the same root as the demonstrative *i-ni* and the adverb *iu*. See p. 440.

Turinini is a very difficult word. The termination shows it to be the dative plural of an adjective in *-nis* 'for those belonging to *turis*.' It always occupies the same position as in the present text. In xliv. 8 and l. 37, however, we have the phrase *tiudae udai turi(e)* '(whoever) undoes (it) on this *turis*,' where the word seems to mean 'rock.' I therefore translate *turinini* under reserve as 'for all that belongs to the rock.' The analogy of the Assyrian inscriptions would have led us to expect a phrase like 'for future times.'[1]

15. This is the passage which gives us the name of the Air-god. I suspect it was read *Teisbas* rather than *Teisebas*.

16. The genitive *mei* shows that *ma-ni* must be the acc. of the pronoun of the 3rd person, as does also the position it occupies in the imprecatory formula.

17. The acc. *pie-ni* is shown to be 'name' or 'memorial' by *pi-da* in xxii. 2, 3, where it can only mean 'place of the name' or 'monument.' It is compounded with *pi-tudae* in line 11 above, which would therefore be literally 'name-destroy.'

M. Guyard has already perceived that *arkhi-uruda-ni* must be a compound word, and accordingly have the sense of 'family.' This is further confirmed by the attachment to it of the localizing affix. *Ar-khi* is formed from the root *ar* by the patronymic *-khi(nis)*, and from *ar* we have the verbal stem *aru* in *aruni* 'he brought.' *Arkhi*, therefore, is literally 'offspring of the bearer,' and must have had the special signification of 'offspring' or 'produce.' *Uruda* will then mean 'house' or 'family,' and perhaps enters into the composition of the name *Ur-ardhu*. I fancy the original meaning of *urus*

[1] There is another possibility, however. *Turis* may be connected with the root of *terubi* 'I set up' or 'established,' and signify 'a monument.' *Turie* and *turi* would then be the accusatives plural of this word, while *turi-ni-ni* would be the acc. sing. of an adj. in *-nis*. But there are many probabilities against this hypothesis. An acc. sing like *turi-ni-ni* standing by itself is unprecedented, and the place which it occupies at the beginning of the line in which the names of the gods are written is against its being construed with the preceding verbs. Moreover, the parallelism of *ainei* seems to show that *turie* or *turi* is a genitive-dative, which is further confirmed by the use of the form *turi*.

was 'life,' *uruda* being 'place of life.' The simple *urudae* occurs in li. 8.

18. *Inaini* contracted into *inani* (or *inäni*?) is the accusative of a substantive *inais* or *inas*, the sense of which is rendered clear by xlix. 11, lvi. iii. 5, and the derivative *inanida* xxxvii. 16, etc. The signification of the dative *narâ* is given by xxxviii. 45: *ta-ar-su-a na-ra-ni* *-bi* 'the soldiers with fire I burned.'

19. The signification of *narâ* furnishes us also with that of *auie*, which can only be 'water.' We have already seen that the same signification is demanded by the name of the god Auis (v. 21).

The interpretation of *narâ* and *auie* gives us the clue to that of *uludae*. The stem *ulu* is found in composition in *ul-ustaibi* 'I gave approach' (xxx. 6) and *ḳapḳar-ulubi* (xli. 17). It will be noticed that the people of Van possessed no precative; the present-future, accordingly, had to take the place of it.

The most interesting fact furnished by the above text is, that inscriptions which had been destroyed had previously existed in the place where Menuas set up his own. Now it is difficult to believe that if they had been as recent as the time of his father or grandfather, such a destruction could have taken place, and as they were within the fortifications of the capital, it is not likely that they were erased by an enemy. It would seem, therefore, that they belonged to an older period than that of Śarduris I., who first introduced the Assyrian syllabary into Van; and if so, they would have been in another system of writing. This, I believe, was the system of hieroglyphs used by the Hittites. A careful examination of the rock might reveal some traces of the older texts. As Menuas does not state what they were about, or who had caused them to be engraved, I infer that he could not read them.

Since the chief inscription of the Khazané-Kapussi belongs to a later king (Śarduris II., No. xlix.), I much doubt whether the tomb has any connection with the inscriptions of Menuas.

XXI. (Schulz XVI.)

The following inscription is cut on a rocky eminence to the right of a rock-tomb (70 feet long, about 15 deep, and nearly 8 high) on the east side of the Khorkhor or castle of Van. The chamber is, like all the other rock-tombs at Van, entirely devoid of ornamentation. "Judging from the hollow sound heard in the cavern," says Schulz, "there must be subterranean passages hidden under the mass of stones with which it is filled."

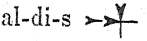
1. Me-nu-a-s Is-(pu)-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s
   Menuas son of Ispuinis
2. i-ni e-śi za-du-ni śi-ir[1]-si-ni-e
   this injunction has made belonging to the cave-tomb.
3. Me-nu-a-s a-da-e a-da i-nu-śi-i-ni
   Menuas says: the whole of the chambers
4. kha-ar-(khar)-ni-e-i śi-ir-si-ni-ni
   excavated for those belonging to the tomb
5. te-ir-du[2]-(hu)-ni[3] i-nu-ka-a-ni
   he has executed (both) the suite of chambers
   e-śi[4]-ni
   (and) the inscription.
6. Me-nu-hu-a-s a-da-e a-lu-s
   Menuas says: whoever
7. pa-kha . .[5] is-ti-ni-ni si-hu-da a-da
   the bulls (?) belonging to them removes, and
8. a-lu-(s) khu-a-da a-hu-i-e-i
   whoever destroys with water,
9. a-lu-(s) ni[6]-ri-bi is-ti-ni-ni
   whoever the dead belonging to them

[1] Layard has *ni*.
[2] So Layard.
[3] So Layard.
[4] So Layard.
[5] Layard has . The character is probably *ni*.
[6] Schulz and Layard have , which may be *ni*, *ir*, or *śa*. From l. 20 we learn that it is *ni*.

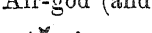
10. kha-a-hu-da-i-e a-lu-hu-s i-ni
robs (injures), whoever (of) this

11. pi-i-tu-hu-li[1]-i-e
tablet carries away the memory,

12. a-lu-s hu-da-e i-ni-da du-da-i-e
whoever these (things) here destroys,

13. tu-ri-ni-ni Khal-di-s 
for what belongs to the rock (?) may Khaldis, the

ma-a-ni
Air-god (and) the Sun-god him

14.  -ni pi-e-i-ni me-i ar-khi-e-
{during the day / in public} the name of him, the

15. hu-ru-da-a-ni me-i i-na-i-ni-e
family of him, the town

16. me-i na-ra-a a-hu-i-e
of him to fire (and) water

17. hu-lu-hu-da-e
consign.

1. The sense of *śirsinie*, which is an adjective in *-nis* agreeing with the accusative *eśi*, is fixed by the context. It is interesting to read in Pliny (N. H. xiii. 73): "Utilissime servantur tritica in scrobibus, quod *siros* vocant ut in Cappadocia et Thracia" (cp. Quint. Curt. vii. 4). *Soro* means 'a hole' in Georgian, and *śirim* is an Armenian word for 'tomb.' The Georgians still keep their corn in pits about 8 feet deep, the floor being about 6 feet in diameter, and the mouth 2 or 3 feet. The mouth is covered with planks and earth (Parrot, "Journey to Ararat," Eng. tr. p. 67).

3. *Inu-śi-ni* is an adjective in *-śis* from the stem *inu*, connected with *inu-ka-ni* and *inu-ki*, on which see iii. 2. The present text settles its meaning. *Inu-ka-ni* is an accusative from a noun formed by the suffix *ka* denoting 'the family'

[1] So Schulz and Layard. *Da*, however, is required; see xxxiii. 23.

or 'race of' (see note on xxxvii. 18). Applied to objects, as here, it must express the idea of 'a series' or 'suite.' Compare *iku-ka-ni* 'a set of goods.' We find *inu-ka-ni* in xliv. 11 between *giei* and *eśinini* (which last must mean 'belonging to the inscription'). The difference between *śiris* and *inus* would be that the first is a large rock-tomb, whereas the second is a smaller chamber or niche. Perhaps line 3 refers to the subterranean excavations of which Schulz speaks.

4. The reduplicated *khar-khar* occurs frequently in the verbal form *khar-khar-su-bi* 'I dug up,' for the sense of which see xxxviii. 19. *Kharkhar-niei* will be the accusative plural of a participial adjective in *-nis*.

5. *Ter-du-ni* is plainly the same as the *ter-tu-(ni)* of v. 34, which there exchanges with the simple *teru-ni* (line 2). For a parallel softening of *dh* into *d* comp. *śudhuḳubi* and *śuduḳubi*. *Ter-tu* is compounded with *tu*, 'bring' or 'take away,' like *sidisi-tu* or *pi-tu*, and means literally, 'set up + bring away,' *i.e.* 'to bring so as to set up.' *Hal-du* appears to be a compound of the same nature from *hal* 'to sacrifice' and *tu* (*du*), and hence we find *haltubi* in xxxiv. 13. It is possible that the verb *du* 'to destroy' may be merely *tu* in a softened form.

7. *Pakha(ni)* is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, perhaps related to *pakhini* 'oxen.' Small winged bulls of bronze modelled after those of Assyria have been found in the temple of Rusas near Van.[1]

8. *Khuada* seems to be a shortened form of *khaudaie* in line 10. *Khaubi* 'I ravaged' is the usual form, but we also have *khubi* in xxxviii. 13. A reference to the passages in which *khaubi* occurs (*e.g.* xxxvii. 9, 12) will at once determine its meaning.

9. *Niribi* must signify the corpses of the dead. Cf. v. 20 and l. 20. For the termination cf. *atibi* 'thousands.'

12. That the pronoun *udae* refers to all 'these' things seems clear. It is the accusative plural, as distinguished from the genitive-dative sing. *udai* which we find in xliv. 8, xlviii. 19, and l. 37, and occurs again in xxxiii. 24. In liv. 5, we have the accusative sing. *udani*. Mordtmann has already translated it as a pronoun of the third person.

[1] For *si-hu-da a-da* see note on xiii. 2.

XXII. (Schulz XIX.)

This inscription was found by Schulz on the road between Artamit and Vastan, about two miles S.W. from Artamit, which is itself eight miles S.W. of Van. It is carved on a piece of rock 14 feet high and 12 feet broad, called the Kiziltash or 'red rock,' on the bank of the Shamiram-Su. Between the rock and the river is a small cutting two feet long and deep.

1. Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni Me-nu-a-s
To the children of Khaldis the gracious Menuas

2. Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s i-ni pi-da
the son of Ispuinis this memorial

3. a-gu-ni Me-nu-a-i pi-da ti-i-ni
has selected. Of Menuas the memorial he has named (it).

4. Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-si-ni
To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous
Me-nu-a-ni
belonging to Menuas

5. al-śu-i-ni
the king powerful, the king of multitudes, king of the land
Bi-a-i-na-e
of Biainas,

6. a-lu-hu-śi Dhu-us-pa-e
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

7. Me-nu-a-s a-da a-lu-s i-ni tu-da-e
Menuas says: whoever this tablet carries away,

8. a-lu-s pi-tu-da-e a-lu-s a-i-ni-e-i
whoever removes the name, whoever with earth

9. i-ni-da du-da a-lu-s hu-da-s ti-u-da
here destroys, whoever that undoes

10. i-e-s i-ni pi-da-e a-gu-bi
which (even) this memorial I have selected;
tu-ri-ni-ni
for what belongs to the rock (?)

11. Khal-di-s -s -s
may Khaldis, the Air-god (and) the Sun-god,
 -s ma-ni
the Gods, him

12. -ni pi-i-(ni) me-i ar-khi-u-ru-da-ni
in public the name of him, the family

13. me-i i-na-i-ni (me-i) na-a-ra-a
of him, the land of him, to fire

14. a-(hu)-i-e hu-lu-(hu)-da
(and) water consign.

2. For *pi-da* see p. 522.

3. *Aguni* must signify 'setting up,' 'engraving,' or something similar. For 'setting up,' however, we have *teru*, for 'engraving' *kugu*. The sense of *agu* is more closely defined in the historical inscriptions, where, for example, we are told by Menuas of the soldiers of Alzu, *adaki zasgubi adaki* *agubi* 'partly I slew, partly alive I took' (xxxii. 9). Consequently *agu* will correspond to the Assyrian *casadu* 'to take,' which is used of taking or 'selecting' a site, just as *aguni* is here.

Both the context and the analogy of the Assyrian inscriptions make it clear that *ti-ni* must mean 'he has called.' Compare the next inscription, line 3.

10. The syntax of this line must be noticed. *Ini pidae* are in apposition to the relative *-ies*.

XXIII. (Schulz XVIII.)

This inscription is twice repeated on a fragment of rock in a valley two miles west of Artamit and close to the lake. At

some distance from it Schulz found another, unfortunately too much injured by rain and weather to be copied. The latter was engraved on a piece of rock to the left of an ancient aqueduct formed of layers of large polygonal stones, some from five to six feet high, put together without cement.

1. Me-nu-a-i-ni-e-i gis-la-a-i[1]-e
   Belonging to Menuas of the mother,

2. Ta-ri-ri-a-i i-ni ul-di
   Taririas, this monument

3. Ta-ri-ri-a-khi-ni-da ti-i-ni
   the place of the son of Taririas she has called.

1. *Menuai-niei* is the genitive-dative of an adjective in *-nis*, formed from *Menua(s)*, and agreeing with *gislaye*. Line 3 seems to show that the latter must mean 'mother' rather than 'wife' or 'sister' or 'daughter,' and that the inscription was engraved by her orders. Hence it is that the usual postscript giving the royal titles is omitted. The inscription is strictly co-ordinate with the preceding one, the memorials of the king and his mother being set up in the same neighbourhood near one another, and couched in similar terms. Perhaps they served to commemorate the completion of the conduit, which was doubtless mentioned in the inscription now destroyed. It is possible that the large part played by Semiramis in the legends of Aryan Armenia may have been partly due to a tradition of a queen who had once set up monuments of herself in the neighbourhood of Lake Van. Taririas may be derived from *tarayis* 'powerful.'

XXIV.

This inscription is on a stone presented to Mr. Hormuzd Rassam. I have made the copy from a squeeze.

1. Khal-di-ni-ni
   To the children of Khaldis

[1] Omitted in the duplicate text.

2. us-ma-a-si-i-ni
the gracious,

3. Me-i-nu-hu-a-s
Menuas

4. Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s
son of Ispuinis

5. i-ni za-du-ni
this house has built.

6. a-se as-khu-me
Let the gods eat (?) day (and) month

7. Khal-di-i-e-i
for Khaldis,

8. -ri-s nu-hu-s
O Śaris the queen.

6. For the difficult word *ase* see note on v. 29. It can hardly mean 'houses' here. Nor would it be easy to translate it as a pronoun.

The suffix *-me* in *askhu* is new to me. It may perhaps stand for *mei*, *askhu* being the plural ('his' or 'her foods'). It cannot be 'one hundred,' as no sign of plurality follows the ideographs of 'day' and 'month.' But we find it attached to the word *khasi-alme* in the phrase *khasi-al-me* (xxxviii. 10, etc.), where the use of the ideograph for 'gods' confirms the translation of *ase* by 'gods' here. See note on xxxviii. 10.

7. I do not know whether *Khaldiei* is here the dative, or a genitive governed by *nus*.

8. For *nus* see p. 489. This passage shows that Vannic did not indicate a difference of gender.

This is the only inscription in which mention is made of the goddess Śaris, apart from the royal name of Śari-duris with which it is compounded. Indeed, it seems doubtful whether the people of Van worshipped any other female deity. The rarity of the mention of Śaris, and the fact that the name

is written ideographically like that of Istar in Assyrian, and not phonetically like Khaldis, makes me think that Mr. George Smith was right in supposing it to have been borrowed from the Assyrian Istar. For a similar suppression of the dental compare Bitani and Biaina(s) (see lvi. iii. 3). At any rate it is remarkable that the introducer of the Assyrian mode of writing and the Assyrian language into Van should have been Śari-duris I. Perhaps the slight resemblance of the word Śaris to Semiramis, coupled with a tradition of the introduction of the worship of Istar, *i.e.* Semiramis, into Armenia, led to the legend of Semiramis recounted by Moses of Khorene.

XXV. (Schulz XXVIII.)

The following inscription has been also copied by P. Nerses Sarkisian. It is cut upon a stone now used as the altar of the little church of Warrak-Kilissa or Yadi-Kilissa, six miles east of Van.

1. Khal-di-i-ni-ni us-ma-a-si-i-ni
   To the children of Khaldis the gracious
2. Me-nu-a-s Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s
   Menuas son of Ispuinis
3. i-ni bar-śu-di-bi-i-du-ni
   this chapel
4. za-a-du-hu-ui Me-nu-hu-a-i
   has built. Of Menuas
5. bar-śu-di-i-bi-i-(du)-ni ti-i-ni
   the chapel he has called (it),
6. Me-i-nu-hu-a-ni-i[1] a-i-e
   belonging to Menuas in the land.

5. *Menuani* must be an adjective agreeing with *aie.* The latter is not in the locative case, as we should have expected,

[1] So Layard.

but in the dative, so that the phrase runs literally '(the chapel) of the land.' For *ayis* see note on v. 21.

XXVI.

The following three inscriptions are also found on stones in the church of Yadi Kilissa, the first two of them being twice repeated. They are taken from squeezes made by Mr. Rassam. Schulz (Nos. xxix. xxvii.) and Nerses Sarkisian (Nos. i. ii.) have copied the first two of them, but not quite correctly. Layard's copies, on the other hand, are extremely accurate.

(1.)

1. Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-a-si-i-ni
   To the children of Khaldis, the gracious,

2. Me-nu-a-s Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s
   Menuas son of Ispuinis,

3. Khal-di-i-e e-hu-ri-i-e
   to Khaldis the lord

4. i-ni pu-lu-hu-śi ku-gu-ni
   this inscribed stone has written,

5. Me-nu-a-ni Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khe
   belonging to Menuas, son of Ispuinis,

6. Bi-i-a-i-na-hu-e
   the powerful king, the king Biainian,

7. a-lu-śi Dhu-us-pa-e
   inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

4. The determinative shows that the stone itself is spoken of. *Bulušśi*, however, cannot be the word for 'stone,' since the termination shows it to be an adjective, like *nuśi* 'royal,' agreeing with . It must, therefore, signify 'inscribed,' 'engraved.' This fixes the meaning of the accompanying verb *kugu-ni*, which cannot denote 'setting up,' which is *teru*,

or 'selecting,' which is *agu*, or 'building,' 'making,' which is *zadu*. The sense of 'engraving' or 'writing' is consequently alone left for it.

5. Instead of the usual *khi*, at the end of this line, we have , proving that the value of this character in Vannic was *khe*, though it may also have been *khi*, as in Assyrian. But the Vannic syllabary avoids homonyms.

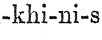
(2.)

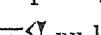
1. -a Me-nu-hu-a-s
   To Teisbas Menuas,

2. Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s
   son of Ispuinis,

3. i-ni pu-lu-hu-śi ku-gu-ni
   this inscribed stone has written,

4. Me-nu-a-ni Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khe
   belonging to Menuas son of Ispuinis

5.  Bi-i-a-i-na-hu-e
   the powerful king, the king Biainian,

6. a-lu-śi Dhu-us-pa-a-e 
   inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

1. We may notice the phonetic complement of the dative *Teisb-a*.

(3.)

1. (Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-)a-si-i-(ni)
   To the children of Khaldis, the gracious,

2. (Me-nu-a-s Is-pu-hu-)i-ni-khi-ni-(s)
   Menuas son of Ispuinis

3. (i-ni bar-śu-di-)bi-i-(du-ni)
   this (chapel)

4. (za-du-ni Me-)nu-a-(ni)
has built belonging to Menuas . . .

The next two lines are destroyed.

XXVII.

This inscription is on a block of black basalt, 6½ft. by 2½ft., found at Karakhan, 40 miles N.E. of Van, and near the Lake, and is twice repeated. The copy is made from a squeeze, and is published for the first time.

1. Khal-di-i-e
To Khaldis

2. e-hu-ri-i-e
the lord

3. i-ni pu-lu-śi-e
this inscribed stone

4. Me-i-nu-hu-a-s
Menuas

5. Is-pu-u-i-ni-khi-ni-s
son of Ispuinis

6. ku-hu-i-gu-hu-ni
has written,

7. Khal-di-i-ni-ni
for the children of Khaldis,

8. al-śu-hu-i-si-ni
the multitudinous,

9. Me-i-nu-hu-a-ni
belonging to Menuas

10. Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi
son of Ispuinis

11. al-śu-i-ni
the powerful king, the king of multitudes

12. Bi-a-i-na-hu-e
the king Biainian,

13. a-lu-hu-śi-e
inhabiting

14. Dhu-us-pa-a
the city of Dhuspas.[1]

XXVIII. (Schulz XXII.)

The following mutilated inscription is on a stone at the entrance of the church of Sikké or Sirka, a village six miles N.E. of Van. The last eight lines are copied from a squeeze made by Mr. Rassam; for the first three I have only Schulz's copy.

[1] A duplicate of this inscription was found by Schulz on a stone at the entrance to the bazaar at Van, which like the one given in the text is twice repeated. It is, however, almost wholly destroyed, only the ends of the lines remaining. But it is easy to restore it:—

1. (Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni)
2. (i-ni pu-lu-śi) Me-nu-(a-s)
3. (Is-pu-u-i-ni-)khi-ni-(s)
4. (ku-hu-i-)gu-(ni)
5. (Khal-di-i-)ni-(ni)
6. (al-śu-hu-i-si-)i-(ni)
7. (Me-i-nu-hu-)a-(ni)
8. (Is-pu-hu-i-ni-)e-(khi)
9. (al-)śu-ni
10. (Bi-a-i-)na-e
11. (Khal-di-ni-ni us-)ma-si-ni
12. (i-ni pu-lu-śi) Me-nu-a-(s)
13. (Is-pu-u-i-ni-khi-ni-s)
14. (ku-hu-i-)gu-ni
15. (Khal-di-i-)ni-ni
16. (al-śu-hu-i-)si-i-ni
17. (Me-nu-)hu-a-ni
18. (Is-pu-hu-i-)ni-e-(khi)
19. (al-)śu-ni
20. (Bi-a-)i-na-e
21. (a-lu-śi Dhu-)us-pa

1. . . . (Me-)nu-a-(s)
. . . Menuas

2. a-da (a)-lu-s
says: whoever

3. i-ni (pu-)lu-śi
this inscribed stone

4. e-śi-i-ni
(and) the inscription

5. śu-u-i du-da-e
all (?) shall destroy,

6. tu-ri-ni-ni
for all that belongs to the stone (?)

7. (Khal-)di-(i)-s
may Khaldis

8. -s -s
the Air-god (and) the Sun-god

9. ma-ni ar-mu-zi
him with a curse (?)

10. ( ) pi-ni
four times four during the day the name

(11. me-i ar-khi-hu-ru-da-ni me-i i-na-i-ni me-i
of him, the family of him, the land of him

12. na-ra-a a-hu-i-e hu-lu-da-e
to fire (and) water consign.)

5. For *śui* see xix. 16. The suffix *-ni* is omitted with the adjective, as it has been already attached to the substantive.

9. *Armuzi* occurs, again, in a similar phrase in xliv. 16. Here instead of '4+4,' we have '4+4 times.' *Armuzi* is the genitive-dative, which, as we have seen, may be used as an instrumental; I conjecture, therefore, that the word means 'with a curse.' For the termination comp. *galazi* xi. 4.

XXIX. (Schulz XX. XXI.)

The two inscriptions which follow are engraved on the top and bottom of a round stone, now built into the court of the church in the island of Aghthamar in the southern part of Lake Van. They have also been copied by Layard and by Nerses Sarkisian (Nos. viii. vii.). The mutilation of the characters shows that the stone was originally square, and was rounded after the inscriptions had been engraved upon it, since the lost characters have been destroyed by the attempt to make it circular.

A.

1. ( ) Khal-di-i-(e)
   To Khaldis,

2. e-hu-ri-i-e
   the lord,

3. (i)-ni ( ) pu-lu-śi[1]
   this inscribed stone

4. () Me-nu-hu-a-s[2]
   Menuas

5. () Is-pu-u-ni-khi-ni-(s)
   son of Ispuinis

6. (ku)-hu-i-gu-hu-ni
   has engraved

7. Khal-di-i-ni-ni[3]
   to the children of Khaldis

8. (al-)śu-si-ni Me-nu-a-(ni)
   the multitudinous, belonging to Menuas

9. (Is-)pu-u-i-ni-e[4]-khi
   son of Ispuinis,

[1] So Layard. [2] So Layard. [3] So Layard. [4] So Layard.

(10. al-śu-i-ni
the powerful king, king of multitudes,

11. Bi-a-i-na-hu-e
the king Biainian,

12. a-lu-śi Dhu-us-pa-a
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.)

In line 3 all the copies omit the determinative of 'stone,' which must, however, have originally stood here. The copyists have overlooked the second part of the character ( ). The conclusion of the inscription is restored from No. xxvii. It probably occupied four rather than three lines.

B.

1. . . . [1] A-khi-u-ni-ka-ni . . . .
. . . . . the city of Akhiunikas . . . . .

2. . . . . (us-ta-di) [2] E-ri-nu-i-di . . .
. . . . on approaching the country of Erinuis . . .

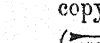
3. . . . . Me-nu-a-khi-na-a-di . . . .
. . . . in the district of the son of Menuas . . . .

4. . . . . ku-dhu-bi pa-ri mu[3]-na-a . . .
I departed out of the island (?) . . .

5. . . . . A-i-du-ni -ni . . .
. . . . Aidus country . . .

6. . . . . (śu ?)-hu-i-ni e-śi-ni . . .
. . . . all (?) the inscription

7. . . . . pi[4]-da-e a-gu-bi . . . . .
. . . . the memorial I have selected . . .

[1] Layard has . . .
[2] Schulz has *tar*.
[3] Layard has *mu*, Schulz a character which resembles *mu* more than *i*.
[4] The copies have  .

8. . . . . (al-)śu-i-si-ni su-i-ni[1]-(ni) . . . .
. . . . . to the multitudinous, of lambs (the flesh) . . . .

9. . . . (i)-ni pi-da a-gu-(bi) . . . . .
. . . . this memorial I have selected . . . .

10. . . . . (𒀭 Me)-nu-a-s[2] a-da[3] . . . . .
. . . . Menuas says: . . . .

The rest is destroyed.

2. For *ustadi* and *kudhubi pari* see xxx. 1.

3. For the territorial termination in *-nas* confer *Khati-nas* 'Hittite,' and p. 434. Just as Menuas had been associated by his father in the government, he must have given a district to his own son.

4. Elsewhere the phrase *kudhubi pari* is always followed by the name of a country or town. Here, therefore, we may perhaps translate *munâ* as 'island.'

5. *Ebani* is added to explain the preceding proper name, although the latter is provided with a determinative prefix, just as in the case of 𒌷𒉿 *Dhu-us-pa-a* 𒌷𒉿. It should be noticed that the defining word follows that which is defined.

6. We cannot read *ini* 'this' here, since in that case we should have *eśi* and not *eśi-ni*.

8. For *suinini* see xi. 4.

It is plain that this inscription once occupied a much larger space than the one on the opposite side of the stone. As the latter, however, was put up by the same king, the original stone must either have been intended to be seen and read on both sides, which does not seem very probable, or a stone already used by Menuas for inscription A must have been again utilized by him after his visit to the island of Aghthamar. From line 3 it would appear that the visit was paid towards the end of his reign, when he was beginning to associate his son Argistis with himself in the government. As has been previously noticed, Akhiunikas seems to be the modern Akhavank, but it is difficult to say whether the name of the island

[1] So Layard. [2] So Layard. [3] So Layard.

was Erinuis or Aidus. More probably it was the former, Aidus being the mainland opposite. See p. 395.

XXX. (Schulz XLII.)

This important inscription has been copied by Schulz and Robert only. It is engraved on a rock called the Yazlu-tash or 'written stone,' on the southern cliff of a mountain in Kurdistan, eight miles N. W. of Daher (north of Lake Van) and a few minutes from the small village of Yazlu-tash. Daher is close to Melasgerd (*i.e.* Manavaz-gherd, 'the town of Menuas (?)'), which lies on the banks of the Murad (Euphrates) on the road from Ardish to Erzerûm.

1. Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-ni
To the Khaldi's I have approached, to the powers
gis-su-ri-e
mighty,

2. Di-a-hu-e-khi-ni-e-di tar-a-i-hu-e-di
in the powerful country belonging to the son of Diaus.

3. Khal-di-i ku-ru-ni Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-i
To Khaldis the giver, to the Khaldi's the mighty

4. ku-ru-ni, Khal-di-i-ni-ni us-ma-a-si-ni
the givers, to the children of Khaldis the gracious

5. us-ta-bi Me-nu-a-ni
I have approached. To those that belong to Menuas
Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi
the son of Ispuinis

6. hu-lu-us-ta-i-bi Khal-di-ni Me-nu-a-s
I have approached with offerings, the Khaldi's. Menuas

7. a-da-e kha-hu-bi Di-a-hu-e-khi
says: I have conquered belonging to the son of Diaus
 -ni-i-e
the lands (and)

8. Sa-si-lu-ni -śi kha-hu-bi
the city of Sasilus, the royal city. I have conquered

gu-nu-sa-a
for a spoil

9. e-ba-a-ni a-ma-as-tu-bi -si-da
the country. I have plundered the palaces.

10. ku-dhu-hu-bi pa-a-ri-e Se-se-e-ti-i-na-a
I have departed out of the land of the Sesetians,

11. Zu-a-i-na-a Hu-dhu-kha-a-i
the city of the Zuaians (and) of the city of Udhukhais

a-śu-ni
the { neighbourhood. / midst. }

12. Me-nu-a-s a-da-e Hu-dhu-pu-ur-si-ni
Menuas says: Udhupursis, the king,

13. Di-i-a-hu-e-khi nu-na-bi ka-a-i-hu-kid
the son of Diaus, I attacked with arms (?).

14. sa-tu-a-da ku-ri-e-da śu-lu-us-ti-i-bi
Hostages (and) tribute I imposed.

15. śi-lu-a-di na-ku-ri ha-al-du-bi me-si-ni pi-i
On receipt (?) of the gifts (?) I changed his name.

16. a-ru-hu-ni a-ru-hu-ni me-e-s
He brought gold (and) silver; brought he

17. a-da ta-as-mu-s bad-di-ma-a-nu bi-du-ni
and the princes, all and each, the priest

18. i-bi-ra-a-ni Me-nu-hu-a-s a-da-e
(and) the people. Menuas says:

19. ka-am-na-a -da Di-a-hu-e-khi-ni-i
the many possessions of the son of Diaus,

20. -hu-hu a-śi
horses, horsemen,
ha-a-kha-a-hu
chariots,

21. a-śi as-te-hu-i-hu-ni a-sa-a-zi[1]-e
charioteers, of the magazines the . . . . . .

22. khi-i-ni-e si-hu-bi khu-hu-ra-di-(i)-a
the sons of, I carried off; the army

23. ma-a-śi-ni-e-i-a-ni a-sa-zi-e-(khi[2]-ni-)e[3]
the officers, the sons of the . . . . . .

24. -da-da-e-di-ni śu-dhu-ḳu-(hu-)bi
the people of the two kingdoms I despoiled:

25. Ba-al[4]-tu-hu-ul-khi-e e-ba-a-ni-i-e
of the son of Baltul the countries,

26. Kha-al-di-ri-ul (?)[5]-khi e-ba-a-ni-i-e
of the city of Khaldi-ri-ulkhis the countries,

27. a-si-da a-gu-hu-ni-e-da
the palaces, the spoil,

28. e-ba-ni-a-tsi-e-di-ni śu-dhu-ḳu-bi
(and) the seat of government I despoiled.

29. Me-nu-a-s a-da-e a-lu-s i-ni [6]
Menuas says: whoever this tablet

30. tu-da-i-e a-lu-s pi-tu-da-i-e
removes; whoever removes the name;

31. a-lu-s a-i-ni i-ni-da du-da-e
whoever with earth here destroys;

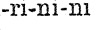
[1] Robert has *gi*. [2] Schulz has . [3] Schulz has .

[4] Schulz has *du*, but xlv. 16 shows that we must read *al*.

[5] Schulz has , which looks like the determinative of 'man,' followed by the character for 'ox.'

[6] Schulz has *la*.

32. a-lu-s hu-da-s ti-hu-da-e i-e-s za-du-bi
whoever that undoes which I have done;

33. tu-ri-ni-ni Khal-di-s
for all that belongs to the rock (?) may Khaldis,
 -s -ni-s
the Air-god (and) the Sun-god,

34. -s ma-a-ni -ni pi-i-ni me-i ar-khi-
the gods, him publicly, the name of him, the fa-

35. hu-ru-da-a-ni me-i i-na-i-ni
mily of him, the city

36. me-i na-ra-a a-hu-i-e hu-lu-da-e
of him to fire (and) water consign.

1. The verbal *usta-bi* cannot be separated from the locative *usta-di*, which occurs frequently in the historical inscriptions in the stereotyped phrase *usta-di* *x khaubi* *x*, *kudha-di parie* *y* (xxxvii. 9, 10), or *usta-di* *x* . . . *cudhu-bi pari* *y* (l. 12, 13). Here the stereotyped formula of the inscriptions of Assur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser,—"to the land . . . I went, from the land . . . I departed,"—comes to our assistance. *Usta-di* must mean 'on approaching' or 'after entering.' The latter signification, however, is excluded (1) by the fact that the idea of 'after' is denoted by the suffix *-li* and not *-di*, and (2) by the use of the verbal *usta-bi* in the formula we are now considering. The first signification, therefore, is the only one possible. The Assyrian *karabu* 'to approach' is used in a similar way to *ustabi* in the sense of 'approaching in prayer,' the derivative *ikribu* having in fact the meaning of 'prayer' only.

Maśini is a dative plural of a derivative adjective in *-śi* from a stem *ma*. It cannot, however, agree with *Khaldini*, as in this case we should have *maśie*, not *maśini*, and it must, therefore, be in apposition with it. *Maśini*, consequently, must be an adjective used in an abstract sense of the Vannic deities. Its most natural signification would then be 'powers,' like the

Assyrian *emuki*, which is employed in a similar way, and this signification is verified by our finding the word used in line 23 of persons belonging to the army.

For *gissurie* see v. 28.

2. This line must be read *Diave-khinie-di eba(ni)-taraive-di*, *eba* or *ebani* being the first part of a compound substantive with which the prefixed adjective *Diave-khinie-di* agrees. We must notice that the locative suffix is attached not to the simple *tarais*, but to the stem *tarai* furnished with what may be called the topographical suffix *hue* or *ve*. It is this suffix which shows that we are dealing with a compound which is regarded as a single geographical name, 'The son of Diaus' is mentioned by Argistis (No. xlv., etc.), from which we may infer (1) that the expression denotes 'descendant' as well as 'son,' and (2) that Diaus or Diaves was the founder of a dynasty or kingdom. In the same way Jehu is called 'the son of Omri' in the Assyrian inscriptions. From line 12 we find that his name was Udhubursis. The locality in which the inscription is found fixes the situation of his kingdom. See p. 399.

3. *Kuruni* would be the dative of an adjective in *-nis*, though in this case it is curious that we do not find *kurunie* as the pl. dat. line 5. *Karuni* frequently occurs by the side of *kuruni* (*e.g.* xxxvii. 17). An instructive passage is xlix. 1–4, where we have:

Khaldi-ni *usta-bi maśinie gissurie* *karu-ni*
'To the Khaldi's I prayed, to the mighty powers, who have
Ma-na-ni ebanie (*Śariduri-kai*) ....
given the land of the Minni to the race of Śarduris ....
Khaldi kuruni *Khaldi-ni-ni gissurie*
to Khaldis the giver, to the mighty children of Khaldis
kuruni *usta-bi* *Śariduri-ni*
the givers I prayed, that belong to Śarduris.'

Here the parallelism of the two clauses shows that the only difference between *karuni* and *kuruni* lies in the second being used absolutely, while the first has an accusative case after it. The only possible meaning of the words in the first clause is

'who have given the land of the Minni to the race of Śarduris.'[1] The difference between the verb and the noun is thus expressed by a difference in the vowel; but whereas the usual rule is that *u* as the final vowel of the stem marks the verb and *a* the noun, here *a* in the first syllable marks the verb and *u* the noun. We may compare *khuada* and *khaudaie* in xxi. 8, 10. The spelling *karunie* in xxxiii. 2 shows that the verbal form is really a participle. See xix. 5.

6. *Ulustaibi* is a compound of *ulu*, which we find in *ulu-daie* 'may they consign,' and *ustabi*, so that it means literally 'gift+approach.' We have another similar compound of which *ustabi* forms the second element in *śulustibi*, line 14. The diphthongization of the final *a* of the stem, which is further contracted into *i* in *śulustibi*, is difficult to explain. It may either be caused by the lengthening of the stem through composition, and the consequent falling of the accent on the penultima, or the original form of the first person of the verb may have been *ustaibi*, which was contracted on the one side into *ustabi*, and on the other into *ustibi*. The latter explanation is perhaps supported by the fact that the final vowel of the verbal stem is usually *u* not *a*. Possibly, however, the diphthong is really due to the false analogy of *Biainas* and similar words by the side of *Bianas* and *Binas*.

8. The dative singular *gunusâ* is always coupled with *khaubi*. Akin to it is the word *gunusinî*, which is preceded by the determinative of 'people' and a numeral, and is among the objects carried away from a conquered land (*e.g.* xlix. 10). The position in which it occurs seems to make it certain that it means 'slaves.' Now *gunusinî* is the accusative plural of an adjective in *-nis* (or rather *-inis*, the *a* of the stem being changed into *i* before the *i* of the suffix *-nis*), and this would properly denote 'what belongs to *gunusas*.' The signification of the latter word is thus clearly 'spoil,' and the phrase *gunusa khaubi* would exactly answer to the stereotyped formula of the Assyrian texts 'for a spoil I took.' It may be noticed that we have indifferently *gunusâ khaubi* and *khaubi gunusâ*.

[1] Mordtmann makes *kuruni* (which he reads *turuni*) 'dedit,' but renders *karuni* 'he was.'

9. *Amas-tu-bi*, the sense of which is fixed by the context, is a compound of *tu* with an adverb, similar to *sidis-tu* and *nulus-tu*.

For *asida* 'site of houses,' *i.e.* 'palaces,' see p. 459. We learn from this word that *-da* denoted the plural as well as the singular, or rather was attached to a plural as well as to a singular form. *Asida* stands for *asie-da*, *i.e.* stem + plural sign + localizing affix.

10. The meaning of *kudhubi* has been explained above (note 1). By the side of *kudhubi* we find the locative of the noun *kudha-di* (*e.g.* xxxvii. 7) 'on (my) departure,' which illustrates the different application of *u* and *a* as final vowels of the stem.

Parie also appears under the shorter form of *pari*, and always follows *kudhubi* or *kudhadi*. As the next word is invariably the name of a country or town, it must represent the preposition 'out of.' The termination will be the same as in *sidisi*. The verb *paru-bi*, to which it is related, interchanges with *tu-bi*, and I imagine the difference between them to be that, whereas *tubi* is 'I carried away,' *parubi* is 'I carried out of.' In xlix. 12, we have the compound *par-tu-se* 'captive.' *Parie* or *pari* is followed by the genitive-dative. See x. i.

We must read 'Sesetians,' since *-nas* is the territorial suffix as in *Khati-nas* 'Hittite.' This was probably also the origin of the final syllable in *Biainas*.

11. As the city is elsewhere called Zuais (xlv. 3), *-nas* must here also be the adjectival suffix.

Aśuni always follows the name of a town which stands in the genitive, and once we have *aśunini*.[1] As it is governed by *pari*, it must be either a dative plural or a dative singular

[1] The passages are: xxxiii. 14, (*khau-*)*ni* *Puteria aśuni* 'who has conquered of the city of Puterias the neighbourhood (?)'; l. 15, *kudhubi pari* *Musanie* *Zapsa aśuni* 'I departed out of the land of Musanis (and) out of the neighbourhood (?) of the city of Zapsa'; xli. 18, *Bikhurani aśunini* *Bamni* 'the city of Bikhuras (and) the county of Bam belonging to the neighbourhood (?).'

of an adjective in *-nis*. The word may be related to *aśi* 'horsemen,' and so mean 'population'; but as this idea is generally expressed by the suffix *-vedia*, it is better to regard *aśis* and *aśus* as distinct nouns, the latter signifying 'neighbourhood' or 'border.'

13. The sense of *nuna-bi* is fixed by the context here and the other places where it occurs. See xlix. 11, *inani* ⟨⟨*-e nunâbi* 'the land (and) kings I attacked.'

Kaiukid (or *kayukid*) is written *ka-u-ki-e* in l. 23. The analogy of the Assyrian inscriptions would suggest 'with weapons' or 'with fighting' as the translation of the adverb.

14. The five words which follow are found in l. 23, 24, the only difference being that here the word *śulustibi* comes first. *Sa-tu-ada* must be a compound of *tu* and *sa*; the analogy of the Assyrian texts would make the signification 'homage' or 'hostages.' The second meaning is shown to be the true one by the verb *satu-bi* in l. 17, as well as by the collective suffix. *Satua* would be 'the people of removing from there.' The localizing affix gives an abstract (*i.e.* here a plural) force. We can easily understand how 'the place' or 'position' of a thing came to denote an abstract. *Kurê-da* is clearly from the same root as *kuru-ni*, and must literally be 'a place' or 'position of giving'; and so the abstract 'gifts,' 'tribute.' The sense of *śulustibi* is settled by the context. It is a compound of *ustaibi*, possibly of *ulustaibi*, in which case the initial sibilant will have a causative meaning.

15. The locative *śiluadi* occurs again, with *nakuri* following, in l. 24, where we have 'on *receipt of the gifts* (?) I carried away (*nakhubi*) the gold and silver.' My translation of the two words can only be conjectural, and the gentilic or collective suffix of *śilu-a-di* implies a rendering 'among the men of . . . .'

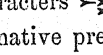
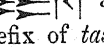
In xxxiv. 13, l. 26, *haldubi* is written *haltubi*, which shows that it is a compound of *tu*, *t* being softened into *d* after *l* in the more usual form (see p. 427). As *hal* means 'to sacrifice,' *hal*+*tu* will be 'slay+bring away,' *i.e.* bring into a state of slaughter. *Mesini* is the accusative sing. of *mesis*, an adj. in *-s* from *mes*, the third personal pronoun, and must therefore

signify 'his' or 'its.' *Pi* is 'name,' the accusatival suffix being omitted, as it has been already expressed in the preceding adjective. Had the adjective followed, we should have had *pi-ni mesi*. The parallel Assyrian inscriptions show that the meaning of the phrase must be 'I changed his name.' Hence *haldubi* is literally 'I destroyed' or 'obliterated.'

16. For *aruni* see notes on *ardi-s-e* and *Sel-ardis*, v. 2, 7. The sense is fixed by the context in the various passages in which *aruni* and *arubi* occur.

It is noticeable that the affix of plurality is attached not to both words 'gold' and 'silver,' but only to the last. This proves that when the conjunction is omitted between two nouns, the nouns may be regarded as a single compound, and the index of grammatical relation accordingly attached to the last of them only. Compare the note on *dusisiu-li-ni-ni*, v. 31. We learn from xlv. 20 that 'gold' was pronounced *tuaies* in Vannic.

Mes, it is clear, is the nominative of the genitive *mei* 'of him.'

17. The termination of *tasmus* shows that it is co-ordinate with *mes*, so that *ada* must here be the conjunction 'and.' We have already seen that in v. 25 (70) *ali* is this conjunction, and it is therefore plain that the copyist has confused together the two characters  and  , as in other cases. The determinative prefix of *tasmus* proves that it denotes a class of people, and as the latter are coupled with the king it must mean his highest officers or 'princes.' Perhaps we should read *tasmuse*, in which case the nominative pl. would have the same form as the acc. pl. instead of as the nom. sing.

Baddi-manu must be a compound of *baddi* 'all' and *manu* 'each.' For the first see v. 24, and for the second v. 2. The word seems to be in the accusative plural, and accordingly in apposition to *bidu-ni* and *ibira-ni*.

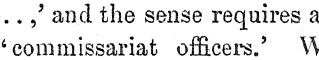
19. For *kamnâ* see vii. 4. It must be construed as forming the first part of a compound, the latter part of which consists of the adjective 'many.' The whole is then used as an abstract with the suffix *da*, like *satuada* and *kureda* above. It should probably be read *kamnâ-alśuisida*.

Observe the genitive *Diavekhinî*, which preserves the final

nasal of the suffix, in contrast to the accusative (used adjectivally), which drops it (line 25).

20. The accusative plural of the Vannic word for 'horse' is shown by this passage to have terminated in *-vu*, so that the nominative sing. would have ended in *-vus*. From xlv. 26 we gather that the whole word was *navus*.

The position of *aśis*, which has the D.P. of a class of persons, defines its meaning exactly.

The context settles the meaning of *hakhau*, acc. pl. from *hakhaus*, while that of *asteuyuni* seems fixed by parallel passages in the Assyrian texts. The word is written *astihu* in the plural in xliii. 42, and the ideographic  is found in xlv. 21, 25. The word is here adjectival and seems to agree with *asaze-khinie*. This word denotes 'sons of . . . ,' and the sense requires an equivalent to our 'engineers' or 'commissariat officers.' With the termination of *asazie* compare *gala-zi*. Notice the separation of the patronymic suffix *khinie* from the word to which it is attached; see p. 425.

22. As Mordtmann perceived, the position in which the word *khuradia* is constantly found in the historical texts makes it quite clear that it must signify 'soldiers' or 'army.' The word is literally 'men of the *khuradis*' or 'army.' Comp. *tarsua*.

For *maśinieya-ni* see *maśini*, line 1. The word is the acc. sing. of a noun formed from the adjective *maśinis* by the gentilic suffix *-a*. Consequently it means 'men of the powerful,' *i.e.* 'officers.' For the form cf. *armuyada*, xxxi. 4.

24. *Nu-da-da-edi-ni* is an instructive word. The reduplication of the suffix *-da* to denote the plural (or the dual?) has already come before us in *armanidad* (p. 517). Here the full vowel termination of the second syllable of the reduplication is retained before the suffix which follows. *Nu-da-da* would be literally the 'kingdoms.' The suffix of agency which is attached to it is separated from *da-da* by the vowel *e* (*da-dae*). This same suffix is frequently added to the adj. in *-ve*; e.g. xxxvii. 9, *Zabakhae-vedi-a* 'the inhabitants of Zabakhas,' xxxvii. 13, *-vedia-ni* 'the female folk.' See below, line 28.

The meaning of *śudhuḳubi* is determined by l. 26, 27, where we have III *ase-di śuduḳubi abidadubi* 'in three palaces I plundered, I burned with fire.' It will be noticed that in this passage *dh* is softened into *d*, and that we find the locative in place of the accusative.

25. *Baltulkhie* is the accusative of the adjective agreeing with *ebanie*. See above, line 20. The same king is mentioned in xlv. 16.

26. *Agununêda* is a local case, used to express an abstract idea, like *kurê-da* above. The stem *agununê* is an adj. in *-nis* from *agunu*, a compound of *agu* 'take,' and *nu*, which is perhaps the root of *nus* 'king,' and *nuna-bi* 'I attacked.'

28. For the suffix *a-tsi* in *ebani-atsi-edi-ni*, see p. 436. The form of the word is strictly parallel to that of *nudadae-di-ni*.

XXXI.

The following inscription was copied by Sir A. H. Layard from a stone in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Van, and is here published for the first time. We learn from the 9th line that the historical events described in it took place before the death of Ispuinis, during the joint reign of himself and his son. It is unfortunate it is in so fragmentary a condition. One or two characters are lost at the beginning of each line, and two or three at the end.

1. . . . a-na-si-i [1] . . . .

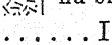
. . . . . .

2. -nu-bi Hu-dha-ru-hu-khi

. . . . . I (overcame) the son of Udharus

(?) . . . . .

. . . . . .

3. (bur-)ga-la-da[2]  [3] E-ti-hu-khi[4]-

the temples, the kings belonging to the country

ni-(da)

of the children of Etius,

[1] Perhaps *e*. See line 14. The next word may be *nuna-bi* 'I attacked.'
[2] Layard has *li*. [3] Layard has *se*. [4] Layard has *i*.

4. ar-nu-ya-da[1] us-ta-a-(bi)
the castles I approached (prayed)

5. (𒀸𒅆) Khal-di-ni ma[2]-śi-ni gis-su-ri-e 𒁹 Hu[3]-dha-
to the Khaldises, the powers mighty, in that which
ru-(khi-ni-e-di)
belongs to the son of Udharus

6. (𒀀𒀀) Lu-sa-i-ni-e-di 𒁹 Ka-tar-za-ni-(i-e-di)
even in the country of Lusas, in that which belongs to Katarzas

7. (𒀀𒀀) E-ti[4]-hu-khi-na-e-di 𒌷𒌷 𒁹𒌋𒌋𒌋-di 𒀸𒅆
even in the country of the children of Etius, the kings. To
Khal-di-i[5] ku(-ru-ni)
Khaldis the giver,

8. (𒀸𒅆 Khal-)di-ni gis-su-ri-i ku-ru-ni us-ta-(a-bi)
(and) to the Khaldises the mighty the givers I approached,

9. (𒁹 Is-)pu-hu-i-ni-ni 𒁹 𒀸𒅆 Śari-du-ri-khi 𒁹 Me-(nu-a-ni)
that belong to Ispuinis the son of Śariduris (and) Menuas

10. (𒁹 Is-)pu-hu-i-ni-khi śu-hu-i du-tu 𒁹 Hu-dha-(ru-
the son of Ispuinis. All (?) the .... of the son of
khi-ni)
Udharus

11. (𒀀𒀀) Lu-sa-a 𒁹 Ka-tar-za-a bur-ga-la-da[6]
of the land of Lusas (and) of Katarzas, the temples,
(𒀭𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒁹𒌋𒌋𒌋)
(the kings),

12. (𒀀𒀀) E-ti-hu-khi-ni-da a[7]-si-da
belonging to the country of the children of Etius the palaces
na[8]-(khu-bi)
I (despoiled.)

[1] Layard has *li*.
[2] So Layard.
[3] Layard has *kid*.
[4] Layard has *an*.
[5] Layard has *ni*.
[6] Layard has *li*.
[7] Layard has *za*.
[8] Layard has *ma*.

13. ( ) -a-ri (i ?)-ni (?) [1]-da (?) [2] . . . . . .
Of the men here (?) . . . . . .

14. . . . a-na-si-i-e se (?) na bat [3] is-ti-(ni-ni)
. . . . . belonging to them,

15. . . [4] -se (a) [5]-ti-(bi) . . . (is)-ti-ni-hu [6]-e-di-(a)
. . . . the children; thousands . . . the people of them,

16. . . .
. . . (and) sixteen horses, . . . three thousand five hundred . . .

17. (pa-) khi-ni [7] (-se)
oxen, 2795 sheep,

18. (pa-ru-bi) . . . . . ni hu [8]-e-(di-a)
(I carried off). The . . . . , the inhabitants

19. . . . . ni-e-i li (?)-lu-us-pa (?) . . . [9]
. . . . . .

20. a nu (?) i ni ni gu (?) na (?) da (?) a
. . . . . .

The following fragment of a stone built into the same wall probably contains the continuation of the inscription :—

21. (a)-lu-s i-ni . . . . . tu [10]-da [11]-(e)
whoever this . . . . . removes,

22. (a)-lu-s khu-(da-)-i-(e)
whoever injures,

23. . . . . ḳi hu ra (?) a (?) . . . .
. . . . . .

24. . . . . a . . su . . . . . .
. . . . . .

[1] Layard has *ir*. [2] Layard has *li* (?). [3] See note on this line.
[4] Probably an error for some numeral. [5] Layard has .
[6] Layard has *kid*. [7] Layard has . [8] Layard has *kid*.
[9] See note on this line. [10] Here expressed by . [11] Layard has *li*.

25. . . . . e-śi-ni-e i i (?) ri (?) du-(da-e)
. . . . the inscriptions . . . . . destroys

26. . . li (?) ha tu ka i-ni se-ir (?) du-da[1]-(e)
. . . . . this (?) . . . . destroys,

27. (a)-lu-s a-i-ni-e i-ni-da[2] du-(hu)-da-(e)
whoever with earth here destroys,

28. i[3]-hu-da[4]-e tu-hu-(da-e)
undoes, removes,

29. (a)-lu-s hu-da[5]-e-s ti-i-hu[6]-da[7]-(e)
whoever that undoes

30. (i-e-s) za-du-hu-bi pi[8]-i-ni ⟩⟩⟨ Khal-(di-s)
which I have done, the name may Khaldis . . .

Here the text is broken off.

2. The verb must mean 'I overcame' or something similar, but I have met with no verb elsewhere the stem of which terminates in *-nu*, unless it be *kidanu-bi* xxxix. 30; or . . . *anuni* v. 31.

The name Udharus is written Uduris by Argistis xxxvii. 22. It is unfortunate that the name of his son is lost.

3. Throughout this inscription the copyist has uniformly represented *da* by *li* (e.g. *asida* line 12, and the verbs in the second fragment). *Burgala-da* must be compared with *burgana-ni* (iii. 1, 2) and *galazi* (xi. 4). The suffix shows that the word denotes a place, or collection of buildings, while lines 11, 12, make it equally clear that it does not mean 'a palace.' On the other hand, *burgana-ni* and *galazi* are both connected with religious ceremonies, the first being either 'an altar' or 'a shrine,' so that *burgala-da* 'a place of altars' must be 'temple' or 'temples.' We must notice that the adjective *Etiu-khini-da* takes the local affix, in order to agree with *arnuya-da*. See line 12. The phrase 'children of Etius' is used like the phrase 'children of Eden' in the Old Testament, and perhaps denotes a colony from the land of Etius. In

[1] Layard has *li*.
[2] Layard has *li*.
[3] See lvi. iii. 3.
[4] Layard has *li*.
[5] Layard has *li*.
[6] Layard has *lu* (?).
[7] Layard has *li*.
[8] Layard has *me*.

xxxvii. 22, *Etiu-khini* stands by the side of *Etiu-nini*, *Etiu-nis* being the adjective; No. xxxiv. shows that Etius must have been the district on the north bank of the Araxes, not far from the later city of Armavir. See note on xxxiv. 2.

4. *Arnuya-da* also occurs in xlv. 34, where Argistis describes his conquest of 'the son of Diaus.' There it is coupled with *adae-da*. The word is connected with *arnis* and *arniusi-ni-da* 'the citadel' of Van; see note on v. 17. For the gentilic infix *-ya* confer *maśinie-ya-ni* xxx. 22. *Arnu-* seems to stand for *arniu-* (*arnyu-*). In line 12 *asida* 'palace' takes the place of *arnu-ya-da*.

5. The adjective takes the locative suffix like the substantive with which it agrees (see line 3). It is clear from this passage that the adjective when thus provided with the suffix of its substantive may stand either before or after the latter.

6. Katarzas was still alive in the reign of Argistis, by whom he is called Ḳudhurzas (xxxvii. 18). For the construction *ebani-Lusai-nie-di* confer xxx. 2.

10. *Dutu* is an accusative plural of a noun *dutus*, like *lutu* 'women.' It is not found elsewhere, and seems to have some such sense as 'spoil.'

12. We must notice that *asida* occurs here without the explanatory ideographs.

14. This is the same word that occurs in line 1. It is only found in this inscription. One character alone is wanting, the vowel of which must have been *a*.

Bat should clearly be *bi*, and by reading the doubtful *se* as *nu* we have *nuna-bi* 'I attacked.'

18. *Parubi* is the word used elsewhere in this connection.

19. We should probably read *nulus-tu-bi* 'I subjugated' as in xxxviii. 42. The preceding word is in the genitive, and is possibly the name of the son of Udharus.

26. If *ir* is the right reading, we may compare *seri* in xix. 17. But the consonantal termination would be inexplicable, and *ni* should probably be read for *ir*.

It is unfortunate that this example of the imprecatory formula should be so mutilated, as it varies considerably from the usual forms of it.

XXXII. (Schulz XXXIX.)

This inscription has been copied by Schulz and Layard from a stone built into the wall of a vault under the church of SS. Peter and Paul (Surb Boghos) at Van. A squeeze of it has also been taken by Captain Clayton. Two or three characters are lost at the beginning of each line, and the end of the inscription is wanting.

1. (Khal-di-)ni-ni us-ma-si-ni Me-nu-a-s
To the Khaldi's the gracious, Menuas
Is-pu-hu-i-ni-(khi-ni-s)
son of Ispuinis

2. (a-da-e) i-hu tu-su-kha-a-ni Ma-a-na-a-i-di
says thus: the plunder (?), to the land of the Minni
us-ta-a-di
on approaching,

3. (e-ba-)a-ni-a tu-hu-bi a-ma-as-tu-hu-bi
the people of the country I carried away; I plundered
i-ku-hu-ka-a-ni
the goods

4. . . . . e[1] khu-ra-di-ni-da kid-da[2]-
. . . . . the camps, the . . . .
nu-hu-da kha-a-i-tu-hu
. . . . . ., the monuments,

5. (Sa-da-ha-da-)e-khi-ni-ni [3]-ni-ni
belonging to the son of Sadahadas belonging to the country,
 Su-ri-si-da-ni Tar-khi[4]-ga[5]-ma-a-ni
the city of Surisidas, the city of Tarkhigamas

6- (. . .)-dhu-ra-a-ni Sa-da[6]-ha-da-e-khi-ni-da-a-ni
the city of . . . dhuras, the seat of the son of Sadahadas
ap-ti-ni
which was called,

[1] So squeeze and Layard. [2] Written . [3] Schulz has *tar*.
[4] So squeeze and Layard; Schulz has *kab* instead of *tar-khi*.
[5] So squeeze and Layard. Schulz has *hu*. [6] Written .

7. (....) da-e-i kab[1]-bi-e Kha-ti-na-
of the city of .... das the stones, the seat of the
as-ta-a-ni ap-ti-ni
Hittites which was called,

8. ..... i-hu-e Al-zi-i-ni-ni IIMCXIII
..... belonging to the country of Alzis 2113
ta-ar-su-a-ni
soldiers

9. ..... e a-da-kid za-as-gu-hu-bi a-da-kid
..... partly I killed, partly alive
a-gu-hu-bi
I took.

10. ..... e a-da-ma-a-nu a-ru-hu-bi khu-ra-
..... some and each I brought those belonging
di-na-hu-e
to the army.

2. *Adae iu* occurs elsewhere (xli. 13, 17, li. iii. 3), where it can only mean 'he says thus,' an exact translation of the usual Assyrian phrase *ikabbi umma* 'he says thus.' The root of *iu* is *i*, the demonstrative stem which we find in *i-ni*; the final *-u* marks the adverb as in *baddimanu*, *adamanu*, and would seem to have originally been the accusative plural of a noun in *-us*.

We find *khani* (*sur-khani*) again in xxxix. 49, and in composition with *sisu* (*sisu-khani*) in xliii. 43. We might decompose both *sisu* and *tusu*, into *si* + *su* and *tu* + *su*, *si* (in *siubi*) and *tu* having much the same meaning. We have *su* in *kharkhar-su-bi* 'I dug up.' Perhaps the word signifies 'plunder.' It is replaced by *sisti-ni* (? *sisu-ti-uda*) in xlix. 7.

The position of the locative *ustadi* here is very unusual. But *Manai-di* precedes as being an independent locative governed by the defining word *ustadi*, which accordingly follows. The Mana are the Mannai of the Assyrian inscriptions between the kingdom of Van and Lake Urumiyeh. They are the Minni

[1] Written ; apparently for *kab* , though perhaps for *kar*.

of the Old Testament, the Minyans of Nikolaos of Damascus. See p. 389.

3. The affix *-a* in *ebani-a* clearly denotes 'people of'—'the country folk.' The meaning of *ikukani* seems to be determined by li. iii. 5, where it is coupled with *tukhi-ni* 'prisoners,' and xlix. 22, where it follows a list of booty that had been carried off. The stem is *iku* (comp. *inu-s*), with the suffix *ka* (see note on xxi. 3), so that it means literally 'a series of goods.'

4. *Khuradi-ni-da* is literally 'the place belonging to the army.' Here, as in *asida* (xxx. 27), the ideograph of plurality shows that *-da* expresses the plural.

Kiddanu-da occurs again under the form of *kidanu-bi* in xxxix. 30. I have no idea of its meaning. For *khaitu'u* see xvi. 4.

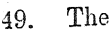
5. *Sadahadaekhini-ni* agrees with the substantives which follow, and consequently not only does not lose the *-ni* of the suffix *-khinis*, but attaches to itself the accusatival *-ni*. The final suffix of *ebani-ni*, however, is the adjectival *-inis*. Sadahadas seems to have been a Hittite king, Menuas having made expeditions the same year against the Minni on the east and the Hittites on the west. The name probably stands for Sandahadas, Sanda(n) having been a Hittite deity.

6. For *ap-tini* see xi.A. 3. The character seems intended for *kab*, and the determinative would appear to indicate that the word means 'stones.' But compare *ḳarbi* xxxvii. 26.

7. *—da-e-i* has the genitive termination.—*Khatinas-ta-ni* stands for *Khatinas-da-ni*, *t* becoming *d* after *s* as in *Biainaste* for *Biainas-di*. *Khatinas* is a territorial adjective in *-nas*, parallel to *Biainas*. We find the simple *Khate* in xxxviii. 5. This exactly corresponds with the Assyrian Khatte or Khattai 'Hittites,' the double dental of the Assyrian form being represented in Vannic by a single one, as in Mana by the side of the Assyrian Mannai. The geographical position assigned to the Khate suits that of the Assyrian Khattai who lived to the south of the country of Alzu on the Upper Euphrates.

8. Alzu is mentioned along with Purukuzzu by Tiglath-Pileser I. as adjoining the Hittites who sent against him a

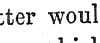
force composed of Kaskian (Kolkhian) and Urumian subject-allies. *Alzinini* is the accusative of an adjective in *-inis*. *Tarsua* must, from the position in which it frequently occurs, signify 'soldiers,' as Dr. Mordtmann perceived. It is a collective in *-a* like *khuradi-a*.

9. For the phrase *adakid zasgubi adakid sekheri agubi*, see p. 449. The pronunciation of the ideographs  is given by xxxvii. 42, 47, etc.

10. *Adamanu* is an adverb like *baddi-manu* (xxx. 17), and must be decomposed into *ada* and *manu* 'some + each.' It means each of the 'some' who were taken alive and are further defined as belonging to the army. They were probably carried to Van.

XXXIII.

This inscription was copied by Sir A. H. Layard at Palu on the northern bank of the Upper Euphrates, about midway between Malatiyeh and Van, and to the east of the country of Alzu mentioned in the last inscription. It is engraved on the face of a cliff overlooking the river, on the summit of which are the ruins of an ancient fortress. It would appear from the inscription that Puterias was the old name of the city now represented by Palu. Ritter would identify it with the fortress Khitarizum of Procopius, which perhaps contains the name of the Hittites. The text is published in Layard's *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, pl. 74.

1. Khal-di-ni us-ta-a-bi ma[1]-śi-ni-i-e
   To the Khaldises I prayed, to the powers
2. (gis-su)-ri-e ka-ru-ni-e Pu[3]-te[4]-ri[5]-a-ni
   mighty, who have given the city of Puterias.
3. (ka-)a-ru-ni  Khu[6]-za-na[7]-a-ni
   who have given belonging to the city of Khuzanas
   -ni-e
   the countries

[1] So Layard. [2] Layard has (?) [3] So in line 14; Layard has *bad* (?).
[4] Perhaps *la*; see note. [5] So in line 14.
[6] So in line 9. [7] The printed text has *ma*, but the original copy reads *na*.

4. ( ) Gu-pa-ni[1] Khal-di-i ku-ru-ni
(and) the land of Gupas; to Khaldis the giver,

5. (Khal-di)-ni gis-su-ri-i ku-ru-ni
to the Khaldises the mighty, the givers,

6. (Khal-di-ni-)ni us-ma-(si)-ni us-ta-a-bi
to the children of Khaldis the gracious I prayed,

7. (Me-nu-a-ni) Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi
belonging to Menuas the son of Ispuinis

8. (kha-hu-ni) [2] Pu[3]-te-ri-a-ni
who has conquered belonging to the city of Puterias
e-ba-ni-e
the districts

9. a-da[4] () Khu-za-a-na-ni
and belonging to the city of Khuzanas
e-ba-ni-e
the districts;

10. kha-(hu-ni) Gu-hu-pa-a-ni khu-dhu-ni
who has conquered the land of Gupas; who has departed

11. pa[5]-a-ri-e Kha-a-te-i-na-a
out of the land of the Hittites;

12. (i-)ni[6]-i pu-lu-śi ku-i[7]-gu-ni
this inscribed stone who has written

13. (a-)da-a Khal-di-i ya-ra-ni
and to Khaldis who has consecrated;

[1] So in line 10.
[2] Layard has (?).
[3] Layard has *bad* (?).
[4] Layard has the impossible . The last character is plainly *da*.
[5] Layard has (?).
[6] Layard has .
[7] Layard has *a* (?).

14. (?kha-hu-)ni Pu-te-ri-a
who has conquered (?) of the city of Puterias
a-śu-ni
the neighbourhood;

15. Śu-da(?)-ni(?)-za-a-hu-a-da
of Śudani-zavadas,

16. Me-li[1]-dha-i-e[2] al-khe
the king of Malatiyeh of the inhabitants,
ha-al-du-hu-ni
who has { changed / removed }

17. (?pi-e-)ni[3] Khal-di-ni-ni
(the name?). To the children of Khaldis
al-śu-u-i-si-(ni)
the multitudinous

18. Me-nu[4]-a-ni Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khe
belonging to Menuas the son of Ispuinis,

19. al-śu-hu-i-ni-e
the powerful king, the king of multitudes,

20. Bi-i-a-i-na[5]-a-hu-e
the king Biainian,

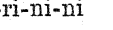
21. a-lu-śi-e Dhu-us-pa-a-e
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

22. Me-nu-a-s a-da a-lu-s i-ni
Menuas says: whoever of this tablet

23. pi-tu-da-i-e a-lu-s tu-hu-da-i-e
removes the memory, whoever removes,

24. a-lu-s hu-da-e i-ni-da du-da
whoever these (things) here destroys,

[1] Layard has *da*. [2] Layard has *a*. [3] Layard has *i* (?).
[4] Layard has . [5] Layard has *ma*.

25. tu-ri-ni-ni Khal-di-s
for what belongs to the rock (?) may Khaldis the

Air-god (and) the Sun-god,

26. -s ma-a-ni -ni pi-e-i-ni-e
the gods, him publicly the name

27. me-i ar-khi-hu-ru-da-a-ni me-i i-na-i-ni
of him, the family of him, the city

28. me-i na-a-ra-a a-hu-i-e hu-lu-hu-da-e
of him to fire (and) water consign.

2 and 3. *Puteria-ni* and *Khuzana-ni* are adjectives in *-nis* agreeing with *ebanie*. If we read Pularias (for) it would be possible to compare the name with that of Palu. It is clear that we ought to read Khuzanas and not Khuzamas. Khuzanas is the modern Khozan, the name of the district in which Palu is situated.

8. The inscription has been restored by a comparison with No. xxxvi. This teaches us that we have to supply *khauni* in this place. Instead of independent verbs we find participles or adjectives in *-nis* agreeing with *Menua-ni*, which itself agrees with *Khaldini*. Buteria or Puteria may be the same as Paiteri, a district of Nahri mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser I.

13. *Yarani* occurs elsewhere only in lvi. i. 5. Here its sense is fixed by the context. The construction is the same as that of *khau-ni* and *kuigu-ni*

15. We should perhaps read *kha* for *za*, and identify *Khavadas* with the Vannic *Khavada*, the name signifying 'the God Śudani (?) is a conqueror.' With Śudani compare Sadi-anteru, the name of a king of Komagênê in the age of Tiglath-Pileser I., and the Lydian Sady-attês.

16. The name of Malatiyeh (Melitênê) is written Milidia, Meliddu, and Melidi in the Assyrian inscriptions. For *alkhi* see xx. 8. In l. 2 we again find the phrase *Melidhe alkhi*. It would seem that, as in the acc. sing., the suffix *-khinis* dropped

the final nasal in the plural when agreeing with a preceding substantive.

17. For *alśuisi* see v. 12.

XXXIV.

The following inscription exists in two places, being engraved both on a basaltic rock called Yazlitash, near the village of Karakoin, on the right bank of the Araxes, opposite the old city of Armavir (the Armauria of Ptolemy), and also on a rock at Tsolagerd,[1] near Edshmiadzin (called Vagharsabad, from Valarses). The first text is a good deal injured, the beginnings of the lines being destroyed, and the only copy of it we possess made by Dr. J. Kästner, and published by Kästner and Berger in the "Bulletin de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de S. Pétersbourg," vii. pp. 275 *sq.*, is exceedingly bad. The copy of the other text, however, made by the discoverer, the Vartabed Mesrob Sempadian (or Sembatiants), is even worse. This is the more unfortunate, in that the original text of it is complete. The copy has been published in the Armenian journal "Ararat" for Sept. 1870, and again by Dr. Mordtmann in the Z.D.M.G. xxxi. 2, 3 (1877). The spot where the Karakoin text has been found is at the junction of the Kasagh with the Araxes. This text I call text II., the Tsolagerd text being text I. Even with the two together it is difficult to make anything out of the so-called "copies." Dr. Mordtmann, who first discovered their identity, has successfully restored many of the words.

1. I.	us-ta-bi	ma-śi-ni	gis-su-ri-e
1. II.	(us)-ta-bi	ma-śi-ni	gis-su-ri-e
	I approached	the powers	mighty,
2. I.	ka-ru-ni	E-ri-i(?)-a-khi	-ni-e
2. II.	(ka-ru-ni	E-)ri-a-khi	-ni-e
	who have given	of the son of Erias	the lands,
	ka-ru-(ni)		
	ka-ru-ni		
	who have given		

[1] Tsolagerd or Zolakert is called Tash-burun by the Turks. The first and last lines of the inscription were published in "Ararat," Feb. 1870.

3. I. Ur(?)-?-kha(?)-ni la-ḳu-ni
II. . . . . ni la-ḳu-ni
the city of (? Lununis) as a present
 Me-nu-a-ka-i
 Me-nu-a-ka-i
to the race of Menuas;

4. I. Khal-di ku-ru-ni Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-i
II. . . . . (Khal-)di-ni gis-su-ri-i
to Khaldis the giver, to the Khaldises the mighty

5. I. (ku-)ru-ni Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni
II. . . . . (Khal-di-)ni-ni us-ma-si-ni
the givers, to the children of Khaldis the gracious
us-ta-bi
us-ta-bi
I prayed,

6. I. (Me-nu-)a-ni Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi
II. . . . . () Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi
belonging to Menuas the son of Ispuinis.

7. I. hu-lu-us-ta-bi Khal-di-ni Me-nu-a-s
II. (hu-lu-us)-ta-(bi) Khal-di-ni Me-nu-a-s
I approached with offerings the Khaldises. Menuas

8. I. a-da-e tu-bi E-ri-ya-khi
II. (a-da-e tu-)bi () E-ri-a-khi
says: I carried away of the son of Erias
-ni
 -ni
the country (folk),

9. I. Ra-bi[1]-khu[1]-us Zu(?)[2]-a-da-hu-i-e
II. (Ra-bi-khu-)ni Śu(?)[2]-a-khu-hu-i-e
the city of Rabikhus (?), the city of Zuakhuis (?)

[1] My restoration of these two characters is uncertain.

[2] Text I. has , text II. .

10. I. a ? ? bi ? ni bi i ? ? ? la-la-ni
II. . . . . bi i ? ? ? la-la-ni
I . . . . . .

11. I. e[1]-śi-ni ? ? ? ? pu i 𒀸 Me-nu-hu-a
II. . . . . se 𒀸 Me-(nu)-hu-a
inscriptions . . . . . of Menuas

12. I. 𒀸 Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-e kha-hu-bi
II. (𒀸 Is-pu-hu-i)-ni-khi-(ni)-e kha-hu-bi
the son of Ispuinis. I conquered

13. I. 𒌷𒀸𒀸 Lu-nu-hu-ni-ni ha-al-du-bi
II. (𒌷𒀸𒀸 Lu-nu-hu-ni-ni ha-)al-tu-bi
the city of Lununis. I changed

14. I. 𒌷𒀸𒀸 Lu-nu-hu-ni-ni me-e-si-ni pi-i
II. (𒌷𒀸𒀸 Lu-nu-)hu-ni-ni me-e-si-ni pi-i
belonging to the city of Lununis its name,

15. I. 𒀸 Me-nu-hu-a 𒌷𒀸𒀸 -e-a-tsi-da-ni
II. (𒀸 Me-nu-hu-a 𒌷𒀸𒀸)-e-a-tsi-da-ni
as 'of-Menuas-the-place of the chief citizens.'

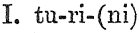
16. I. (a)-lu-s tu-da-e a-lu-s pi-tu-(da)-e
II. (a-lu-s tu-)da-e a-lu-s pi-tu-(da)-e
Whoever removes, whoever the name removes,

17. I. a-lu-s 𒌨𒁹 i-ni-da du-da-e
II. (a-lu-s 𒌨𒁹) i-ni-da du-da-e
whoever with a stone here destroys,

18. I. a-lu-s hu-da-s ti-hu-da-e
II. a-lu-(s) hu-(da)-s ti-hu-da-e
whoever that undoes

[1] The text has *a*.

19. I. i-e-s Lu-nu-hu-ni-ni kha-hu-bi
II. (i-e-s) Lu-(nu)-hu-ni-ni kha-hu-bi
in that the city of Lununis I have conquered,

20. I. tu-ri-(ni)-ni Khal-di-s
II. (tu-ri-ni-ni Khal-)di-s
for what belongs to the stone (?) may Khaldis,
 -s -s
 -s -s
Teisbas and the Sun-god,

21. I. ma-(a-ni) -ni pi-i-ni
II. (ma-a-ni) -ni pi-i-ni
the gods him, publicly the name

22. I. me-i ar-khi-hu-ru-da-a-ni me-i
II. (me-i ar-khi-)hu-ru-da-a-ni me-i
of him, the family of him,

23. I. i-(na-)i-ni me-i na-a-ra-a
II. (i-na-i-ni) me-i na-a-ra-a
the land of him, to fire

24. I. a-hu-i-e hu-lu-da-e
II. (a-hu-i-)e hu-lu-da-e
(and) water consign

2. "The son of Erias" is mentioned by Argistis xliii. 48, xlv. 36, and xlvii. 3. The localities in which the inscription of Menuas has been found settles the position of his kingdom. We further learn from Argistis (xliii. 47) that it formed part—probably the southern part—of the country of Etiunis or Etius, for which see note on xxxi. 3. It would seem that while the district proper was called Etius, the whole country to which the name was extended was termed Etiu-nis, *i.e.* "Etiu-ian." *Erias* is a formative like Menuas from Eri, which we find in the name of the god *Eri-nas* (v. 10) and perhaps

of the city Eri-dias (v. 16), as well as of Eri-menas. Eris may have been the Sun-god, representing the Ara of Moses Khorenensis and the Er (Ἤρ) of Plato (*Rep.* 614 *sq.*). Mordtmann compares the name of the Armenian (or Parthian) Hiero in Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 42, 43).

3. The analogy of other inscriptions would lead us to infer that we ought to read *Lunûni-ni* as in lines 13 and 14. The first character of the "copy" can just as well represent *lu* as *ur*, the second seems intended for *nu*, and the third is more probably *ni* than *kha*. In any case, Lununis was the city afterwards represented by Armavir.

We find *laḳuni* elsewhere as well as *laḳuada*. Compare together:—

Khaldini ustabi maśinie gissurie karuni Manani ebanie

Khaldini ustabi maśinie gissurie karuni . . . Manani

laḳuni Saridurikai xlix. 2.

Pustuni laḳuada Argistikai xxxix. 48.

Laḳuada is an abstract in *-da*, with the suffix *a*, like *armu-ya-da* (xxxi. 4), and must therefore be in apposition to the preceding accusatives. *Laḳuni* must be equally in apposition with the preceding accusatives and so be the accusative of a substantive *laḳus*, unless it is co-ordinate with *karuni*. Only two meanings are possible for the words. They must be either "as a present," or "as a spoil." The first meaning, as being the more general, is the preferable one. Since the formula, though repeatedly occurring in the inscriptions of Argistis, is not elsewhere found in those of Menuas, it may be inferred that the war described in this inscription belonged to the last years of the life of the latter king.

8. Either *tubi* or *-ni* is incorrectly copied in this line. With *tubi* 'I carried off' we must have *-ni-a* 'the people of the country' (see xli. 6, etc.).

12. We may notice the genitive *Ispuinikhinie*. See p. 488.

15. *-e-a-tsi-da-ni* is a very interesting form. *Ni* is the accusatival suffix, *da* the local affix, *atsi* (i.e. *a-tsi*) the suffix we meet with in *urpu-atsi* (vii. 1), *ebani-atsie-di-ni* (xxx. 28),

aśi *-tsie*, etc., and *-e* the phonetic complement of the word (*inaine*) which denotes 'cities.' The meaning must be 'place of the rulers of the citizens' or 'all the citizens.' We may therefore translate 'capital.'

17. Elsewhere 'stone' is replaced by *ainei* 'earth;' *e.g.* xxxvA. *Rev.* 5.

19. For the construction see p. 440.

XXXV.

This inscription was copied by de Saulcy at Hassan Kala'a (Theodosiopolis) near Erzerûm, and is published in his *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, pl. ii. 1. Unless the stone has been brought from elsewhere, it would seem that Menuas not only extended his sway as far as Erzerûm, but also restored a palace in the neighbourhood.

1. Khal-di-ni us-ma-si-ni
To the Khaldises the gracious

2. Me-nu-a-s Is-pu-u-ni-khi-ni-i-(s)
Menuas son of Ispuinis

3. i-ni si-di-is-tu-ni
this palace has restored

4. ba-a-du-hu-śi-e
which was decayed.

5. Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-si-ni
To the sons of Khaldis, the multitudinous,

6. Me-nu-a-ni Is-pu-u-i-ni-khi
belonging to Menuas son of Ispuinis,

7. al-śu-i-ni
the powerful king, the king of multitudes,

8. Bi-a-i-na-a-hu-e
the Biainian,

9. a-lu-śi Dhu-us-pa
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

XXXV.A.

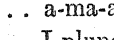
I must add here a fragmentary inscription found by Capt. Clayton on the obverse and reverse of a stone in the churchyard of the village of Irmerd, in the plain of Mush. It is chiefly of interest as showing that Menuas carried his arms in this direction and succeeded in reducing the country to the south-west of Lake Van. Capt. Clayton sent a squeeze of the inscription to the British Museum in 1881. Not only are the beginning and end of the text lost, but all the lines are imperfect.

Obverse.

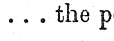
1. . . . . CCCC za-as-(gu-bi)
. . . . . 400 cities I massacred.

2. . . . . a-ma-as-tu-(hu-bi)
. . . . . I plundered

3. . . . . -si-a . . . .
. . . . . the people of the palaces . . . .

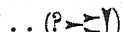
4. . . . .  Ḳu-ul-me-e . . . .
. . . . . the city of Ḳulme . . .

5. . . . . (?) E(?)-ḳa-ar-su . . . .
. . . . . the city of Eḳarsu (?) . . . .

6. . . . .  -ni-a du-hu-(bi)
. . . . . the people of the palace I destroyed

7. . . . . bu-ra-a-as tu-hu-(bi)
. . . . . the court I carried away

8. . . . . (ra)-a-ni-tsi du-bi e-śi . . . .
. . . . the chief of the people I destroyed. The laws . . .

9. . . . . ( e-)ba-ni . . . . . .
. . . . . the country

10. . . . . ni . . . . . .

Reverse.

1. . . . (Me-)nu-a-s a-da-(e)
   . . . Menuas says:

2. (a-lu-)s ini (tablet)
   whoever this tablet

3. (du-hu-)da-i-e a-lu-(s)
   destroys; whoever

4. (pi-)i-tu-hu-da-i-(e)
   removes the memory;

5. (a-)lu-s a-i-ni-e
   whoever with earth

6. (i)-ni-da du-da-i-(e)
   here destroys

7. (a-)lu-s hu-da-e-(s)
   whoever that

8. (ti-)i-hu-da-i-(e)
   undoes

9. (i-e-)s za-a-du-hu-bi
   which I have done;

10. (tu)-ri-i-ni-(ni)
    for what belongs to the stone

11. (Khal-di-)s (-s)
    may Khaldis, the Air-god . . . . . .

Obv. line 7. *Buras* is shown by the determinative in xlv. 18 to denote a class of persons; otherwise it has the form of an adverb prefixed to the verb like *amas-tubi*. For line 8, see xlv. 40.

In the same churchyard Capt. Clayton found two other fragments of which he took squeezes, but they are in too

broken a condition to be intelligible. One of them contains the following characters:—

1. . . . . khu (?) . . . . hu . . . .
2. . . . . hu . . . . . e . . .
3. . . . la a di (?) . . . . pu i . .
4. . . . tar pa ra ka a . . .
5. . . . e ri ma a . . . . .
6. . . . a hu . . . . . [1]

Inscriptions of Argistis.

Argistis, the son and successor of Menuas, was the builder of the citadel of Van. But he was a general rather than a builder, and his inscriptions chiefly record the wars he carried on and the extension he gave to the limits of his kingdom. The weakness of Assyria gave him the opportunity of reducing the Mannai or Minni and their neighbours to subjection, and he was victorious in his struggles with the Assyrian king, Assur-dan, himself. Under him the Vannic kingdom reached its highest point of power. His name was borne by a later king, the contemporary of Sargon and Sennacherib. Mordtmann finds a reminiscence of his name in that of the district of Argastovit in Mog or Mok, the fifth province of Armenia. It is derived from a stem *argi-* by the help of the locative suffix *-di* (which becomes *-ti* after a sibilant) and the suffix *s* for *si*. It is thus strictly parallel to *Biainaste*. Possibly, however, it is a compound of the root *ar* 'to bring,' and *gies* 'an image.'

XXXVI.

The following inscription was copied by the Vartabed Mesrob Sempadian or Sembatiants in a valley near Elarh, the last village before reaching Erivan from the north, and was published in the Armenian Journal of Moscow, *Le Nouvelliste russe*, for 1863 (No. 45). It is also given by Mordtmann, and was subsequently copied by Robert. It fixes the locality of Uluanis and Daras.

[1] For the inscription of Menuas in the pass of Kelishin see No. lvi. It is possible that No. liv. also belongs to Menuas.

1. Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-ni gis-su-ri-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, to the powers mighty,

2. ka-ru-ni E-ti-hu-ni-ni Khal-di-i
who have given the Etiunians; to Khaldis

3. ku-ru-ni Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-e ku-ru-ni
the giver, to the Khaldises the mighty, the givers;

4. Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni us-ta-bi
to the children of Khaldis, the gracious, I prayed,

5. Ar-gi-is-ti-ni Me-nu-a-khi-e
who belong to Argistis the son of Menuas,

6. kha-hu-ni Hu-lu-a-ni-e-i e-ba-ni
who has conquered of Uluanis the land,

7. Da-a-ra-ni -ni-e Khal-di-ni-ni
(and) of the city of Daras the lands. To the children of Khaldis

8. al-śu-si-ni Ar-gi-is-ti-ni Me-nu-a-khi
the multitudinous belonging to Argistis the son of Menuas,

9.   al-śu-ni Bi-
the strong king, the king of multitudes, the king of the
a-i-na-e
country of Biainas,

10. a-lu-śi Dhu-us-pa-a
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

2. For the country of Etius see note on xxxiv. 2. *Etiu-ni-ni* is analogous to *Alzi-ni-ni*, xxxii. 8.

7. *Darani* may be either the accusative of an adjective in *-nis* agreeing with *ebanie*, or the genitive of a substantive Daranis.

XXXVII. (Schulz II.)

We come now to the long historical inscriptions engraved by Argistis on the face of the cliff of the castle of Van, which later Armenian legend assigned to Semiramis. They form

the prototype of the similar historical inscription carved by Darius Hystaspis on the rock of Behistun, and may have suggested the latter to the Persian king. At all events the trilingual inscription of Xerxes on the south side of the cliff of Van expressly states that it was Darius who had intended to have it made ("on this mountain he gave command to make a tablet and image, but did not write in it"). The inscriptions begin to the right of a small chamber cut in the western face of the rock at the commencement of a flight of twenty steps. Above the steps are the three inscriptions xxxvii. xxxviii. and xxxix., divided from one another by vertical lines. The translation will show that they really form a single text. Turning a corner at the end of the steps we reach the entry into the five sepulchral chambers of the "Khorkhor" (*Khorkhor mugaralari*), a name which is without etymology in either Armenian or Turkish, and probably goes back to the Vannic *kharkhar* 'to excavate,' *kharkhar-nis* 'excavated,' xxi. 4. To the left of the entry are inscriptions xl. and xli., while above the entry is the mutilated inscription xlii. The inscriptions have been copied first by Schulz, and then by Sir A. H. Layard. Robert's copy is so bad as to be quite useless.

1. A-da[1]-e i-ni . . . . . ni-e a-zi-i-bi-e
One says: this (excavation for the dead?)

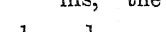
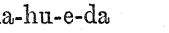
2. i-na-a-i-ni . . .[2] la ra . . . . . (𒀭) Ar-gis-ti-s
belonging to the city (has been completed?) Argistis
a-da-e
says:

3. khu-ti-(a-di) Khal-di-(di -di
among the king's people (?) Khaldis, the lord,
-di -di
the Air-god (and) the Sun-god,

4. a-lu-hu-śi-ni-(ni) al-śu-i-si-ni a-da-i-a-ba-di
of the (gods) of the inhabitants multitudinous among the
assembly (?)

[1] So Layard and Robert.
[2] It is very doubtful whether a character is really lost here.

5. i-ku-ka-a-ni mu si-(su)-kha-ni khu-ra-di-
goods his, the harness (?) (and) the place of the
ni-da-hu-e-da du-bi
camp I destroyed

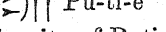
6. us-ta-di 
on approaching the son of Diaves the king.

The son of Diaves the king I overthrew,

7. kha-hu-bi -bi
I conquered. Of the land of Seriazis the cities I burned.
[1] khar-khar-su-bi ku-dha-a-di
The palaces I dug up. On departing

8. pa-ri Pu-ti-e ma-at-khi Bi-a-ni
out of the city of Putis the girls of the lands of Bias (and)
Khu-sa-ni ha-al-du-bi an-da-ni Tar[2]-i-hu-ni.
Khusas I removed (and) the boys (?) of the land of Tarius.

9. us-ta-a-di Za-ba-a-kha-a-e-hu-e-e-di-ya kha-a-hu-bi
On approaching the people of Zabakhas I conquered
Za-ba-a-kha-a-e-si-i-da
the district of the Zabakhians.

10. ku-dha-a-di pa-a-ri-e Hu-zi-na-bi-tar-na-a pa-ri
On departing out of the city of Uzinabitarnas, out of
Śi-ri-mu-tar-a Ba-ba-ni
the land of Śirimutaras (and) the land of Babanis

11. an-da-ni Ma[3]-ḳa-al-tu-ni
the boys (?) belonging to the city of Maḳaltus
I-ga-ni-ni ha-al-du-bi si-a-di
of the land of Igas I removed. On despoiling
 -ni-e-di
belonging to the son of Erias the lands,

[1] Robert inserts the numeral ⟨ before 'palaces.' [2] So Layard and Robert.
[3] So Layard and Robert.

12. us-ta-di A-bu-ni-i-e-di kha-h u-bi
on approaching the land of Abus I conquered the city of
Hu-ri-e-i-hu-ni nu-śi[1] hu-i dha-ru-khi-ni-i
Urieyus the royal city and the inhabitants.

13. XMIXMCCLV -se XMCXL[2]
19,255 children, 10,140 soldiers
se-e-khi-e-ri-e XXMIIIMCC [3] -hu-e-di-i-a-ni
alive, 23,280 woman-folk,

14. V a-ti-bi IIMDCLXXV[4] ta-ar-su-a-ni
twice 5 thousand 2,675 soldiers
mu a-da-ki za-as-gu-bi a-da-ki se-khi-e-ri a-gu-bi
its partly I slew, partly alive I took.

15. MCIV pa-ru-bi XXXMVMXVI[5]
1,104 horses I carried off, (and) 35,016
pa-khi-ni X a-ti-bi ... MDCCCXXIX su-se
oxen, (and) 10 thousand ... 1829 sheep.

16. Ar-gis-ti-s a-da-e Khal-di-a[6] is-ti-ni-e
Argistis says: For the people of Khaldis these
i-na-ni-da ar-ni-hu-si-ni-da za-du-bi
the city (and) the citadel in one year I built.

17. Khal-di-i-ni us-ta-bi ma[7]-śi-ni-e gis-su-ri-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, the powers mighty
ka-ru-ni A-bi-da-i-a-ni-e-khi e-ba-ni-e
who have given of the son of Abidayanis the country,

18. A-ni-is[8]-ti (?) [9]-ir[10]-hu[11]-e Ḳu-dhur-za-ni-i-ni
belonging to the land of Anistir (?) of Ḳudhurzas's relative

[1] Layard inserts here *e* (?). [2] So Layard and Robert. [3] So Layard
[4] Schulz has 70. [5] Layard has 15. [6] Omitted by Robert.
[7] So Schulz, Layard and Robert. [8] So Layard and Robert.
[9] So Robert. Layard and Schulz have , perhaps *ki*.
[10] Robert has *ni*; perhaps we should read *śa*.
[11] So Robert. Layard and Schulz have *ga*.

Ul-tu-za-i-ni -ni-e la-ḳu-a-da Ar-gis-ti-ka-i
Ultuzais the country as a present to the race of Argistis.

19. Khal-di-i ku-ru-ni Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-i
To Khaldis the giver, to the Khaldises, the mighty,
ku-ru-ni Khal-di-i-ni-ni al-śu-hu-i-si-ni
the givers, to the children of Khaldis the multitudinous

20. us-ta-bi Ar-gi-is-ti-i-ni Me-nu-hu-a-khi
I prayed, belonging to Argistis son of Menuas; to the
Khal-di-i-ni hu-lu-(us-ta-)a-i-bi
Khaldises I approached with offerings.

21. Ar-gis-ti-s a-da-e kha-hu-bi E-(ti)-hu-ni-ni
Argistis says: I conquered the districts belonging to Etius.
ku-dha-a-di pa-ri-e . . . . . hu-e.
On departing out of the country of Etius (?),

22. pa-ri Hu-du-ri E-ti-hu-khi-ni ha-se
out of of Uduris the land of the son of Etius men (and)
lu-tu pa-ru-bi Ar-gi-(is-ti-s a-)da-(e)
women I carried off. Argistis says:

23. khu-ti-a-di Khal-di-e-di -(di) -di
among the king's people (?) Khaldis, the lord, the Air-god (and)
-di a[1]-lu-śi-ni-ni al-(śu-i-si-ni)
the Sun-god, of the (gods) of the inhabitants multitudinous

24. a-da-a-ba-a-di i-ku-ka-a-ni a da [2]
among the assembly (?) the goods . . . . . .
us-ta-a-di Hu-me(?)-ku[3] . . . . . [di]
On approaching the country of . . . . . .

25. kha-a-hu-bi Ur-ya[4]-ni Dha-ir-tsu[5]-bi[6]
I conquered the land of Uryas (and) the land of Dhairtsu(bi);
kha-a-hu-bi Mu-ru-ba[7] . . . . . .
I conquered Muruba . . . . . .

[1] Schulz has *e*. [2] Layard has *e*. [3] So Layard. Schulz has *lu* for *me*(?)-*ku*.
[4] So Schulz and Layard. Robert has *me-i-a*.
[5] Layard has .
[6] So all the copyists; but *ni* is required. [7] So Layard; Schulz has *zu*.

26. ma[1]-ri-ni {gar / kar}-bi a-gu-nu-ni-ma gu-nu-sa-a
the .... the monuments (?) the plunder-his for a spoil
kha-hu-bi ha-se (lu-tu pa-ru-bi)
I took. Men (and) women I carried off.

27. kha-a-hu-bi Hu-ba-a-ru-gi-il-du-(ni)
I conquered the city of Ubarugildus the royal
nu-(śi) .....
city .....

28. (ku-dha-)a-di pa-ri {Ku- / Lu-} . . ru-pi-ra
On departing out of the city of {Ku- / Lu-} . . rupiras,
pa-ri Tar-ra .....
out of the country of Tarra .....

29. (us-ta-)di Id . . ku[2] . . a-hu-ni-e-di
On approaching the city of Id . . ku . . aus, the
a [3] .....
stone .....

30. ha-se hu-e-di-a-(ni) .....
the men (and) woman-folk .....

31. kha-a-hu-bi Ir-ki[4] .....
I conquered the land of Irki .....

32. ku-hu-dha-a-di (pa-ri) .....
On departing out of .....

33. us-ta-di Ar-tar-mu .....
On approaching the land of Artarmu .....

34. gu-nu-si-ni-e śu[5] .....
the slaves .....

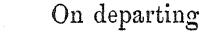
[1] *Ga* in xxxix. 62.
[2] So Layard.
[3] So Layard; perhaps the character is *da*.
[4] So Layard.
[5] Perhaps *śudhuḳubi* 'I despoiled.'

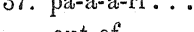
35. .....
the cities .....

36. ku-dha-a-(di pa-ri) .....
On departing out of .....

37. pa-a-a-ri .....
out of .....

38. .....
three ..... children,

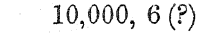
39.  hu-e-di-a-ni[2]
10,000, 6 (?) ..... woman-folk

40.  -mu
twice 20,279 (=40,279) men his

41. a-da-ki za-as-gu-bi
partly I slew,

42. a-da-ki se-khi-ri
partly alive

43. a-gu-bi-e
I took.

1. The impersonal use of the third person of the verb here must be noticed. It is probable that *kharkhar-nie* has to be supplied. See xxi. 4. *Azibie* is interchanged in xi*a*. 3, with  , that is, 'the dead,' and if *azibie* here is the same word, reference will be made to the tombs excavated in the rock of Van. The excavations begun by Menuas in the face of the rock were continued by Argistis.

2. If a character is missing after *inaini*, it must be *e*, or less probably *ni*. *Lara* . . . may be *tera* . . . , connected with the stem *teru* (which is not unfrequently miscopied *laru*) 'to set up,' 'establish.'

[1] So Layard; Schulz has , contrary to analogy.
[2] So Layard. [3] So Layard. [4] So Layard.

3. *Khuti-a-di* is the locative of a collective noun in *-a* (or *-ya*). The analogy of the Assyrian inscriptions would lead us to believe that the phrase denotes 'with the help' of the gods enumerated. The construction would then be '(moving) in the gods, etc., the *helpers* (?),' *khuti-a-di* being a collective noun in apposition with the divine names which follow. If, however, in li. iii. 10, we ought to read *khute-ve* instead of *khula-ve* 'belonging to the kings,' *khuti-a-di* might mean 'among the people of the king.' In that case the phrase would run 'among the people of the king, Khaldis, Teisbas, and Ardinis.' For the equivalent of *te* and *ti* cp. *as-te-uyuni* xxx. 21 and *as-ti-u* xliii. 42; also *Biainaste* for *Biainasdi*.

4. Line 23 shows that the missing character is *-ni*. *Aluśi-nini* is the dative plural of an adjective in *-inis*, from the adjective *alu-śis* used as a substantive.

Adayabadi, also written *adabadi*, appears as *adabidi* in liv. 6, 10, 11, where the *i* may be due to an assimilation to the *i* of the suffix. In l. 18 we find *bidi-adibad* 𒁹𒄩𒄩 signifying property of some sort 'belonging to slaves' (*gunusinini*). Compare also *biduni*. *Ada* is 'some,' 'part,' 'and,' as well as 'the whole.' The second compound seems to be *aba* rather than *-ba*, *adābadi* and *adibadi* being both contractions of *ada-y-abadi*. *Aba* can have no connection with *abi* in *abidadubi* 'I burnt,' but may possibly be compared with the Kappadokian word Ἀβα-κλῆς, the title of the supreme pontiff of the goddess Ma at Komana. In any case the analogy of the Assyrian texts, coupled with the word *bidi-adibad* 𒁹𒄩𒄩 ('priest+places of service'?), may show that *adayabadi* should be rendered 'in the service,' or possibly, considering the suffix *-a*, 'among those who minister to.'[1] But it may also signify simply 'among the whole assembly.'

[1] Can the phrase really be: "Among the people of the king and among the priests to Khaldis, Teisbas, Ardinis, and all the gods of the inhabitants,' *Khaldie-di*, etc., agreeing with *abaibadi*? *Adabidi* will then be the simple substantive *adabis* 'service,' from which *adaba* for *adabia* is formed. *Ada* has the idea of 'company' in *adaiśi* li. 4, as well as in the conjunction ('and' = 'along with'). Argistis says that he had built the citadel "for the people of Khaldis" (*Khaldia*); he might therefore consider that the spoil he brought home was brought back for his subjects. Moreover the words with which the sentence usually concludes (*khasi-al-me* 𒀸𒁹 𒁹𒄩𒄩) would favour this interpretation.

5. As both Schulz and Layard have *mu*, it is impossible to correct it into *i*, as is done by Mordtmann. Moreover, in line 40, we find it again, where the reading *i* is put out of the question by the fact that the word for 'men' in the accusative terminated in *-(a)rani* (liii. 6). *Mu* seems to be connected with *ma*, *mei*, etc., and consequently to mean 'his,' 'its,' 'their,' though I cannot account for the vowel. For *si(su)-kha-ni*, see note on xxxix. 49. It will be seen from the latter passage that the word must be either 'chariots' (like *hakhau*), 'magazines,' or 'harness.' Perhaps 'baggage-waggons' would be best. *Khuradi-ni-da-hue-da* must be analyzed into stem, adjectival suffix *-ni*, local suffix *da*, adjectival localizing suffix *hue* or *ve*, and local suffix. *Khuradinida* is 'camp.'

6. For the son of Diaves or Diaus, see p. 544. As his territories lay near Melazgherd, the campaigns of Argistis began on the north-west frontier of his kingdom and the northern banks of the Murad Chai, along which the districts of Seriazis, Bias, Khusas, and Tarius would have extended in a north-easterly direction.

8. The determinative before *mat-khi* shows that females are meant, while the suffix *khi* 'offspring of,' indicates maidenhood. For *haldubi* see xxx. 15. Here it must bear the specific sense of 'destroying virginity.' The analogy of Assur-natsir-pal's inscriptions would go to make *andani* mean 'boys.'

9. It is curious that the locative *di* is omitted after *Zabakhae-ve-e-diya*, as elsewhere with nouns in *-vedias;* e.g. xxxviii. 40, 43. From the adjective *Zabakhae-sis* is formed *Zabakhae-si-da.*

10. The land of Babanis mentioned here is different from the Babanis or Babas of xxxix. 5, which was in the neighbourhood of Lake Urumiyeh, as well as from the Babanis of l. 14, which was near Malatiyeh. On the other hand, if a country of Babanis is really named in lv. 12, it would lie in the same direction as the Babanis of our present text, and therefore be probably identical with it. Babas is the name of a Vannic deity, and Baba-rurai a district of Nahri in the time of Samas-Rimmon.

11. *Iga-nini*, like Alzi-nini (xxxii. 8) and Etiu-nini

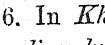
xxxvi. 2), must be analyzed into stem, adjectival suffix and accusative suffix.

Sia-di stands in the same relation to *siu-bi* as *kudha-di* to *kudhu-bi*. For the construction see p. 446.

For the territories of Erias on the Araxes, see xxxiv. 2.

12. *Dharu-khini* is the acc. pl. of a stem *dharu*, with the gentilic suffix *khinis* 'offspring of.' This, as well as the context, forces us to render the word by 'inhabitants.' Comp. *teri-khinie* (li. 6).

13. We must read *lutu-ve-di-a-ni*. The individualizing *di* is here used as in *Khal-di-s*, *Selar-di-s*, etc.

14. A comparison with the preceding line shows that *atibi* must signify 'a thousand.' For the suffix *-bi*, which may here denote the plural, confer *ni-ri-bi*, *azi-bie*, *kar-bi*. *Sekhieri* here takes the place of the ideographs  in xxxii. 9, etc.

15. The ideographs here and elsewhere indicate the meanings of *pa-khini* and *suse*. *Pakhini* 'oxen,' comes from a stem *pa* with the suffix *khinis*, like *dharu-khini* above.

16. In *Khaldi-a* we have the same collective suffix as in *khuradi-a*, *lutuvedia*, etc., where it denotes 'people.' In the phrase *e-ba-ni-a tu-bi* (xxxix. 13) 'I carried away the country-folk' the suffix can have but one meaning, that of 'people of.' We should have expected *Khaldia-ni* with the adjectival termination, but *Khaldi-a* was declined like a substantive in *-as*. *Istinie* is the dative plural 'these,' agreeing with the collective *Khaldia*.

Inanida is the site of the city on the acropolis, not the city itself, which was already in existence. The context here pretty clearly defines the sense of *inanis* or *inas*. *Inas* is the original form from which the adjectival *inanis* is derived, like *ebanis* from *ebas* 'country.' *Arni-usinida* must be decomposed into the local *da*, and the adjectival *si* and *ni* and *-u*, the stem being *arni*, for which see v. 17, and xxxi. 4.

As the inscription is engraved on the rock of the citadel of Van, it is clear that here must be the construction which Argistis 'built in one year,' and the previous mention of 'the

city-site,' shows that it was not the city itself. Since Menuas does not claim to have made anything beyond tombs in the rock of Van, while the sense of 'castles' seems required for *arnuyada*, we can only conclude that *arni-u-si-ni-da* means 'the citadel,' and that just as *ina-ni-da* is '*the* city,' so *arni-u-si-ni-da* is '*the* citadel,' literally 'the site belonging to that which is fortified.' The conclusion is confirmed by our finding the word placed between *inanida* 'the city' and *sušini* 'the walls,' in xxxviii. 24. For an illustration of the difference between *inani* and *inanida* see xxxix. 58.

18. That is, 'the country of Ultuzais the relative of Ḳudhurzas of the land of Anistir.' Ḳudhurzas is probably the Katarzas of Menuas, see xxxi. 11. *Ḳudhurza-ni-ni* is literally 'belonging to the relative of K.,' and agrees with *ebanie*.

21. We should probably read *E-ti-hu-e*.

22. Uduris is the Udharus of Menuas, see xxxi. 2. This is another proof of the relationship of *d* and *dh*; cf. *šudhuḳubi* and *šuduḳubi*.

26. *Mari-ni* must be the same word as *garini* in the analogous passage xxxix. 62. Either *ma* here or *ga* there is miscopied. *Ḳarbi* or *garbi* looks like a plural substantive in *b* (similar to *azi-bi*, *azi-bie*), and in xxxii. 7, *ḳarbie* is 'stones,' 'monuments.' But it may just possibly be the first person of a verb from the same root as *gari-ni*.

Ma must be the possessive 'his,' and apparently differs from *mei* as 'his' from 'of him.' It is attached to the last noun of the series to which it belongs, instead of following each separately as is the case with *mei*. It may be an error for *mu*: see p. 439.

27. The signification of *hase*, as Mordtmann perceived, is fixed by its being always coupled with the term for 'women,' which it precedes.

34. Perhaps *šu(dhuḳubi)*.

From line 31 to the end the length of the lines is increasingly diminished, so that the loss of characters is not so great as might appear at first sight.

17. Ku-dha-a-di pa-ri Pi-la-i (?) . . . . (me-si-?)ni
On departing out of the city of Pilai . . . . . its (?)
pi-ni śi (?)[1] -ri ki-ri Me-da-a-i-ni [2]
name, the pits (?) (and) banks (?) of Medais the river,

18. Ma-ar-mu-hu-a-ni Ḳa . . . . . a-ni ha-se
the land of Marmuas, the land of Ḳa . . . as; the men
lu-tu si-i-hu-bi
(and) the women I deported.

19. kha-ar-khar-su-hu-(bi)   (
The palaces I dug up; the cities
)-bi IIMD . . . IX -se
I burned; 2,5(5?)9 children,

20. VIIIM . . CCXCVIII (a-gu-bi)
8,2(?)98 people alive I took;
XMDCCCXLVI[3] lu-tu
10,846 women,

21. (? V)MIXMCCLXXIV [4]   -mu[5]
twice 5(?)000, 9,274 men its
a-(da-ki) za-as-gu-bi a-da-ki (se)-khi-ri a-gu-bi
partly I slew, partly alive I took.

22. . . . . XMVIIMDCCCCXL[6]II
. . . . . horses 17,942
pa-khi-ni (pa-ru-)bi II . . . . . su-)se
oxen I carried off, (and) 2 . . . . . sheep.

23. Ar-gis-ti-)s Me-(nu-a-khi-ni-)s a-(da-e
Argistis the son of Menuas says: For
Khal-di-a (is-)ti-ni-e
the people of Khaldis these

[1] Layard has .
[2] So Layard.
[3] Layard has VII.
[4] So Layard.
[5] So Layard; Schulz has *i*.
[6] Layard has LX.

24. (i-na-ni-da) ar-(ni-)hu-si-(ni)-e-da su-śi-(ni)
the city (and) citadel (and) walls in one year
(za-du-)hu-bi
I built.

25. (Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-)ni-e gis-su-ri-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, to the powers mighty,
ka-ru-[1](ni) E-(ti)-hu-ni-ni
who have given the land of the Etiuians,

26. (ka-ru-ni . . . . .) -ni-e la-ḳu-ni
who have given of (Uduris) the lands as a present
( ) Ar-(gis-ti-)ka-a-i
to the race of Argistis.

27. (Khal-di-i ku-ru-ni Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-i)
To Khaldis the giver, to the Khaldises the mighty,
ku-ru-ni
the givers,

28. (Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni us-ta-bi
to the children of Khaldis the multitudinous I prayed,
Ar-gis-ti-ni) Me-nu-hu-a-khi
belonging to Argistis the son of Menuas;

29. (Khal-di-i-ni hu-lu-us-ta-i-bi Ar-gis-ti-s ada-)e
to the Khaldises I approached with offerings. Argistis says:

30. . . . . .

31. . . . . (pa-)ru bi
. . . . . I carried off

32. (. . . . . su-se   Ar-gis-ti-s Me-nu-a-
(and) . . . . sheep. Argistis the son of Menuas
khi-ni-s) a-da-e
says:

33. . . . . us-ma-se
. . . . . the gracious (?)

[1] Schulz by an oversight inserts *al* here, which is omitted by Layard.

34. . . . . (a-gu-nu-)ni ma[1]-nu
. . . . . the plunder each.

35. . . . . is . . . . . du-bi is-ti-ni
. . . . . I destroyed them

36. . . . . nu . . . . . (du-)hu-bi is-ti-ni
. . . . . I destroyed them.

37. . . . . (Ar-)gi-is-ti-i-s
. . . . . Argistis

38. (Me-nu-a-khi-ni-)s a-da-(e khu-)ti-(a-di
the son of Menuas says: among the king's people (?)
Khal-di-di -di -di -di -di
Khaldis, the lord, the Air-god, (and) the Sun-god,

39. (<<< -as-te) Bi-a-i-(na-as-te a-lu-śi-ni-ni
the gods of Biainas; of (the gods) of the
al-śu-i-)si-ni a-da-a-ba-di
inhabitants multitudinous among the assembly (?),

40. kha-si-(al-me) <<< i-ku-(ka-ni si-su-kha-ni
may make dwell in triumph (?) the gods the goods (and) harness.
us-ta-di) Hu-bur-da[2]-hu-e-e-di-i-a
On approaching the people of Uburdas

41. Is[3]-lu-bu-ra-a-ni (Hu-)bur-(da-)al-khi
belonging to Isluburas of Uburdas of the inhabitants
kha-a-hu-bi e-ba-a-ni-i-e
I conquered the lands.

42. (Ir-du-a-ni (nu-śi) kha-a-hu-bi
The city of Irduas, the royal city, I conquered.
Hu-i-su-si-ni nu-lu-us-tu-hu-bi
The land of Visusis I ravaged.

[1] Schulz has *na*. [2] So Layard.
[3] So Layard. Perhaps a character is lost between *is* and *lu*.

43. ( ) ha-se lu-tu si-hu-bi is-ti-ni-ni us-ta-di
The men (and) women I deported belonging to them. On ap-
( ) Kha-khi-a-hu-e-e-di-a
proaching the people of Khakhias,

44. khar-kha-ar-su-bi -bi
the palaces I dug up; the cities I burned.
Bi . . . . hu (?)-kha-hu-ni-e -e
The city of Bi . . . hu (?)khaunis (both) city

45. ta-ar-su-a na[1]-ra-ni -bi VII(M) . . . . . .
(and) soldiers with fire I burned. Over 7000
-se IIMD[2]LV
children, 2,555 men alive,

46. VIIIMCCCCXCVII (hu-)e-(di-a) . . MIXMDCCXC
8,497 woman-folk, 1(?)9,790
-mu[3]
men its

47. a-da-ki za-as-gu-(bi a-da-)ki (se-khi-)ri a-gu-bi
partly I killed, partly alive I took;
CCXXXII
232 horses,

48. . . . DCCCIII (pa-khi-ni-)e (pa-ru-bi)
. . . 803 oxen I carried off (and)
. . MIMDCXXVI su-se
1(?)1,626 sheep.

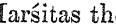
49. (Ar-gis-)ti-(s a-)da-e Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
Argistis says: For the people of Khaldis these

50. i-(na-ni-)da (ar-)ni-hu-si-ni-e-(da za-)du-bi
the city (and) citadel I built.

51. (Khal-)di-ni-ni us-ta-a-bi ma-a-śi-ni-e gis-su-ri-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, the powers mighty,

[1] So Layard. [2] Layard has DC. [3] Schulz has *i*.

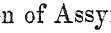
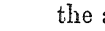
52. ka-ru-ni Ha-ar-śi-ta-ni -ni-e[1]
who have given belonging to Harśitas the countries,

53. ka-ru-ni  - khu-ra-a-(di-)e[2]
who have given of Assyria the armies

54. la-ḳu-hu-a-da Ar-gi-is-(ti-)ka-a-i
as a present to the race Argistis.

55. Ar-gi-is-ti-i-s
Argistis

56. Me-nu-a-khi-ni-s a-da-e
the son of Menuas says:

57.   [3] -tsi-e
of Assyria the chief (?) cities

5. *Khate* corresponds with the Assyrian *Khattai*, as *Mana* with the Assyrian *Mannai*. Comp. the Egyptian Kheta.

6. The name should more probably be read Khite-ruadas. Compare the name of the Hittite prince Khita-sira in the Egyptian inscriptions. *Ruada(s)* must be identical with the latter part of the names Garpa-runda or Garpa-ruda, king of the Gamgumai, and Girpa-ruda, king of the Patinai, in B.C. 854, mentioned on the Assyrian monuments. The Gamgumai lay to the north-west of the Hittites of Carchemish, while the Patinai lived between the Afrin and the bay of Antioch. Comp. the name of Śudani-zavadas xxxiii. 15.

Argistikai is the genitive-dative sing. of a noun *Argistikas*, formed from Argistis by the suffix *-kas*. The final *-a* of *-ka* (as in *tarsu-a*, *Khaldi-a*, etc.) indicates that the suffix relates to a class of persons. In liv. 9 we read of the *Urbikas*, where the termination can denote only a 'tribe' or 'class' of men, and in xxxix. 5 Argistis says he despoiled "the possessions *Dadikai*." As Dadas is called an auxiliary or something of the kind in line 32, and included in a

[1] So Layard.
[2] Layard reverses lines 52 and 53, making line 53 precede line 52.
[3] So Layard doubtfully.

gens or tribe, it is plain that *Dadikai* must mean "of the tribe" or "family of Dadas." We can therefore understand why the form *Argistikai* should be used in the phrase which declares that certain countries have been given "as a gift to the race of Argistis." For the application of the suffix to the names of material objects see note on xxi. 3.

10. I have no idea as to what is the meaning of *khasi-alme*. The termination is found in *askhu-me*, on which see note xxiv. 6. It is just possible that it may represent a third person pl. of the imperative. *Khasi-al-me* is a compound, consisting of *al* 'inhabit,' and *khasi*, which may be connected with *khasu-bi*, xliii. 41, where it seems to mean "I subjugated." Perhaps, therefore, *khasi-al-me* is "may (the gods) dwell in triumph," or rather "cause to dwell in triumph;" literally "subdue so as to make remain." It is generally followed by an accusative, as in line 40.

13. Niriba must be the Nirbu of the Assyrian inscriptions, which lay between the Sebeneh Su and Mons Masius; see p. 397.

15. *Khatinatsie* is the genitive after *ustadi*, like *ustadi Khakhiaveedia*, line 43. See pp. 579 and 436.

16. According to this, the Hittite territory extended as far north as the district opposite Malatiyeh, and adjoined the Sebeneh Su. Tuates may be compared with Tutamu, a Patinian king in B.C. 740. If we read Tualas, we may compare Tulia, who reigned at Tanacun among the Kue (the neighbours of the Patinians) in B.C. 850. The construction is "the boys (?) of the land of the son of Tuates."

17. I do not think the characters given by Schulz and Layard in the latter part of this line can be depended on.

21. If we read *i* with Schulz instead of *mu*, we should have the phonetic complement of *ibirani*. But in this case *ni* would be expected rather than *i*.

24. For *sušini* see note on v. 17.

26. That ⟩ *Hu-du-ri-ni* is to be supplied here seems clear from xxxvii. 22.

41. *Isluburani* is the adjective agreeing with *ebanie*, while

Uburdalkhi agrees with it, *ni* being dropped as in the accusatival *Menuakhi*, etc.

42. The city of Irduas was the capital of the land of Edias, which was included in Etius, according to xlix. 13–15.

43. It must be noticed that the suffix *-edia* does not take the locative *-di* after it, but stands in the genitive case. The double *e* which appears here and elsewhere seems to denote the length of the diphthong. So *asidu-uda*, xxxix. 24.

45. *Nara-ni* shows that the suffix *ni* might denote the instrumental. But the word may be used as an adjective in agreement with *tarsua*.

52, 53. For Harśitas or Harśitan, the Assyrian Assur-dan, and , see pp. 406, 407.

XXXIX. (Schulz IV.) The third column of the preceding text.

1. e-ba-ni-(hu)-ki as-du (khu-)ra-di-ni[1]-e-
part of the country occupying, the site of the camp
da-hu-e-da du-hu-(bi)
I destroyed.

2. khu-(ti)-a-(di Khal-)di-e-di [2]-di [3]-di
Among the King's people (?), Khaldis the lord, the Air-god,
-di [4] as-te[5] Bi-a[6]-na[7]-as-(te)
(and) the Sun-god, the gods of Bianas;

3. a-lu-(śi)-(ni-)ni al-śu-i-si-ni a-da-a-ba-a-di
of (the gods) of the inhabitants the multitudinous among the assembly (?)
kha-si-al-(me)
may make dwell in triumph (?) the gods.

4. Ar-gis[8]-(ti-s a-da-)e Khal-di-i ku-ru-ni
Argistis says: To Khaldis the giver,
Khal-di-ni gis-(su-ri-)i ku-ru-ni
to the Khaldises the mighty, the givers,

[1] So Layard. [2] Schulz has *i*. [3] Schulz has *ra*.
[4] Schulz has *di*. [5] Schulz has *la*. [6] So Layard; it is omitted by Schulz.
[7] Schulz has *ma*. [8] So Layard.

5. Khal-(di-ni-ni al-śu-)i-si-ni a-ri-e[1]-ni[2]
to the children of Khaldis the multitudinous. The possessions
Da-di-ka-i Ku-la-si-ni [3] Ba-ba-ni
of the tribe of Dadas, the land of Kulasis, the land of Babas,

6. śu-(dhu-ḳu-bi) ..... XXM .. XIM[4]CCCCXXXIX
I despoiled 31,439
-se is-ti-ni za ....
children of them .....

7. ..... si(?)-hu-bi si-hu-bi e-ba[5]-ni-hu-ka-(ni)
.... I carried off. I carried off the tribes of the country (and)

8. i[6]-(ku-ka-ni us-ta-di) [7] Me-na[8]-ab[9]-su[10]-ni-e-di
the goods. On approaching the city of Menabsus
Du-ḳa[11]-ma-a-i-(di)
(and) the city of Duḳamais,

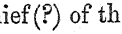
9. (kha-hu-bi) ..... () nu-śi
I conquered the city of ..... the royal city;
e-ba-a-ni-i-e kha-a-hu[12]-(bi)
the country I conquered.

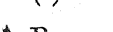
10. ..... Sa-a[13]-ra-ra[14]-a Bu-us-
..... of the city of Sararas belonging to
tu-hu-e
the land of Bustus.

11. (us-ta-di) ..... khu(?)[15]-du(?)[16]-lu-i-ni-e
On approaching ..... of ... khudu(?)luis
e-ba-ni-e-di
the country,

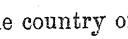
[1] Layard has *gis*.
[2] Layard has *ri*, and omits the determinative .
[3] Layard has "king."
[4] Layard has XM.
[5] So Layard.
[6] So Layard.
[7] So Layard.
[8] Schulz has *ma*.
[9] So Layard.
[10] So Layard doubtfully. Schulz has .
[11] So Layard.
[12] So Layard.
[13] So Layard. But we must read *ti*; see xl. 54.
[14] So Layard.
[15] So Layard.
[16] So Layard.

12. . . . . hu-a-tsi[1]-i[2]-di Bar-su-a-i-di
the chief(?) of the people of . . . . (and) the land of Barsuais

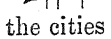
13. (Bar-su-hu)-a-i e-ba-ni-a tu-(bi)
of the country of Barsuais the countryfolk I carried away;
 -bi
the cities I burned.

14. . . . . VM . . . . XL[3]  sa-a-da-e
. . . . . over 5040 men there

15. . . . . (a-da-)ki za-(as-gu-bi) a-da-ki se-khi-(ri)
. . . . . partly I slew, partly alive
a-gu-(bi)
I took.

16. . . . . ( a-)śi . . . . . DCCCCLXXVII[4]
. . (horses), ... riders, ... 977
pa-(khi-ni)
oxen,

17. (pa-ru-bi) . . . . . V . . . . . su-se-e
I carried off (and) . . . . . 5 . . . . . sheep.

18. ( Ar-gis-ti-s a-da-e) Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
Argistis says: For the people of Khaldis these

19. i-(na-ni-da ar-ni-hu-)si-ni-da (su-śi-ni)
the city (and) citadel (and) walls in one year
(za-du-bi)
I have built.

20. Khal-(di-ni us-ta-bi ma)-śi-ni-e (gis-su)-ri-(e)
To the Khaldises I prayed, the powers mighty,

21. ka-ru-ni [5] () . . . . ka . . . . ru (?)
who have given the country of Assyria, the country of . . . . . .
. . . . . Bu-us-tu-ni
. . . . . the country of Bustus,

[1] Schulz has *at*. [2] So Layard. [3] So Layard.
[4] So Layard. Schulz has IV instead of VII. [5] So Layard.

22. Tar-i-hu-ni la-(ḳu-a-da) Ar-gis-ti-ka-i
(and) the country of Tarius as a present to the family of Argistis.

23. Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-(i-si-)ni Ar-(gi-)is-ti-s
To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous Argistis
a-da-e
says:

24. -si-du-hu-hu-da Su-ri-(si-)da-(ni-)i
the site of the palaces of the country of Surisidas
is-pu-hu-i-hu-bi
I overmastered (?)

25. khu-ra-di-i-e e-ba-ni-hu-ki as-du[1]
(and) of Assyria the armies part of the country occupying.

26. khu-ti-a-di Khal-di-e-di -di
Among the king's people (?), Khaldis the lord, the
-di -di
Air-god, (and) the Sun-god,

27. as-te Bi-a-i-na-as-te[2] a-lu-śi-ni-ni
the gods of Biainas; of (the gods) of the in-
(al-)śu-i-si-ni a-(da)-a-ba-di
habitants multitudinous among the assembly (?)

28. kha-si-al-me Ar-gi-is-ti-s Me-nu-a-
may make dwell in triumph (?) the gods. Argistis son of Me-
khi-ni-s a-(da-)e
nuas says:

29. Khal-di-i ku-(ru-)ni Khal-di-ni
To Khaldis the giver, to the Khaldises
(gis)-su-ri-i ku-ru-ni
the mighty, the givers,

[1] Schulz has *ap*.

[2] Schulz has *la*.

30. Khal-di-ni-ni (al-)śu-i-(si-)ni
to the children of Khaldis the multitudinous, the camp
A-hu-(e)-ra-si-da ki-da[1]-nu-bi
of the { Averians / auxiliaries } I *stripped* (?)

31. śu-hu-i . . . . . bi za[2] [3] bi . . . . . .
of Assyria all (?) . . . . . .
e-ba-ni-hu-ka-ni
the tribes of the country,

32. Da-a-da-ni (A-hu-)e-ra-(si-ni) . . . .
Dadas the Averian (auxiliary) . . . . . .
a-mu[4]-hu[5]-bi
I captured (?)

33. i-ku-ka-ni-mu us-ta-di . . . . . .
(and) the goods his. On approaching the country of . . .
(di) . . . . . i[6]-e-e(?)[7]-di
. . . the country of . . . . . ieis,

34. Ar-kha-hu-e-e-di ( ) . . . . . ni
(and) the land of Arkhaveis, the city of . . . . . .
() nu-śi[8]
the royal city,

35. LX -e   -ra-(ni lu-tu)
60 cities, the men (and) the women
as-gu-bi
I took.

36. us-ta-di Bu-us-tu-hu-e-di (kha-hu-bi
On approaching the country of Bustus, I conquered the
Sa[9]-)ti[10]-ra-ra[11]-(hu-ni)
land of Satiraraus;

[1] So Layard. [2] Perhaps we should read for .
[3] So Layard. Possibly *ḳar-bi* 'stones' or 'monuments.'
[4] So Layard. If we read *i* with Schulz, we must correct *a* into *si* and so get *si-i-hu-bi*.
[5] Layard has . [6] So Layard. [7] Layard has . [8] So Layard.
[9] Layard has , which can hardly be correct. For Satiraraus see xl. 54. [10] Schulz and Layard have *kha* doubtfully. [11] So Layard.

37. A-bur-za-ni-ni . . . . . .
the city of the Aburzians, the city of . . . . . .
. . . . . gi-(ni)
. . . . . gis,

38. Ḳa-du-ḳa-ni-hu-ni . . . . . .
the city of Ḳadukanius (and) the land of . . . . . .
kha-hu-bi
I conquered.

39. Ar-gi-is-ti-s a-da-e (us-ta-di) . . . . . .
Argistis says: On approaching the land of . . . .
tu-hu-(bi)
I carried away.

40. ku-dha-(a-)di pa-a-ri Ma[1]-(na-a . . . . .
On departing out of the land of the Minni, the land of
. . . . .) Ba-ba[2]-a
. . . . . (and) the land of Babas

41. XMVIIIMDCCCXXVII ta-(ar-su-)a-(ni)
18,827 soldiers
sa-a-(da-)e
there

42. a-da-ki za-as-gu-bi a-da-ki se-khi-e-ri (a-gu-)bi DCVI
partly I slew, partly alive I took, (and) 606

horses,

43. CLXXXIV VIMCCLVII
184 camels 6,257
pa-khi-ni XXXMIIIMCCIII -se
oxen, (and) 33,203 sheep.

44. Ar-gis-ti-s Me-nu-a-khi-ni-s a-da-e
Argistis son of Menuas says: For the people of
Khal-di-a (is)-ti-ni-i-e
Khaldis these

[1] So Layard. [2] So Layard.

45. i-na-ni-e-da ar-ni-hu-si-ni-e-da su-śi-ni-i(?) za-du-hu-bi
the city, the citadel (and) the walls I have built.

46. Khal-di-ni us-ta-a-bi ma-a-śi-ni-e gis-su-ri-i-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, the powers mighty,

47. ka-ru-ni I-ya-a-ni-ni -ni-e
who have given of the Iyaians the country,
ka-ru-ni Ma-na-ni
who have given the land of the Minni (and)
Bu-us-tu-ni
the land of Bustus

48. la-ḳu-a-da Ar-gis-ti-ka-a-i
as a present to the race of Argistis. To the children
Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni
of Khaldis the multitudinous

49. Ar-gis-ti-s a-(da-)e sur-kha-a-ni a-śi-
Argistis says: the harness (?) (and) the cavalry
-hu-e-da-du-hu-da
quarters

50. khu-ti-a-di (Khal-di)-di -di
among the king's people (?), Khaldis, the lord, the
-di ()-di
Air-god (and) the Sun-god

51. -as-te (Bi-a-i-)na-as-te a-lu-hu-śi-ni-ni
the gods of Bianas, of (the gods) of
the inhabitants

52. al-śu-hu-i-si-(ni) a-da-a-ba-di kha-si-al-me
the multitudinous among the assembly (?) may make

dwell in triumph (?) the gods.

53. Ar-gi-is-(ti-)s Me-i-nu-hu-a-khi-ni-e-s a-da-e
Argistis the son of Menuas says:

54. Khal-di-i ku-(ru-)ni Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-i
To Khaldis the giver, to the Khaldises the mighty,
ku-ru-ni
the givers,

55. Khal-di-(ni-ni al-)śu-hu-i-si-ni us-ta-di
to the children of Khaldis the multitudinous; on approaching

56. I-ya-[1](a-ni-ni) e-ba-a-ni-i-e-di -ni kha-a-hu-bi
of the Iyaians the country the country I conquered.

57. khar-[2](khar-su)-hu-bi
The palaces I dug up, the cities
a-ma-as-tu-hu-(bi)
I plundered.

58. E-ra-dha[3]-(da-hu-ni) E-ra-dha-da-e-hu-da
The city of Eradhadaus (&) the site of the city of Eradhadaus
kha-hu-(bi)
I conquered.

59. ha-se (-hu-e-di-a-ni is-ti-)ni-ni pa-ru-hu-(bi) . . . .
The men (&) the women-folk belonging to them I carried off . . .

60. i[4]-(? ku-ka-ni) us-ta-di Ma-na-a-i-di
(and the goods?). On approaching the country of the Minnni

61. . . . . (Bu-)us-tu-hu-ni [5] Tu-ra . . . .
. . . . . the land of Bustus, the river Tura . . . . .

62. ga[6]-ri-ni {gar / kar} bi (a-gu-)nu-ni-(ma)
the . . . . . the monuments (?) its plunder

63. (gu-nu-sa-a kha-)a-hu-(bi)
for a spoil I took.

64. ha-se (is-)ti-ni-ni si-(hu-bi)
The men belonging to them I deported

[1] So Layard. [2] So Layard.
[3] Layard omits; Schulz has .
[4] So Layard. [5] So Layard. [6] So Layard. See xxxvii. 26 (*ma*).

65. (-hu-e-di-)a-ni
(and) the women.

66. . . . . ta-ni . . . .
. . . . . .

67. . . . . a-me-ri[1] . . . .
. . . . . .

68. . . se(?) mu-ur . . . . .
. . . . . .

69. . . . . .

70. ma[2] dha . . . . .
. . . . . .

71. Hu . . . . . .
. . . . . .

1. *Asdu* must be the acc. pl. of a noun. The formation of the word is analogous to that of *askhu*, *asgu*. It may be a compound of *as(is)* 'house,' and either *du* 'to bring' (like *ter-du*, etc.), or *du* 'establish' (as in *asidûda* line 24, and *aśi-ve-da-du-da* xliii. 43). In this case *asdu* will be contracted from *asidu* as *Biainaste* from *Biainasidi*. The retention of the *d* after *s*, contrary to the usual rule, looks as if this were the true explanation of the form. *Asdu* will then be 'house-establishments' in apposition with *khuradinê-da-ve-da*, and *ebani-uki* (with which *ebani-ki-di* l. 27 must be compared) will be 'in part of the country.' *Ebani-u-ki* is the adverbial case of an adj. in *-u* from *ebanis*. Perhaps, however, *ebani-u-ki-as-du* forms one word and stands for *ebani-u-ki-a-si-du* 'establishments of the people in part of the country.' In any case the translation given in the text seems to be approximately the right one. See note on li. iii. 3. It is evident that the defeats undergone by the Assyrian forces took place not in their own territory but in some subject district. In the eponym lists the wars between Assur-dan and Argistis are described as being 'in the land of Ararat.'

[1] So Layard. [2] So Layard.

5. *Arie-ni*, which must plainly be read here, is connected with *ariedha* 'he was' or 'became' (xlix. 18).

Dadas (line 32) has become *Dadikai* just as by the side of *Biainas* we find *Binas*.

7. *Eba-ni-uka-ni* is an adjective in *-u* with the suffix *-kas* attached to it. See note on xxxviii. 6.

10. Bustus is the Bustu of the Assyrian texts, of which Shalmaneser says on the Black Obelisk (line 186) that after devastating 'the borders of Ararat' he received in Gozan the tribute of Gozan, the Minni, Burir, Murran, Sasgan, Andia, and Kharkhania, then destroyed the cities of Perria and Sitivarya, and then 'to the cities of Parśuas went. The cities of Bustu, Sala-khamanu and Kini-khamanu, fortified towns, together with 23 cities which depended on them, I captured.' After this, Shalmaneser entered the mountains of the Zimri or Kurds and then descended upon Holvan. See p. 400. Sitivarya must be the Sararas of our text, which is written Satiraraus in line 36 and xl. 54.

12. Barsuas is the Barśuas or Parśuas of the Assyrian inscriptions, to the south-west of Lake Urumiyeh. As in Hebrew, Vannic *s* corresponds to Assyrian *ś* (ס).

14. *Sadae*, also written *sada* (xl. 13), with the local suffix *da*, is shown by xl. 13 to be an adverb of place like *inida*. The pronominal stem *sa* probably makes its appearance in *sa-ni* (lv. 12) and *sa-ve* (li. 5), as well as in the compound verb *sa-tubi* (l. 17).

24. *Asidu'uda* (? *asidvuda*) is a compound of *asi-* 'house' and *du* 'establishment,' like *aśivedaduda* in line 49. This *du* must be carefully distinguished from *du* 'to carry away,' and is a contracted form of *udu* 'monument' (li. 3).

Ispui-u-bi has the same root as the royal name *Ispui-nis*, which may possibly mean 'the lordly.'

30. The adjective *Avera-sis* may be a proper name, but the determinative makes it more probable that it is a significative noun, in which case it can hardly have any other meaning than 'auxiliary.'

40. For the *Manas*, the Mannai of the Assyrians and Minni of the O. T., see above.

49. In xxx. 20 we find *hakhau* 'chariots,' which may possibly be compounded with the root of *hase* 'men,' so that we could compare the latter part of the word with the latter part of *sur-khani*. In any case *sur-kha-ni* claims affinity to *sisu-kha-ni* and we must compare:

ikukani-mu sisu-kha-ni khuradi-ni-da-ve-da dubi xxxvii. 5.
(following the phrase *khutiadi*, etc.)
ikukani-mu sisu-kha-ni aśi-ve-da-(duda) xliii. 43.
(preceding the phrase *khutiadi*, etc.)
ikukani-mu sistini xlix. 7.

It is clear either that *surkhani* is a synonyme of *sisukhani* or that *sur* is miscopied for *sisu*. The context defines the meaning within narrow limits.

Aśi-ve-da-du-da is literally 'place of establishment of place belonging to riders.'

62. For *karbi* see note on xxxvii. 26.

XL. (Schulz V.) The fourth column of the preceding text.

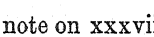
This portion of the inscription is engraved in the angle of the south-west part of the rock.

1. XMVIIIMCCXL[1]III.
   18,243

2. ta-ar-su-a-ni-e-i-mu
   soldiers his

3. a-da-ki za-as-gu-hu-bi
   partly I slew

4. a-da-ki se-khi-ri-e[2] a-gu-bi
   partly alive I took,

5. DCCXC . . . 
   (&) 7,9(0) horses,

6. C ul (?)[3]-dhu[4]-ni
   100 camels

[1] So Layard. [2] So Layard. [3] So Layard. Schulz has a misformed *ki*.
[4] So Layard. Schulz has .

7. XXM[1]IIMDXXIX[2] pa-khi-ni
22,529 oxen

8. XXXMVIMDCCCXXX su-se
(&) 36,830 sheep.

9. Ar-gi-is-ti-i-s a-da-e
Argistis says:

10. Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
For the people of Khaldis these

11. i-na-a-ni-da-e
the city,

12. ar-ni-hu-si-ni-da
the citadel,

13. su-śi-ni sa-a-da za-du-bi
(&) the walls there I have built.

14. Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi
To the Khaldises I prayed,

15. ma-śi-ni-e (gis-)su-ri-e
to the powers mighty

16. ka-ru-ni Ma-na-n
who have given of the Minni

17. e-ba-a[3]-(ni-)i-e
the land,

18. ka-ru-ni (Ir-ki-)[4]hu-ni-n
who have given the land of Irkiunis

19. la-e-ḳu-hu-a-da
as a present

20. Ar-gi-is-ti-ka-i
to the family of Argistis.

[1] Layard has XM.
[2] So Layard; Schulz has DC . . . VI (?).
[3] So Layard.
[4] Line 35 shows what has to be supplied.

21. Khal-di-ni-ni
To the children of Khaldis

22. al-śu-hu-i-si-ni
the multitudinous,

23. Ar-gi-(is-)ti-s
Argistis

24. a-da-e (khu)-ti-a-di
says: among the king's people (?),

25. Khal-di-e-di -di
Khaldis the lord,

26. -di -di
the Air-god (and) the Sun-god,

27. -as-te Bi-a-na-as-te
the gods of Bianas;

28. a-lu-śi-ni-ni al-śu-si-ni
of (the gods) of the inhabitants the multitudinous

29. a-da-a-ba-di kha-si-al-me
among the assembly (?) may make dwell in triumph (?)

the gods.

30. Ar-gi-(is-)ti-i-s
Argistis

31. Me-nu-a-khi-ni-s a-da-e
the son of Menuas says:

32. Khal-di-i ku-ru-hu-ni
To Khaldis the giver,

33. Khal-di-i-ni gis-su-ri-i ku-ru-hu-ni
to the Khaldises the mighty, the givers,

34. Khal-di-i-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni us-ta-di
to the children of Khaldis the multitudinous. On approaching

35. Ma-na-i-di kha-hu-bi Ir-ki-[1]-hu-ni-ni
the land of the Minni I conquered the land of Irkiunis.

36. ku-dha-a-di pa-ri [2]-ni-ni
On departing out of the lands belonging to Assyria,
Al-ga[3]-ni
the land of Algas,

37. VIMCCCCLXXI   -mu a-da-ki
6,471 of its men partly
za-as-gu-bi
I slew,

38. a-da-ki se-khi-ri a-gu-bi CCLXXXVI
partly alive I took; (and) 286

horses,

39. IIMCCLI pa-khi-ni VIIIMCCV
2,251 oxen, (and) 8,205
su-se
sheep.

40. Ar-gis-ti-s a-da-e Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
Argistis says: For the people of Khaldis these

41. i-na-ni-da ar-ni-hu-si-ni-da za-a-du-bi
the city (and) citadel in one year I have built.

42. Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-ni-e gis-su-ri-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, to the powers mighty,

43. ka-ru-hu-ni Ma-na[4]-a-ni e-ba-ni-i-e
who have given of the Minni the land,

44. ka-ru-hu-ni Bu-us-tu-ni la-ḳu-hu-a-da
who have given the land of Bustus as a present

[1] So Layard. Schulz has *Ni-ku*.
[2] So Layard. Schulz has .
[3] So Layard. Schulz has *hu*.
[4] Schulz has *ma*.

45. Ar-gi-is-ti-i-ka-i Me-nu-a-khi-ni-i-e
to the family of Argistis the son of Menuas.

46. (Khal)-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni
To the children of Khaldis, the multitudinous,
 Ar-gis-ti-s
Argistis

47. (a-)da-e khu-ti-a-di Khal-di-i-e-di
says: among the king's people (?), Khaldis,
-di
the lord,

48. -di -di   as-te
the Air-god (and) the Sun-god the gods
 Bi-a-na-as-te
of Bianas;

49. a-lu-śi-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni
of (the gods) of the inhabitants the multitudinous
a-da-a-ba-di
among the assembly (?),

50. kha-a-si-al-me   Ar-gi-is-ti-i-s
may make dwell in triumph (?) the gods. Argistis

51. () Me-nu-a-khi-ni-s a-da-e Khal-di-i ku-ru-ni
son of Menuas says: to Khaldis the giver,

52. Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-i[1] ku-ru-ni
to the Khaldises the mighty, the givers, to the
Khal-di-ni-ni
children of Khaldis

53. al-śu-i-si-ni us-ta-di Bu-us-tu-e-di
the multitudinous. On approaching the land of Bustus

54. kha-hu-bi As-ḳa-ya-i khu-bi
I conquered the land of Askayas. I conquered the
Sa-ti-ra-ra-hu-ni
land of Satiraraus.

[1] Schulz has *mu*.

55. an-da-ni Hu-gi-is-ti-ni ha-al-du-bi
The boys (?) of the land of Ugistis I removed

56. () ma-at-khi Hu-hu-si-ni ku-dha-a-di
(and) the girls of the land of Vusis. On departing

57. pa-ri-e A-la-dha-i Ba-ba[1]-a[1]-ni
out of the land of Aladhais, of Babas

58. () e-ba-a-ni a-ma-as-tu-bi khar-khar-
the country I plundered; the cities I dug
(su-)bi
up;

59. ha-a-se lu-tu is-ti-ni-ni pa-ru-(hu-)bi
the men (and) women belonging to them I carried off;

60. .. MDCCCLXXIII ta-ar-su-a-(ni-e-mu)
1(?),873 of its soldiers

61. a-da-ki za-as-gu-bi a-da-(ki se-khi-ri a-gu-)bi
partly I slew, partly alive I took.

62. LXXX   (pa-ru-bi)
.... 80 horses I carried off;

63. .... (pa-khi-ni)
.... camels, ... oxen,

64. .... D ... (su-se)
(and) ... 5(00) sheep.

65. (Ar-gis-)ti-s a-da-e Khal-di-(a is-ti-ni-e)
Argistis says: for the people of Khaldis these

66. (i-na-)ni-da ar-ni-(hu-si-ni-da   za-du-)bi
the city (and) citadel in one year I built.

67. Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-(śi-ni-e gis-su-)ri-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, to the powers mighty,

[1] So Layard.

68. (ka-ru-)ni Ma-na-a-ni . . . . . .
who have given the country of the Minni (and) of . . . .

. . di-i-e
. . dis

69. -ni Ar-gis-ti-ka-i
the country to the family of Argistis

Me)-nu-a-khi-ni-e
the son of Menuas.

70. (Khal-)di-i-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-i-ni
To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous

71. Ar-gis-)ti-s Me-nu-a-khi-ni-s a-da-e
Argistis the son of Menuas says :

72. . . . . Ar-gis-te[1]-e-khi-ni-da[2]
(The land) as the satrapy of the son of Argistis

si-du-bi
I established (?).

73. Ma-na-ni [3]-e Ha[4]-za-i-ni-e
The land of the Minni hostile, belonging to Hazais

-ni-e a-gu-bi
the country I took

74. . . . . [5] ma-na-da (?)[6]-śi-ra-ni kha-i-la-a-ni
the . . . . . , the . . . of the Minni, the . . . . . .

75. (khu-ti-)a-di Khal-di-e-di -di
Among the king's people (?), Khaldis the lord,

-di
the Air-god

[1] Schulz has *la*. [2] So Layard. [3] So Layard. [4] So Layard.
[5] So Layard. Schulz has *tar*.
[6] Layard has *ra*. The character may be *da* or *ta*. See line 80.

76. (-)di -as-te Bi-a-na-as-te
(and) the Sun-god, the gods of Van;
a-lu-śi-ni-ni
of (the gods) of the inhabitants

77. (al)-śu-i-si-ni a-da-a-ba-di kha-si-al-(me
multitudinous among the assembly (?) may make dwell
)
in triumph (?) the gods.

78. ( ) Ar-gis-ti-s a-da-e se ip (?)[1] tu śi na . . . . . a (? e)
Argistis says: . . . . . .

79. ( ) a-śi -tsi-e -hu-e-da-śi-ni-e . . . . . .
the chief (?) of the riders the rank and file . . . . . .

80. -śi-ra-ni ḳa-ab-ḳa-ru-hu-bi nu-na-bi[2]
the . . . . . I approached; I attached
 Ma-na-(a-)ni
the land of the Minni.

81. Khal-di-i-ni-ni al-śu-hu-(i-si-)ni
To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous.

6. It is unfortunate that the reading of this word is so uncertain, as the meaning is clear from its taking the place ot the ideograph which denotes 'camels' in xxxix. 43, etc.

36. For the land of Alganis or Algas see v. 18.

53. *Bustuedi* stands for *Bustu-ve-di.*

68. The country meant here may be the same as the *Aladhais* of line 57.

72. Literally 'the place of the son of Argistis.' For *sidubi* see note on *as-du* xxxix. 1. and cp. *asidu* xxxix. 24, and *-du* li. iii. 3. The root of *sidubi* may be the same as that of *sidis* (=*sidi-si*). Argistis himself had governed a district during his father's lifetime (xxix. B. 3).

73. The name of Hazas occurs again in liv. 1. It is

[1] These two characters probably represent only one, perhaps *uz.*
[2] So Layard; the word is omitted by Schulz.

evidently the Aza of the Assyrian inscriptions. In the time of Sargon Aza son of Iranzu was king of the Minni, like his predecessor in the age of Argistis.

74. The reading of the first part of this line is too uncertain to admit of even conjecture. From line 80, we see that the word which terminates in *-śirani* was preceded by only one character. It must have denoted some class of persons. Comp. *-ra-ni* and *ibirani*. If *khailani* should rather be read *khaiteani*, we might perhaps compare *khaidiani* li. 6.

79. We have *aśitsie* and not *asiatsie*, since the collective suffix *-a*, denoting 'people,' was naturally added only to names of localities, not to nouns signifying persons. In *-ve-da-śi-nie*, *-ni* and *-śi* are adjectival suffixes (*śi* as in *nu-śi*), *da* being the suffix of locality, and *ve* of local attachment.

80. For *ḳabḳarubi* see v. 25.

XLI. (Schulz VII.) The fifth column of the preceding text.

This part of the inscription is engraved over the entrance of the chambers.

1. () Ar-(gis-ti-s Me-nu-a-khi-ni-s a-da-e)
Argistis the son of Menuas says:

2. khu-ti-a-di (Khal-di-di -di
Among the king's people (?), Khaldis the lord, the

-di -di)
Air-god (and) the Sun-god,

3. as-(te Bi-a-na-as-te a-lu-śi-ni-
the gods of Van; of (the gods) of the

ni al-śu-i-si-ni)
inhabitants multitudinous

4. a-da-i-(a-ba-di kha-si-al-me
among the assembly (?) may make dwell in triumph (?)

a-śi- -hu-e-da du-bi)
the gods. The stabling I destroyed.

5. us-ta-di Ur-me-e-di[1] (kha-hu-bi Ur-me-i-ni)
On approaching the land of Urmes, I conquered of Urmes

6. ( )-ni-e -ni-a tu-bi ku-dha-(a-di
the country. The country folk I carried away. On departing

pa-ri) . . . . . .
out of the land of . . . . . .

7. -bi ha-se [2] lu-tu a-gu-bi
the cities I burned. The men (and) women I took

Bi[3]-(a-na-i-di)
to Van.

8. . . . MIVMDCCCXIII -mu[4] a-da-ki
Over 14,813 of its men partly

za-as-gu-bi a-da-ki[5] [6] (a-gu-bi)
I slew, partly alive I took,

9. XXV . . . . MDCCXL[7]IV
(and) 25 horses, over 1,744

 pa-khi-ni XLMVIIIMDCCCXXV -(se)
oxen, (and) 48,825 sheep.

10. Ar-gis-ti-s Me-nu-a-khi-ni-s a-da-(e)
Argistis the son of Menuas says: For the

Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
people of Khaldis these

11. i-na-(ni-)da ar-ni-hu-si-ni-da (su-)śi-ni-mu[8] za-a-du-bi
the city, the citadel (and) its walls I built.

12. (Khal-di-ni-ni al-)śu-i-si-e-(ni Ar-gis-ti-s
To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous Argistis

a-da-e
says

[1] So Layard.
[2] So Layard; Schulz omits.
[3] So Layard. For the completion of the sentence see l. 25.
[4] So Layard.
[5] So Layard.
[6] So Layard.
[7] So Layard.
[8] More probably 'in one year.'

13. i-hu 𒅆 nu-a-di (?a-)da-e-me 𒀸𒁀 (Khal-)di-s
thus: Among the people of the king the sum total (?) Khaldis
a-ru-ni hu-i[1] Al-di-ni-e[2]
has brought, and for the Khaldinians

14. VII(M) . . . LXVI 𒀸𒁀 pa-khi-ni LMDCCCLXVIII
over 7,066 oxen (and) 50,868
𒄩𒄩 𒁀
sheep.

15. 𒁀 Ar-gi-(is-ti-s) a-da-e i-na-ni mu-mu-hu-i-ya-bi
Argistis says: the city I enriched (?).

16. (𒀸𒁀) Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni 𒁀 Ar-gis-ti-s
To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous Argistis
a-da-e
says

17. i-hu 𒀸𒁀 Bi-(khu-ra-)a-ni ḳa-ab-ḳa-a-ru-lu-hu-bi
thus: the city of Bikhuras I approached.

18. 𒀸𒁀 Bi-khu-ra-a-ni a-śu-ni-ni
The city of Bikhuras, the neighbouring (cities),
𒁀 Ba-am-ni kha-ar-kha-a-ru
the country of Bam (with) digging up,

19. mu-ru-mu-ri-a-khi-ni na[3]-a-ni pa-ri 𒀸𒁀 𒁀
the children of . . . . . (and) the city (?) out of the Sun
si-i-e-s
removing,

20. 𒁀 Ba-am-ni khar-khar-sa[4]-bi-i-e[5]-s 𒀸𒁀 Bi-khu-
the country of Bam digging up, the city of Bikhu-
ra-ni kha-a-hu-bi
ras I conquered.

[1] So Layard. Schulz has *mu*.
[2] So Layard. Schulz has *śi*.
[3] So Schulz. Layard has *ku*.
[4] So Layard. Schulz has *a*.
[5] So Layard.

5. Śarduris II. the son of Argistis mentions the country of Urmes (xlix. 22), apparently in the same direction as Etius, *i.e.* on the northern side of the Araxes. It is certainly tempting to compare the name of Lake Urumiyeh.

13. In . . *daeme* we have perhaps the same suffix as in *askhu-me* and *khasi-al-me*. The word seems to denote 'sum-total.' Cp. *adaiśi* 'collecting.' If Schulz is right in reading *mu, umu* would be the accusative plural of an otherwise unknown word.

Aldinie, the dative plural of an adjective in *-nis*, is derived from *al-di*, formed from the root *al* by the suffix of agency *di*. It is clearly a different word from *aldinis* 'stone' v. 29, and is shown by lvi. to stand for *Khaldinie*.

15. We find *mumu-ni* in xlv. 23 combined with *ardi-(ni)* and a list of articles of tribute. It must there mean either 'governor' or 'impost.' *Mumu-ya-bi*, formed by the collective suffix (as in *arnu-ya-da*), decides rather for the latter than for the former signification. See lvi. i. 2.

18. *Kharkharu* would be the acc. pl. of a noun *kharkharus* 'a digging up.' It stands in apposition with the preceding accusatives.

19. The reduplicated *muru-muris* is not found elsewhere. The suffixes *-a* and *-khinis*, however, sufficiently indicate the general meaning of the word. Compare *dharu-khini*, *teri-khinie*, and *asazie-khinie*. If *nani* is the right reading, 𒀀 seems to have fallen out before it or to have become obliterated, unless, indeed, the final *i* of the preceding *ni* was intended to run on into the following word. But I fancy we ought to read here *mani* 'it.' *Sies* is the participle of *si-u-bi*, as *khar-khar-sa-bies* is of *kharkhar-su-bi*.

20. The latter word is very remarkable, as the first person singular is changed into a participle by the mere addition of the suffix *-es* and the change of the preceding vowel from the verbal *u* into the nominal *a*. The context leaves no doubt as to its meaning.

XLII.

The inscription was continued on the door of the entrance, but of this only a few characters remain, which were not copied by Schulz. Sir A. H. Layard, however, made out the following:—

1. (Khal-di-ni-ni al-)śu-i-(si-ni Ar-
To the children of Khaldis, the multitudinous Ar-
gis-ti-(s Me-nu-a-khi-ni-s a-da-e)
gistis the son of Menuas says:

After this there is a break, and the ends of the last six lines are alone visible:

..... na gi
..... Khal-(di-)ni
(us-ta-bi ma-śi-ni-e gis-) su-ri-e
..... da-e-ni
..... a a
..... śi ku ni

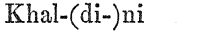
XLIII. (Schulz VI.) The continuation of the preceding text.

This part of the inscription is engraved on the left side of the entrance to the chambers.

(1). Ar-gi-is-ti-s a-(da-e)
Argistis says:

(2). ba-di-ni-ni śu-hu-i du[1]-(hu-bi)
what belonged to all (?) the whole (?) I have destroyed.

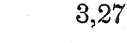
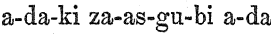
(3). kha[2]-hu-bi e ir[3]i ....
the palace I conquered. .....

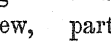
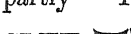
(4). e-ba-a-ni-a tu-bi 
The people of the land I carried off. The cities
a-(bi-da-du-bi)
I burned.

[1] So Layard. [2] So Layard. Schulz has *za*. [3] Should probably be *śi*.

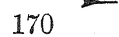
(5). IIIMCCLXX [1] ta-ar-su-hu-(a-ni)
3,270 fighting-men

(6). a-da-ki za-as-gu-bi a-da-ki se-khi-(ri a-gu-bi).
partly I slew, partly alive I took.

(7). CLXX  pa-ru-bi LXII
170 horses I carried off, 62

camels,

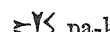
(8). IIMCCCCXI pa-khi-ni  VI[2]MCXL . .
2,411 oxen, 6,14(0)
 su-se)
sheep.

(9). Ar-gis-ti-s a-da-e[3] (Khal-)di-a
Argistis says: For the people of Khaldis
(is-ti-ni-)e
these

(10). i-na[4]-ni-da ar-ni-(hu[5]-)si-ni-da  [6]
the city (and) citadel in one year
(za-)du-bi
I have built.

(11). Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-ni-e gis-su-ri-i-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, to the powers mighty,

(12). ka-ru-ni Dhu-a[7]-ra-a-tsi-ni-e-i khu[8]-(dhu)
who have given of the chiefs(?) of Dhuaras portions,

(13). śi[9]-ri [10] Gur-ḳu[11]-hu-e ka-ru-ni
the corn-pits of the land of Gurḳus; who have given
 Ma-na-a-ni
of the land of the Minni

[1] So Layard.
[2] So Layard.
[3] Layard has *a*.
[4] Schulz has *ma*.
[5] Layard has *ni*.
[6] So Layard.
[7] Schulz places a lacuna after *a*; not so, however, Layard.
[8] So Layard.
[9] So Layard. Schulz has *pa*. With this reading the translation would be 'out of what belongs to the country of Gurḳus.' But there is no other example of the adjective in *-ue* being used thus absolutely.
[10] Schulz has *tar*.
[11] So Layard.

(14). a-śi- -i-e la-ḳu-a-da Ar-gis-ti-ka-i
the cavalry as a present to the race of Argistis.

(15). Ar-gi-is-ti-i-s a-da-e Khal-di is-(ti)
Argistis says: For Khaldis this

(16). a[1]-(gu-nu[2])-ni e-ha[3] khu-dhu tu-khi
a sixtieth of the spoil, this portion of the captives
e-ha gu-nu-se
(and) this plunder,

(17). . . . Da-i-na-la-ti-ni-ni -e a-gu-bi
(beside) the river of the Dainalatians doubly I took.

(18). za-a-du-hu-bi ku-ul-me-i[4]-e Su-ra-hu-e
I built the strongholds (?) of the land of Suras.

(19). Ar-gi-is-ti-s Me-(nu)-a-khi-ni-s a-da-e
Argistis the son of Menuas says:

(20). khu-ti-a-di Khal-di-e-di -di   -di
among the king's people (?), Khaldis, the lord, the Air-god,

(21). -di   as-te (Bi-)i-a-i-na-as-te
(and) the Sun-god the gods of Van;

(22). a-lu-śi-ni-ni[5] al-śu-i-(si-)ni
of (the gods) of the inhabitants, the multitudinous,
a-da-a-ba-di
among the assembly (?),

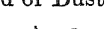
(23). kha-a-si-al-me a-śi- hu-e-da
may make dwell in triumph (?) the gods. The cavalry-quarters
du-bi
I destroyed.

(24). us-ta-di Ma-na-i-di -ni-a
On approaching the land of the Minni the people of the country
tu-bi -bi.
I carried away. The cities I burned.

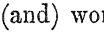
[1] So Layard. [2] Comp. line 78. [3] So Layard.
[4] So Layard. [5] Omitted by Layard.

(25). ku-dha-a-di pa-ri Hu-i-khi-ka-a
On departing out of the city of the tribe of Vikhis
Bu[2]-us-(tu-)e
of the land of Bustus

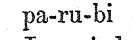
(26). ha-se -hu-e-di-a[3]-ni is-ti-ni-ni
the men (and) women-folk belonging to them
pa-ru-bi
I carried off;

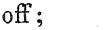
(27). XMIIIMDCCCCLXXIX ta-ar-su-a-ni  -mu
13,979 of its soldiers

(28). a-da-ki za-as-gu-bi a-da-ki se-khi-ri a-gu-bi
partly I slew, partly alive I took;

(29). CCCVIII  pa-ru-bi
308 horses I carried off,

VIIIM . . . . . pa-khi-ni
over 8000 oxen,

(30). III a-ti-bi IIMDXXXVIII
(and) five thousand five hundred and thirty-eight
 (su-se)
sheep.

(31).  Ar-gis-ti-s a-da-e Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-(e)
Argistis says: For the people of Khaldis these

(32). i-na-ni-da ar-(ni-)hu-si-ni-da su-śi-ni-mu[4] za-du-(bi)
the city, the citadel (and) its walls I have built.

(33). Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-ni-e gis-su-ri-i-(e)
To the Khaldises I prayed to the powers mighty

(34). ka-ru-ni Ma-na-ni -ni-e ka-ru-ni
who have given of the Minni the land, who have given
 E-ti-hu-ni
the land of Etius

[1] Layard has *se*. [2] So Layard. [3] Layard has *e*.
[4] So Layard. Schulz has *i*. We should probably read 'in one year.'

(35). la-e-ḳu-hu-a-da-e Ar-gi-is-ti-i-ka-a-(i)
as a present to the family of Argistis;

(36). Khal-di-i ku-ru-ni (Khal-di-)ni-ni
to Khaldis the giver, to the children of Khaldis
al-śu-i-si-(ni).
the multitudinous.

(37). Ar-gi-is-ti-s Me-(nu-)a-khi-ni-e-s a-da-(e)
Argistis the son of Menuas says:

(38). us-ta-di Ma-na-i-di -ni-a
On approaching the land of the Minni the population
tu-bi -bi
I carried away, the cities I burned.

(39). Si-si[1]-ri-kha-di-ri-ni nu-śi
The city of Sisirikhadiris the royal city
a-gu-nu-ni-(mu)
(and) its plunder

(40). gu-nu-sa-a kha-hu-bi ha-se lu-tu
for a spoil I acquired. The men (and) women
is-ti-ni-ni pa-(ru-bi)
belonging to them I carried off.

(41). Ar-gis-ti-s a-da-e kha-su-bi E-ti-hu-ni-(ni)
Argistis says: I subjugated (?) the Etiuians.

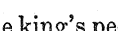
(42). Ar-di-ni-e-i as-ti-hu zi-ir-bi-la-(ni)
Of the city of Ardinis the magazines the . . . . . .

(43). i-ku-ka-ni-mu si-su-kha-ni a-śi[2]- ( )hu-e-
its goods, the harness (and) the cavalry-
da du-(bi)
quarters I destroyed.

[1] So Layard.

[2] So Layard.

(44). khu-ti-a-di Khal-di-e-di -di
Among the king's people (?), Khaldis, the lord,

 -di -di
the Air-god (and) the Sun-god,

(45). as-te Bi-a-i-na-as-te a-lu-śi-ni-(ni)
the gods of Van; of (the gods) of the inhabitants

(46). al-śu-i-si-ni[1] a-da-a-ba-di kha-si-al-me
multitudinous among the assembly (?) may make dwell

in triumph (?) the gods.

(47). us-ta-di E-ti-hu-ni-i-e-di kha-a-(hu-bi)
On approaching the land of the Etiuians I conquered

(48). E-ri-a-khi -ni-e Ka[2]-tar[3]-
belonging to the son of Erias the land, of Katar-
za-a-e -(ni-e)
zas the land.

(49). ku[4]-dha-i-a-di pa-a-ri-e Is-ḳi-gu-lu-(hu-e)
On departing out of the land of Isḳigulus

(50). ha-se lu-(tu) si-hu-bi Bi-i-a-i-
the men (and) women I removed to the land of
na-a-(i-di)
Biainas.

(51). Ar-gis-ti-(s a-)da-e Khal-di-(ni hu-lu-us-
Argistis says: to the Khaldises I approached
ta-i-bi)
with offerings.

(52). us-ta-a-di () Hu-i-dha-ru[5]-(khi-)e-(ni-e)
On approaching of the son of Vidharus

[1] Layard has *i*.
[2] Comp. xxxi. 11.
[3] So Layard.
[4] Schulz has *ma*.
[5] So Layard.

(53). (e-ba-ni-e-di) -ni-a tu-bi
the land, the people I carried away, the cities
(-bi)
I burned.

(54). ..... (kha-)hu-bi A-me-gu (?) .....
..... I conquered the city of Amegu (?) ....

(55). ..... () Hu-i-dha-ru-(khi) .....
..... belonging to the son of Vidharus .....

(56). a-(gu-hu-)nu-ni ..... na .....
the plunder .....

(57). (te-)ru-(hu-)bi .....
a tablet I set up .....

(58). pi-(e-)ni ..... hu [2] .... ri [2] .....
the name .....

(59). nu [3]-śi ..... me-e-i .....
the royal ..... of him .....

(60). bi-du [4]-ni (?) ..... da-a .....
the priests .....

(61). .....

(62). ..... pi(?)-e-ni .....

(63). .....

(64). ..... e .....

(65). (a-da-ki za-as-gu-bi a-)da-ki se-khi-ri (a-gu-bi)
partly I slew, partly alive I took.

(66). IMCC ... ( ) XXM [5]IXMDIV
over 1200 horses, 29,504
(pa-khi-ni)
oxen,

[1] So Layard. [2] So Layard. [3] Layard has .
[4] So Layard. [5] So Layard.

(67). VI a-ti-(bi . . . . .) su-se pa-(ru-bi)
(and) over 6 thousand sheep I carried off.

(68). Ar-gis-(ti-s a-da-)e Khal-di-a is-(ti-ni-e)
Argistis says: For the people of Khaldis these

(69). i-na-ni-da (ar)-ni-hu-si-(ni-)da za-(du-bi)
the city (and) citadel in one year I built.

(70). Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-(śi-)ni-e gis-(su-ri-e)
To the Khaldises I prayed, to the powers mighty,

(71). ka-ru-ni Tar-i-)hu-ni Ba-a-(ba-ni-e)
who have given the land of Tarius, the land of Babas

(72). ka-ru-ni (la-ḳu-)a-da Ar-gis-(ti-ka-i)
who have given as a present to the race of Argistis;

(73). Khal-di-i (ku-ru-ni) Khal-di-ni-ni
to Khaldis the giver, to the children of Khaldis
al-śu-(i-si-ni)
the multitudinous.

(74). Ar-gis-ti-(s) a-(da-)e us-ta-di Tar-i-(u-i-di)
Argistis says: On approaching the land of Tarius

(75). XI -ri-a a-gu-nu-ni gu-nu-sa-(a
the inhabitants of 11 palaces (and) the plunder for a spoil
kha-hu-bi)
I acquired.

(76). Khal-di e-ḳi(?)[1]-ma(?)-ni is-ti-ni-i a-ru-(hu-bi)
to Khaldis (offerings?) these I brought.

(77). Ar-gi-is-(ti-s) (Me-nu-)hu-a-khi-ni-e-s a[2]-(da-e)
Argistis the son of Menuas says:

(78). Khal[3]-(di a-gu-)nu-ni e[4]-ha khu-dhu
For Khaldis a sixtieth of the spoil, this portion of
tu-khi e-ha[5] (gu-nu-se -e a-gu-bi)
the captives (and) this plunder, doubly I took.

[1] So Layard. [2] So Layard. [3] So Layard.
[4] So Layard. [5] So Layard.

(79). [1]-da[2] -e - -bi khar-
Buildings many (and) the palaces I burned; I
(kha-ar-su-hu-bi)
dug up

(80). [3] . . . . . ni ha-se lu-tu is-ti-ni-ni
the city of . . . . . The men (and) women belonging to them
(si-i-hu-bi)
I removed.

(81). . . . . (?) Tar-khi (?) . . da-e
. . . . . of the city Tarkhi . . das (?)
i-ku-ka-ni (pa-ru-bi)
the goods I carried off.

2. *Badi-nini* may stand for *baddi-nini*, from *baddis* 'all.' This is confirmed by its association with *śui*. The root *badu* 'old' gives no sense.

4. For *abidadubi*, see xlv. 9.

12. On *khudhu*, the acc. pl., see note on the name of the god Khudhuinis, v. 5. Except in this passage *khudhu* is always joined with *tukhi* (acc. pl. of *tukhinis*, agreeing with *khudhu*) 'what belongs to the captives.' The word must therefore denote some kind of property belonging to captives taken in war, and the present passage seems to show that the property was in land. *Khudhus* would accordingly be 'a portion' or 'lot of land,' Greek κλῆρος.

13. For *śiri*, see xxi. 2. Here the word cannot mean 'tombs,' but rather 'corn-pits,' as in Kappadokian and modern Georgian.

16. *Eha* is indeclinable, see v. 25. As *gunuse* is the acc. pl. of *gunusas*, it is plain that nouns in *-a* might form their plural accusatives in *-e*.

18. The meaning of *kulmeye* (acc. pl. of *kulmeis*) is pretty well determined by the context, but the word does not occur elsewhere.

[1] Layard has *ni*. Perhaps we ought to read . [2] So Layard.
[3] Schulz and Layard have .

Suras was part of the kingdom of Van, as we learn from xlviii. 6, li. iii. 9. Possibly it may be the mountainous land of Zihar, where Urśa took refuge when attacked by Sargon.

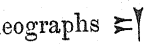
41. *Khasu-bi* belongs to the same root as the first part of the compound word *khasi-alme*. In *kharkhar-su-bi su* has a causative sense, and it is possible that *khasu* is to be decomposed into *kha*+*su* 'make to possess.' The general sense of the word is clear, however difficult it may be to fix its exact meaning.

42. *Astiu* is the acc. pl. of *astius*, i.e. *as-di-us*. As *ardis* is the 'bringer' from the root *ar*, so *as-ti*(*us*) would be 'he' or 'that of the house' from *as*(*is*), with the locative suffix used to denote agency, as in *Khaldis*. The word is written *aste-u-yu-ni* in xxx. 21, with the adjectival ending in *-nis*, from which it follows that *astiu* is contracted from *astiuyu*. Cp. *asta*, liv. 6, 10, 11.—*Zirbilani* is not found elsewhere.

49. Iskigulus is shown by xlvii. to have been the district in which Kalinsha is situated, a little to the east of Kars.

52. For the son of Vidharus, see xxx. 2.

71. For the land of Tarius, see xxx. 2.

75. From xiii. 1, it follows that the pronunciation of the two ideographs  here is *dhuluri*(*a*). As *asis* is 'a house' or 'temple,' and *asida* 'a palace,' *dhuluris* must be a special kind of house, either a palace or a temple. The word is an adjective like *giss-u-ris*, *e-u-ris*, etc.

XLIV. (Schulz VIII.) The conclusion of the preceding text.

This inscription is engraved to the right of the entrance to the chambers.

1. Ar-gi-is-ti-s
   Argistis

2. Me-nu-hu-a-khi-ni-e-s
   son of Menuas

3. a-da-e a-lu-hu-s
   says: Whoever

4. i-ni [1] tu-da-i-e
this tablet carries away,

5. a-lu-s pi-tu-da-i-e
whoever the name carries away,

6. a-lu-s a-i-ni-e-i
whoever with earth

7. i-ni-da du-da-i-e
here destroys,

8. ti[2]-hu-da-e hu-da-i tu-ri
undoes on that rock (?),

9. a-lu-s hu-da-e-s
whoever that

10. ti[3]-hu-da-e i-e-s za-du-bi
undoes which I have done,

11. a-lu-s gi-e-i i-nu-ka-ni
whoever the images (and) the suite of chambers

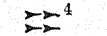
12. e-śi-ni-ni si-hu-da-i-e
belonging to the inscriptions removes,

13. a-hu-i-e-i ip-tu-da-i-e
with water floods;

14. tu-ri-ni-ni Khal-di-i-s
for those belonging to the rock (?) may Khaldis,

15. -s -s -s
the Air-god (and) the Sun-god, the gods,

16. ma-a-ni ar-mu-zi-i
him, with a curse (?)

17.  [4] -ni pi-e-i-ni
four times four, publicly the name

18. me-i ar-khi-hu-ru-da-a-ni
of him, the family

[1] Schulz has *la*. [2] Schulz has . [3] Schulz has .
[4] Layard has 'seed-seed.'

19. me[1]-i i-na-i-ni me-i na-ra-a
of him, the city of him to fire

20. a-hu-i-e hu-lu-da-e
(and) water give.

13. *Ip+tu* is literally 'inundation-bring,' the meaning of the whole compound being fixed by the context. In v. 4 the adjective is very appropriately an epithet of the Air-god.

16. *Armuzi* can scarcely signify anything else than 'with a curse,' the genitive being used in the same instrumental sense as in *auyei* or *aviei* above. For the termination compare *gala-zi*.

XLV.

The following inscription was found by Sir A. H. Layard on a stone under the altar of the Church of Surk Sahak. It is here published for the first time. The beginning and end are unfortunately wanting, as well as the first and last characters of most of the lines.

1. (ku-)dha-i-a-di (pa-)ri-e 𒀀 Bi-i-(a)[2]
On departing out of the land Bias

2. (𒀀 Khu-)[3]sa-ni (kha-hu-bi)[4] us-ta-di 𒀀 Di-di-ni-e
the land of Khusas I conquered. On approaching of Didis
𒀀 -ni-(di)
the land

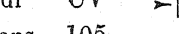
3. (𒁹𒀀𒀀) Zu-hu-a-(i-)di 𒁹𒀀𒀀 Zu-hu-a-ni
(and) the city of Zuas, the city of Zuas

4. (𒀀) Di-i-a-hu-khi-ni-e-i a-ma-as-tu-bi
of the son of Diaus I plundered.

5. te-ru-bi 𒁹𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒄑𒀀 𒁹𒀀𒀀 Zu-a-si-a-di 𒀀 -di
I set up a tablet in the country of the city of the Zuaians.

[1] So Layard.
[2] For the country of Bias see xxxvii. 8.
[3] See the same passage.
[4] Layard's copy marks no lacuna here, but the verb is required by both sense and grammar.

6. As-ḳa-la-a-si-e-di CV
Among the Asḳalaians 105 palaces

7. kha-ar-khar-su-bi CCCCLIII  a-ma-(as-tu-bi)
I dug up; 453 cities I plundered.

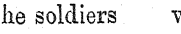
8. III e-ba-ni-e-da-e-di-ni śu-dhu-(ḳu-bi)
The people of the three countries I despoiled.

9. ta-ar-su-a na-ra-a-ni a-bi-da-du-(bi)
The soldiers with fire I burnt.

10. e-ba-ni-hu-ki-e-di Ḳa-da-i-(ni du-bi)
In part of the country the land of Ḳadais I destroyed,

11. As-ḳa-la-si-e Sa-a-si-i-lu-hu-i-(ni tu-bi)
the Asḳalaians, (and) the city of Sasilus. I carried away

12. (X)MVMCLXXXI -se IIMDCCXXXIV
15,181 children, 2,734
(ha-se)
men,

13. (X?)MDCIV -hu-e-di-a-ni IVMCCCCXXVI
10(?),604 women, 4,426

horses,

14. (X?)MCCCCLXXVIII pa-khi-ni
10(?),478 oxen,
VII a-ti-bi IIIMDCC . . su-se)
10,7(00) sheep.

15. (II) -hu-e-di-a du-bi Sa-as-ki . . .
The people of the two kings I destroyed, of Saski . . .

16. (Ar-da-ra-ki-khi Bal-tu-ul-khi Ḳa-bi . . . .
the son of Adarakis (and) the son of Baltul Ḳabi . . . .

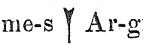
17. e-śi-a te-ru-bi
Governors (and) law-givers I set up. The king (and)
Di-a-(hu-e-khi)
the son of Diaves-belonging-to

18. (bu-)ra-as tu-bi ha-al-du-bi me-si-ni
the court I carried away. I changed his
(pi-i)
name.

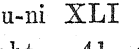
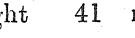
19. a-da me-s Ar-gi-is-ti-e Di-a-hu-(khi-ni-s)
And he to Argistis, even the son of Diaus,

20. (a-)ru-ni XLI ma-na tu-a-i-e XXXVII
brought 41 manehs of gold, 37
ma-na ( )
manehs of silver,

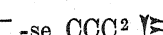
21. . . a-ti-bi ma-na IM
. . thousand manehs of bronze, 1000 war-
CCC (pa-khi-ni)
magazines, 300 oxen

22. . . a-ti-bi  su-se a-da me-e-s e[1]-śi a-(gu-ni)
(and) . . thousand sheep. And he (my) laws (took).

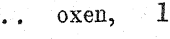
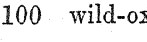
23. ( ) Di-a-hu-khi-ni-di te-ru-bi mu-mu-ni
In the land of the son of Diaus I set up impost
ar-di-(se-e)
(and) tribute:

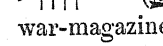
24. . . ma-na  tu-a-i-e XM ma-na
. . manehs of gold, 10,000 manehs
()
of bronze,

[1] Or *ya*.

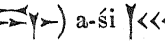
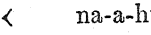
25. . . . [1] C -se CCC[2]  CCC
. . . oxen, 100 wild-oxen, 300 sheep (and) 300

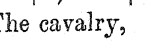
war-magazines.

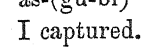
26. () a-śi  na-a-hu-hu-se ma-śi-ni-ya-ni
The cavalry, the horses (and) the officers
as-(gu-bi)
I captured.

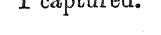
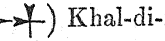
27. () Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-ni-e gis-su-ri-(i-e)
To the Khaldises I prayed, to the powers mighty,

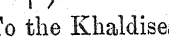
28. ka-ru-ni E-ti-hu-ni-ni la[3]-e-ḳu-(a-da)
who have given the land of the Etiuians as a present

29. () Ar-gi-is-ti-i-ka-i  Khal-di-i ku-(ru-ni)
to the family of Argistis; to Khaldis the giver,

30. () Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-i ku-ru-ni
to the Khaldises the mighty, the givers, to the
Khal-di-(ni-ni)
children of Khaldis

31. (us)-ma-a-si-ni us-ta-a-bi  Ar-gi-is-(ti-ni)
the gracious I prayed, belonging to Argistis

32. () Me-nu-hu-a-khi hu-lu-us-ta-i-bi
the son of Menuas; I approached with offerings
 Khal-(di-ni)
the Khaldises.

33. () Ar-gi-is-ti-s a-da-e a-da-e-da . . . .
Argistis says: the . . . . . .

34. ar-nu-i-a-da Di-a-hu-khi-ni-e si-si . . . . . .
(and) fortresses of the son of Diaus I (occupied).

[1] Layard has *se*. [2] Layard has . [3] Layard has *se*.

35. kha-hu-bi Lu-sa-e -ni-e [1] Ka-tar-za-e (ni-e)
I conquered of Lusas the country, of Katarzas the country,

36. ( ) E-ri-a-khi -ni-e Gu-lu-ta-a-khi-kha
belonging to the son of Erias the country, of Guluta-khikhas
(ni-e)
the country,

37. ( ) Hu-i-dha-e-ru-khi-i-ni-e-i e-ba-(ni-e)
of the son of Vidhaerus the country.

38. (ku)-dhu-bi pa-ri A-bu-ni-i-e Lu-sa-(e)
I departed out of the land of Abunis; the king of Lusas

39. (-hu-e-)di-a du-bi I-ga-a-e
(and) the people of the land I destroyed. Of the land of Igas
bu[2]-ra-as
the court

40. (? ra-ni-)tsi[3] du-bi e-śi me-s
(and) the chief of the people I destroyed. The laws he
Ar-gi-is-ti-e a-(gu-ni)
for Argistis took.

3. For the city of Zuas in the neighbourhood of Melazgherd see xxx. 11.

5. This tablet may be looked for in the neighbourhood of that of Menuas.

6. *Aṣkalasis* is an adjective in *-sis*, from which *Aṣkalasi-a* 'people of the Aṣkalians' is formed.

7. *Narani* seems here to be an adjective agreeing with *tarsua*, 'on fire.' A comparison with xxxviii. 45 shows that *abidadubi* is the phonetic equivalent of *-bi* 'I burned.'

11. For the city of Sasilus see xxx. 8.

13. We must remark the large number of horses captured in this region as compared with the numbers acquired in the eastern campaigns.

[1] So Layard, but xliii. 48 shows that we must read .
[2] Layard has *khi*, but see xlix. 17.
[3] See p. 568.

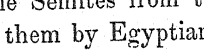
14. For the son of Paltul or Baltul see xxx. 25. *Atibi* must here have the sense of 'myriads.'

17. The collective *eśi-a* is, of course, 'men of the law.' See note on xix. 15.

18. For *buras* see line 39, and xlix. 17; also the locative *buranadi*, l. 6. The meaning of the word is pretty clear, but I cannot explain its form, which is that of an adverb like *amas*. But cf. *gieis*, v. 28. For the phrase *haldubi mesini pi* see xxx. 15.

20. It has already been noted that this passage gives us the Vannic term for 'gold.' *Mana* may be the ideographic representation of some native word. But since it had been borrowed by the Semites from the Accadians, and was again borrowed from them by Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, it is more probable that in Van also the Assyrian name was introduced along with the Assyrian weight it represented.

23. For *mumuni* see xli. 15. For *ardisis* from *ar* 'to bring,' like the Greek φόρος, see v. 2.

26. *Navusis* or *navus* is not elsewhere found, but since we find in xxx. 20,  *-hu-hu* in combination with *aśi* 'riders,' it is very possible that it was the Vannic word for 'horse.' In this case the final *se* will be a mistake for as in the preceding line, unless we render 'belonging to the horses.'

For *maśiniyani* 'the staff officers,' see xxx. 23.

34. Far *arnuya-da* see xxxi. 4. We may perhaps compare *sisi*.. with *sistini*, xlix. 22. But it may represent the ideograph 'destruction.'

38. For Abunis or Abus and Igas see xxxvii. 12 and 11. The adjective *Abunis* has here been turned into a substantive.

40. The meaning of the last sentence must be 'he submitted to the laws of Argistis.'

XLVI.

This inscription was also copied by Sir A. H. Layard in the same church of Surp Sahak, and is here published for the

first time. The stone on which it is engraved is built into the wall of the church. The text is greatly mutilated, the first line being entirely destroyed, as well as the concluding part of the inscription and the characters at the beginning and end of each line.

1. (Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi)
To the Khaldises I prayed,

2. (ma-śi-)ni-e gis-su-ri-(e)
to the powers mighty,

3. (ka-)ru-ni Hu-dhu-bur-si-(ni)
who have given of Udhubursis

4. (Di)-a[1]-hu-(e-khi) -ni-i-(e)
the son of Diaus the country,

5. (ka-)ru-ni . . .[2] nu-lu-a-(ni)
who have given . . . nuluas

6. (. .) a-zu-ni-(ni) la-ḳu-ni
of the land of . . azus as a present

7. ( ) Ar-gi-is-ti-ka-a-(i)
to the family of Argistis.

8. ( ) Khal-di-i ku-ru-hu-ni
To Khaldis the giver,

9. ( ) Khal-di-ni (gis-su-)ri[3] ku-ru-ni
to the Khaldises mighty the givers,

10. ( ) Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-si-ni
to the children of Khaldis the multitudinous

11. (us-)ta-(bi Ar-gi-)is-ti-ni
I prayed, belonging to Argistis,

12. (Me-nu-a-)khi Ar-gi-is-ti-s[4]
the son of Menuas. Argistis

[1] Layard has *e*. [2] Layard has (*ab* or *dha*). [3] Layard has *ba*.
[4] Layard has *khi*.

13. (a-)da-e Di-i-a-hu-khi
says: of the son of Diaus

14. si-su-kha-ni du-ur-ba-ni
the harness, the . . . . . ,

15. khu-ra-a-di-ni-da
the camp,

16. . . . di(?)[1]-e-da du-bi hu-da-e-(s)
the . . . . . I destroyed. That

17. ( ) Di-i-(a)-hu-khi-ni-e-(i) . . .
of the son of Diaus . . . . . .

18. . . . ri-bi e-ri-da-bi(?) . . .
. . . . . .

19. hu ku gu-nu-si-ni-e
. . . . . slaves

20. . . . i ga ra ab khu bi ni e
. . . . . .

21. . . . . si . . . . da(?) a ka i . .
. . . . . .

22. ( ) Ar-gi-is-ti-i-s
Argistis

23. (a-da-)e khu-ti-i-a-di
says: among the king's people (?),

24. Khal-di-e-di -di
Khaldis the lord,

25. ( )-di -ni-di
the Air-god (and) the Sun-god,

26. ( ) as-te Bi-a-na-as-te
the gods of Van;

[1] Layard has . It may be *hu*.

27. (a-lu-)śi[1]-ni-ni al-śu-si-ni
of (the gods) of the inhabitants the multitudinous

. . . . . .

4. See xxx. 12, 13.

18, 19, 20, 21. The characters in these lines are probably not to be depended on.

XLVII.

The following inscription was discovered by J. Kästner in Kalinsha (8 versts from Alexandropol, the Gümri of the Turks), and has been published in the *Mélanges asiatiques de l'Académie de S. Pétersbourg*, iv. p. 675. Alexandropol is on the eastern bank of the Arpa Chai, north-west of Erivan, and due east of Kars.

1. Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-u-si-i-ni
To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous

2. Ar-gi-is-ti-s a-da-e
Argistis says:

3. kha-hu-bi E-ri-a-khi -ni
I have conquered of the son of Erias the city;

4. kha-hu-bi Ir-da-ni-u-ni
I have conquered the city of Irdanius

5. pa-ri Is-ḳi-gu-lu-hu
out of the land of Isḳigulus.

1. This inscription shows that the invocation to "the children of Khaldis" in the inscription at Van goes along with the words "Argistis says."

5. The campaign against Isḳigulus is described in the great inscription of Van, xliii. 47–49. Kalinsha is accordingly in the land of Etius, and not far from the site of the city of Irdanius. From the form *Isḳigulu* we learn that the genitive-dative of nouns in *-us* terminated in *u* as well as in *ue*. Mordtmann notices that on the opposite bank of the Arpa-Chai is a small fortress called Adshuk Kaleh.

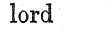
[1] Layard has *e*.

Inscriptions of Śariduris II.

Śari-duris II. continued the wars of his father Argistis, as well as the fortifications of Van, but the revival of Assyrian power under Tiglath-Pileser II. suddenly checked his progress, and brought upon the kingdom of Van a series of reverses, which ended in the siege of Dhuspas (Dhuruspas) by the Assyrians in B.C. 735 and the devastation of the surrounding country. The reverses undergone by the Vannic people are illustrated by the want of inscriptions for about 80 years.

XLVII. (Schulz XXXVIII. P. Nerses Sarkisian V.)

The inscription which follows is on a stone in the church of S. Peter (Surb Petros) at Van. It has been copied first by Schulz, then by Layard and lastly by Nerses Sarkisian. A squeeze of it has also been taken by Captain Clayton, but imperfectly. The characters are remarkably small, and the beginning of all the lines is lost, as well as the end of the text.

1. (Khal-di-i-e[1] e)-u-ri-i-e
   To Khaldis the lord
2. (i-ni pu-lu)-śi  -du-ri-s
   this stone written Śariduris
3. (Ar-gis-ti-)e-khi-ni-s ku-gu-ni
   son of Argistis has engraved,
4. (Khal-di-ni-ni) al-śu-i-si-ni
   to the children of Khaldis the multitudinous,
5. (-du-ri-ni) Ar-gis-ti-e-khi
   belonging to Śariduris the son of Argistis,
6. (al-śu-i-)ni Su-ra-hu-e
   the king of multitudes, king of the land of Suras
7. (Bi-a-na-)hu-e -hu-e
   king of Van, king of kings,

[1] For this restoration see xxix.A., etc.

8. (a-lu-hu-śi-e) Dhu-us-pa[1]-a-e
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

9. (-du-ri-s a-da)-e ti[2]-e-ru-hu-bi
Śariduris says: I have established

10. (ar-di-se -)ni a-tsu[3]-si-ni-e
the offerings daily (and) monthly

11. . . . . ya-si[4]-na-tsi[5]-e
. . . . . the chief (?) of the . . . . . .

12. . . . . i ur[6]-pu[7]-da-i-ni
. . . . . the shrine

13. . . . . Bi-a-)i-na-hu-e -i-e
. . . . belonging to Van of the god.

14. (-du-ri)-i-s a-da-e a-lu-s
Śariduris says: whoever

15. . . . . ni śu-hu-i du-da-e
the . . . . . all (?) destroys,

16. (pi-tu-da-)e a-lu-s i-ni [8]
(or) removes the name; whoever this tablet

17. (tu-da-e) a-lu[9]-s a-i-ni-e-i
removes; whoever with earth

18. (i-ni-da du-da-)e ti-hu-da-i-e
here destroys, undoes

19. (hu-da-i tu-ri) a-lu-s hu-da-e-s
on this stone (?), whoever that

20. (ti-hu-da-e i-e-s)[10] za-du-bi tu-ri-ni-ni
undoes which I have made; for what belongs to the stone (?)

[1] So squeeze and Layard; Schulz has *e*.
[2] Schulz has *la*, Layard *se*, the squeeze *ti*.
[3] So Layard.
[4] So Layard.
[5] So squeeze and Layard; Schulz has *lu*.
[6] So Layard.
[7] So Schulz; Layard has *khi*.
[8] Schulz has *la*.
[9] Schulz has *tsi*.
[10] For the restorations of the text see No. xliv.

21. (Khal-di-s -s -s -se
may Khaldis, the Air-god (and) the Sun-god, the gods,

ma-ni
him

22. (ar-mu-zi [1]-ni pi-e-i-ni
with a curse four times four, publicly, the name

23. (me-i ar-khi-hu-ru-da-)a-ni me-i i-na-i-ni
of him, the family of him, the city

24. (me-i na-ra-a a)-hu-i-e hu-lu-da-e
of him to fire (and) water consign.

25. (-du-ri-s) Ar-gis-ti-e-khi-ni-s
Śariduris the son of Argistis

26. (a-da-e Khal)-di[2]-is CXX tu-khi a-ru-ni
says: Khaldis 120 prisoners has brought:

27. (na-kha-di dha-ni[3]-)e-śi-i XX tu-khi-ni
on enslaving (them), of the ..... 20 prisoners

28. (i-ku-ka-a-ni-mu a-gu-)nu-hu-ni khu-dhu tu-khi
(and) their goods, the spoil (and) portions of the captives,

29. (e-ha pa-khi-ni) e-ha su-hu-se-e
viz. these oxen, these sheep,

30. ..... a-si-ni i-ku-ka-ni-mu
belonging to ..... their property,

31. (a-gu-bi .....) nu(?) i-ni a-śi
I took ..... the horsemen.

6. For the land of Suras see xliii. 18.

7. In li. iii. 10, instead of , we have *khu-la-hu-e* or *khu-te-hu-e*, from which it follows that *khulais* or *khutis* signifies 'a prince' or 'regulus.'

[1] So Layard.
[2] So Layard; Schulz has *e*.
[3] Restored from li. iii. 4.

10. See v. 2. *Atsusinie* is the accusative plural of an adjective *atsu-sis*, from *atsu-s*, agreeing with *ardise*.

27. *Nakha-di* (li. iii. 4) is the noun corresponding to *nakhubi* (as *kudha-di* to *kudhu-bi*), which is elsewhere used only of the capture of boys, women, slaves, and cattle (see xxxi. 12; xlix. 9, 23, 26; l. 24). It is replaced by *parubi* in xlix. 19. *Dhanieśi* is an adjective in *śis*, and the determinative shows that some class of persons is intended. But no further specification is possible.

XLIX. (Schulz XII. Sarkisian VI.)

This inscription, which has been copied by Schulz, Layard, Sarkisian, and Robert, is engraved on the face of the rock near the gate of Tabriz, on the way from Van to the lake. It is on the same pyramidal piece of rock (near the Khazané-Kapussi) as the three inscriptions of Menuas (No. xx.), above which it stands. The portion of the rock of Van on which it is found is of lower height than the citadel fortified by Argistis, and is separated from the latter by a depression. Following in his father's footsteps, Śarduris II., as we learn from this inscription, continued the fortifications of his capital, inclosing this portion of the rock also within its walls.

1. Khaldini us-ta-bi ma[1]-śi-ni-e gis-su[2]-ri-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, to the powers mighty,
ka-ru-ni Ma-na[3]-ni
who have given of the Minni

2. -ni-e la-ḳu-ni -du-ri-ka-i
the lands as a present to the family of Śariduris
Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e[4] Khal-di ku-ru-ni
the son of Argistis; to Khaldis the giver,

[1] Schulz has *gis*, Layard *na*. [2] So Layard, Schulz has *e*.
[3] So Layard and Robert; Schulz has *ma*. [4] Schulz has *śi*.

3. Khal-di-ni-ni (gis-)su-ri-e[1] ku[2]-ru-ni
to the children of Khaldis, the mighty, the givers

us-ta-bi -du-ri-i-ni
I prayed, belonging to Śariduris

4. Ar-gis-ti-khi -du-ri-(s) a-da-e
the son of Argistis. Śariduris says:

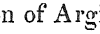
us-ta-a-di Ba-bi-lu-ni-e
On approaching of the Babiluians

5. e-ba-ni-e-di kha-(hu-bi) Ba-bi-lu-hu e-ba-a-ni
the land, I conquered of Babilus the land,

ku-dha-a-di pa-ri
on departing out of

6. Ba-ru-a-ta-i-ni-a (Khal-)di-ni-ni
the land of Baruatainias. To the children of Khaldis

al-śu-i-si-ni -du-ri-s
the multitudinous Śariduris

7. a-da-e kha-hu-bi III 
says: I have conquered 3 palaces.

a-gu-nu-ni-da ma-nu-da gu-nu-sa-a
The place of plunder, each site, for a spoil

kha-hu-bi
I conquered:

8. XXIII LX tu-me-ni as-gu-hu-bi
23 cities (and) 60 villages I took.

 khar-khar-su-bi
The palaces I dug up. The cities

-bi -ni-a tu-bi
I burned. The people of the country I carried away.

[1] So Layard and Robert. [2] Schulz has *la*.

9. ha-se lu-tu is-ti-ni-ni
The men (and) women belonging to them

pa-ru-bi VIIIMCXXXV -se
I carried off; 8,135 children

na-khu-bi
I enslaved

10. XXMVM -hu-e-di-a-ni VIM
(and) 25,000 womanfolk (and) 6000

gu-nu-si-ni-i[1] IIMD
slaves: 2,500 horses

pa-ru-bi[2]
I carried off

11. XMIIMCCC pa-khi-ni XXXM(II)MC
(and) 12,300 oxen (and) 32,100

 su-se i-na[3]-ni [4]-e nu-na[5]-a-bi
sheep. Of the city the kings I attacked.

me-i-a-da
On its site

12. a-śi -se pa-ar-tu-se e ri pa[6] ar gis[7] . . . i hu
the cavalry captive . . . . . .

 e-ba-ni as-hu[8]-la-a-bi
the country I . . . . . .

13. i-ku-ka-ni-mu ta-li[9]-ni us-ta-di
its goods . . . . . On approaching

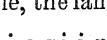
[10] E-ti-hu-ni-e-di Da-ḳi-hu-e-
the country of the Etiuians, of the land of Daḳis

[1] So all the copies. But analogy seems to require *mu* 'their.'
[2] So Layard; Schulz omits.
[3] So Layard and Robert; Schulz has *ma*.
[4] So Layard; Schulz has *nu*. Perhaps we should read *nu*.
[5] So Layard; Schulz has *ma*.
[6] So Layard; Schulz and Robert omit.
[7] So Schulz; Layard has *tu* (?).
[8] So all the copies, but we should probably read *ga*.
[9] So Layard. [10] Schulz has *se*.

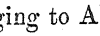
14. e-di-a E-di-a[1]-ni nu-śi
the people, the land of Edias, the royal city

A-bi-a-ni-i-ni a-gu-nu-ni ma-nu
belonging to Abianis, the plunder each

gu-nu-sa-a kha-hu-bi
for a spoil I acquired.

15. Ir[2]-hu-i-a-ni  nu-śi Ir[3]-ku-a-i-ni-i
The city of Irhuyas, the royal city belonging to Irkuais

a-gu-nu-ni ma-a-nu
(and) the plunder individually

16. gu-nu-sa-a kha-hu-bi ( ) Ir[4]-ma[5]-a-ni 
for a spoil I acquired. The city of Irmas the royal

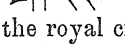
(nu-)śi Hu-e-ni[6]-da-i-ni a-gu-nu-hu-ni
city of Venidais (and) the plunder

17. ma-nu gu-nu-sa-a kha-hu-bi -ni
individually for a spoil I acquired. The king of the

Bu-i-ni-al-khi bu-ra-as tu-bi
inhabitants of Buis (and) court I carried away.

me-si-ni pi-i
His name

18. ha-al-du-bi me-e-s -du-ri-e a-ri-e-dha
I changed. He of Śariduris became.

i-na-ni-da IV 
The site of the city, 4 palaces,

19. e-ba-(a-)ni-a-tsi-e kha[7]-hu-bi ha-se
the chief inhabitants I conquered. The men (and)

lu-tu is-ti-ni-ni pa-ru-bi
women belonging to them I carried off.

[1] Layard has *e*. [2] So Schulz and Layard; Robert and Sarkisian have *ni*.
[3] So Schulz and Layard; Robert has *e-ni*, Sarkisian *ni*. [4] So Schulz and Layard; Robert and Sarkisian have *ni*. [5] Layard has *du*.
[6] So Robert and Sarkisian; Schulz and Layard have *ir*.
[7] So Layard; Schulz has *za*.

20. IIIMD -se XMD -hu-e-di-a-ni
3,500 children, 10,500 womenfolk,

IVM gu-nu-si-ni-i
4000 slaves

21. pa-ru-hu-bi VIIIMDXXV pa-khi-ni pa-ru-bi
I carried off; 8,525 oxen I carried off

XMVIIIM su-se pa-ru-bi
(and) 18,000 sheep. I carried off

22. i-(ku-)ka-a-ni-mu[1] si-is-ti-ni[2] us-ta-di
its goods (and) furniture (?). On approaching

Ur-me-hu-e-e-di-a XI
the people of Urmes 11 palaces

kha-hu-bi
I conquered,

23. khar-khar-su-bi ha-se lu-tu is-ti-ni-ni
I dug up. The men (and) women belonging to them

pa-ru-hu-bi IMC -se na-khu-bi
I carried off; 1100 children I enslaved,

24. VIMDC lu-tu IIM gu-nu-si-ni-i
6,600 women, 2000 slaves,

IIMDXXXVIII pa-khi-ni
2,538 oxen

25. VIIIM su-se -du-ri-s
(and) 8000 sheep. Śariduris

Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-da-e a-da tu-khi
the son of Argistis says: the sum of the captives

[1] So Layard. [2] So Layard.

26. III e-ba-na[1] a-du-bi [2]
belonging to 3 countries in one year I summed up. In all,

XMIIMDCCXXXV -se na-khu-bi
12,735 children I enslaved,

XLMVIMDC lu-tu pa-ru-bi
46,600 women I carried off.

27. XMIIM gu-nu-si-ni-mu[3] pa-ru-hu-bi
12,000 of their slaves I carried off;

IIMD pa-ru-bi
2,500 horses I carried off.

28. XX[4]MIIIMCCCXXXV pa[5]-khi-ni
23,335 oxen (and)

LMVIIIMC su-se pa-ru-bi
58,100 sheep I carried off.

Khal-di-i-a is-ti-ni-e
For the people of Khaldis these

29. i-na-ni-da ar-ni-hu-si-ni-da
the city (and) citadel in one year

-du-ri-s Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s
Śariduris the son of Argistis

za-du-ni
has built.

4. It is clear that Babilus cannot be Babylonia, as Dr. Hincks supposed. From line 1 it would appear that the campaign began in the north-western part of the land of the Minni, and extended from thence in a north-westerly direction as far as Etius. Babilus must therefore have been in the neighbourhood of the modern Khoi, and is probably to be identified with the Babyrsa of Strabo, near Artaxata, where the treasures of Tigranes were kept.

[1] So Layard.
[2] So Layard.
[3] So Layard; Schulz has *i*.
[4] Schulz and Robert have XXXM.
[5] Schulz has *e*.

8. The meaning of *tume-ni* is settled by the context and parallel passages in the Assyrian inscriptions.

11. I have taken *meiada* as representing *me-ya-da* 'place of the people of it,' like *arnu-ya-da*. But it may be two words, *mei* 'of it' and *ada* either 'number' or 'and.'

12. If we read *aśise* the word must be an adjective in *sis*, and mean literally 'those belonging to the riders.' But *se* may be due to miscopying, or may form the first syllable of the following word. *Partuse*, an adjective in *-us-*, being a compound of *par* and *tu*, must signify 'captive.' *Ashulabi* cannot be right. Reading *asgalabi*, we might explain the word as a compound of *as* (as in *asgubi*) and *gala*, which we have in *gala-zi*. The word must have something to do with the idea of plundering.

13. *Talini* does not occur elsewhere.—It is only in the case of suffixes like *edia*, which were felt to be separable, that a word is carried from one line into another. See xxx. 21, 22.

14. It seems pretty certain that we ought to read instead of before *Ediani*. *Manu*, being a pronoun, does not take the affix *-ni*, which is accordingly appended to the preceding substantive.

15. Since Schulz and Layard are certainly wrong in reading *ni* in *Venidaini*, it would seem probable that we ought to read *ni* instead of *ir* with the two other copyists in *Irhuyani*, *Irkuaini*, and *Irmaini*. At the same time Robert's copy is an exceedingly bad one, while Sarkisian's is inferior to that of Layard.

18. I.e. he became the subject of Śariduris. The context leaves no doubt as to the meaning of *ariedha*. *Dha* here takes the place of *da*, like *śudhuḳubi* by the side of *śuduḳubi*.

22. *Sisti-ni* here takes the place of *sisu-kha-ni* (xliii. 43), and must mean something similar. Since *ti* stands for *di* after *s*, the root is *sis*, which may be identical with the first part of *sisu-kha-ni*.

If Robert's reading is right in xxxvii. 25, the country of Urmes would be named there also. See xli. 5.

26. *Ebani* here shows that the suffix *-na(s)* differs from

-ni(s) in denoting not only 'belonging to,' but specifically 'people belonging to.' *Adu-bi* is plainly the verbal form answering to the indeclinable *ada*, and must mean 'I summed up' or 'counted.' The number 12,735 children is correct (8135 line 9, 3500 line 20, and 1100 line 23). Instead of 46,600 women, we ought to have 42,100 (25,000 line 10, 10,500 line 20, 6600 line 24). It is difficult to say where the mistake lies.

27. The number 12,000 slaves is correct (6000 line 10, 4000 line 20, and 2000 line 24). The only horses carried away were the 2500 from Babilus (line 10). Instead of 23,335 oxen we ought to have 23,363 (12,300 line 11, 8525 line 21, and 2538 line 24). The copyists have probably mistaken the numbers in the summations. The 58,100 sheep are composed of 32,100 line 11, 18,000 line 21, and 8000 line 25. The summation shows that the missing figures in line 11 must be IIM.

L.

This inscription was discovered and copied by Captain von Mühlbach on a rock between Isoglú and Kúmurhan, eastward of Malatiyeh, and on the east side of the Euphrates. It was published in the "Monatsberichte über die Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin," i. 1840, pp. 70–75; and again (by Grotefend) in the "Original Papers read before the Syro-Egyptian Society of London," i. 1, 1845, pp. 125 *sq.* A revised copy of the inscription is much to be desired.

1. Khal-di-i-ni us-ta-bi, ma-śi-ni gis-su-ri-e[1]
To the Khaldises I prayed, to the powers mighty,
ka-ru-ni
who have given

2. Khi-la-ru-a-da-ni Sa-khu-khi
Khila-ruadas the son of Sakhus the king (and)
Me-li[2]-dha-al-khi-e
of the inhabitants of Malatiyeh

[1] Omitted by Grotefend. [2] The copy has *da*.

3. -ni[1]-e la-e-ḳu-ni -du-ri-ka-i
the country as a present to the family of Śariduris
 Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni
the son of Argistis.

4. Khal-di-i ku-ru-ni Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-i
To Khaldis the giver, to the Khaldises the mighty,
ku-ru-ni
the givers,

5. us-ta-bi -du-ri-ni Ar-gis-ti-e-khi
I prayed, belonging to Śariduris the son of Argistis.

6. -du-ri-s a-da-a al-khi
Śariduris says: the inhabitants
bu[2]-ra-na-di tu i[3] is khi ma-nu[4]
in the district of the court I carried away (?) . . . each

7. hu-i a-i-ni-e-i is-ti-ni [5] Ka-hu-ri khu-ti-a-di
and of the land king this the Kauian. Among the
king's people (?)

8. Khal-di-e-di-e -di -di
Khaldis the lord, the Air-god
-ni-di -as-te[6]
(and) the Sun-god, the gods

9. Bi-a-i-na-as-te a-lu-śi-ni-ni
of Van: of (the gods) of the inhabitants,
al-śu-i-si-ni
the multitudinous,

10. a[7]-da-a-ba-di kha-si-al-me-e
among the assembly (?) may make dwell in triumph (?)
IV tu-me-ni-e
the gods, (and) 4 villages

[1] So Grotefend.
[2] Omitted by Grotefend.
[3] Perhaps we should read *bi*.
[4] Grotefend has *si*.
[5] Omitted by Grotefend.
[6] The copy has *la*.
[7] Grotefend has *za*.

11. ka-a-di a-śi -tsi[1]
in battle (?), the chief of the cavalry
Dhu-me-is-ki-ni-ka-i
of the clan of the city of Dhumeskis

12. i-ku-ka-ni tu-me-ni-e us-ta-di
(and) the goods belonging to the villages. On approaching
-ni-di an-da-ni
the country the boys (?)

13. ka-la-ha-ni ha-al-du-bi ku-dhu-bi pa-ri
. . . . . I removed. I departed out of
Kar-ni-si-e (. . .)
the land of Kar-nisi,—[2]

14. Ba-ba-ni ma-at-khi Me-li[3]-dha-a-ni
the land of Babas (and) the maidens of Malatiyeh.
ku-dhu-bi pa-ri
I departed out of

15. Mu-sa-ni-e Za-ap-sa
the land of Musanis, (and) of the city of Zapsas
a-śu-ni XIV C
the neighbourhood: 14 palaces, 100 cities,

16. su-śi-ni tu-me-ni as-gu-bi
walled fortresses, (and) villages I took. The palaces
khar-kha-ar-su-bi
I dug up;

17. -bi L gis-su-ri gu-nu-si-ni sa-tu-
the cities I burned; 50 mighty men as slaves I took
hu-bi
as hostages.

[1] Grotefend has *lu*.
[2] A line seems to have been omitted.
[3] The copy has *da*.
[4] The copyist has probably omitted here.

18. gu-nu-si-ni-ni bi-di-a-di-ba-ad lu-hu-bi
Belonging to the slaves the ..... I ....

19. Ni-śi-i-ni nu-śi Khi-la-ru-a-da-a-i
The city of Niśis the royal city of Khila-ruadas

20. a-gu-nu-ni ma-nu gu-nu-sa-a kha-hu-bi ni-ri-bi
(and) the plunder severally for a spoil I acquired. The persons
ha-se lu-tu
of the men (and) women

21. is-ti-ni si-i-hu-bi -du-ri-s a-da
belonging to it I removed. Śariduris says:
is-ti-di
In this

22. ul-khu-di Me-li[1]-dha-a-ni ḳa-ab-ḳa-ru-li-ni
campaign the city of Malatiyeh after being approached
nu-na-a-bi
I attacked

23. Khi-la-ru-a-da-ni ka-hu-ki-e śu-lu-us-ti-i-bi
(and) Khila-ruadas with arms (?). I imposed

24. sa-tu-a-da ku-ri-e-da śi-lu[2]-a-di na[3]-ku-ri
hostages (and) tribute. On the receipt (?) of the gifts (?)
na-khu-bi
I carried away

25. bi-bu-di-id gu-si-i Bi-a-na-
gold, silver, (and) vessels (?) of bronze (?). To the
i-di a-gu-bi
land of Van I took

26. ma-a-ni ha-al-tu-bi me-e-si-ni pi-e-i IX
him. I changed his name. The people of
-e-di
9 palaces

[1] The copy has *da*. [2] Grotefend has *ku*.
[3] The copy has *ma*; but see xxx. 15.

27. śu-du-ḳu-bi a-bi-da-du-bi e-ba-na-ki-di
I despoiled; I burnt in part of the country

28. Kha-a-za-a-ni Hu-hu-ra-a[1]-khi
the city of Khazas, of the citizens of Vuras the
Dhu-me-is-ki
city of Dhumeskis,

29. Ha-a-rat[2]-ni Ma-ni-nu-hu-i A-ru-si
the city of Harat, of the city Maninus (and) the city
Arusis,

30. Ḳu-ul-bi[3]-tar-ri-ni Um-e-se-e
the city of Ḳulbitarris, the city of the Umeans (*or*
of inscriptions),

31. Ti[4]-ku-ul[5]-ra[6]-i-ta-a-se-e Me-e-lu-i-a-ni
the city of the Tikulraitaians, (and) the city of Meluyas.

32. Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni
To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous,
-du-ri-ni
belonging to Śariduris

33. Ar-gis-ti-khi   al-
the son of Argistis, the powerful king, the king of
śu-i-ni Bi-a-i-na-hu-e
multitudes, the king of Van,

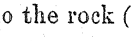
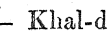
34. a-lu-śi Dhu-us-pa-a -
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas, Śariduris
du-ri-s a-da-e
says:

[1] Omitted by Grotefend.
[2] Probably an error for *ni*. The character *rat* elsewhere occurs only in Schulz's copy of v. 14-52, where Layard more correctly has *ar*; and I have, therefore, not ventured to include it in the Vannic syllabary.
[3] Omitted by Grotefend.
[4] The copy has *an*, but we do not find this character used elsewhere phonetically in Vannic.
[5] The copy has .
[6] The copy has *im*.

35. a-lu-s i-ni tu-u-da-e a-lu-s
whoever this tablet takes away, whoever
pi-tu-da-i-e
removes the name,

36. a-lu-s se-ri du-da-e a-lu-s a-i-ni
whoever the characters destroys, whoever with earth
i-ni-da du-da
here destroys,

37. ti[1]-hu-li[2]-e hu-da[3]-i tu[4]-ri-e
after undoing (them) on this rock (?);
tu-ri-ni-ni
for what belongs to the rock (?)

38. Khal-di-s  -s[5] -s[6]
may Khaldis, the Air-god (and) the Sun-god,
 -s ma-a-ni
the gods, him

39. ar-di (?)-ni (?)-ni pi-e-ni me-i, ar-khi-hu-ru-da-a-ni
publicly the name of him, the family

40. me-i i-na-ni me-i na-ra a-hu-i-e hu-lu-da-e
of him, the city of him to fire (and) water consign.

2. For Khila-ruadas and Melidhas (Malatiyeh) see p. 403.

6. *Buranadi* is connected with *buras* as *Menuakhi-na-di* (xxix. 3) with *Menuakhinis*. It is formed from the stem by the aid of the collective-adjectival suffix *na* and the locative suffix *di*.

7. *Kahuri* is the accusative of an adjective like *giss-u-ris*, *e-u-ris*, etc. The word must therefore mean 'the Kauian.' Now on the Black Obelisk (133) Shalmaneser names the tribe which is called Kue elsewhere in the Assyrian inscriptions Kauians. They were associated with the people of Malatiyeh, the Hittites of Carchemish, and the neighbouring populations.

[1] The copy has *an*. [2] The copy has *se-ri*.
[3] The copy has *la-me*. For the restoration of the text, see xliv. 8.
[4] Omitted by Grotefend. [5] The copy has . [6] The copy has .

11. *Ka-di* is the locative of *kas*, the stem of which is found in *ka-ukie* of line 23, which see. Here it can hardly mean anything else than 'battle.' Cf. xxx. 13. For the simple Dumeskis see line 28.

13. *Kalaha-ni* may possibly signify 'young.'

Kar-nisi 'the fortress of men' is an Assyrian name. Several of the cities in this part of the world, after their capture by the Assyrians, had received Assyrian titles. Thus Pitru or Pethor, at the junction of the Sajur and Euphrates, was called "the fortress of Shalmaneser."—A line must have been omitted here by the copyist, since (1) *pari* is followed by a dative, not an acc. like *Babani*, and (2) there is no sense in the passage as it stands. Capt. von Mühlbach may however have omitted the word *tu-bi* (or *ha-al-du-bi*) in the next line. We might then render: 'I carried away (*or* removed) the maidens of the city of Malatiyeh, belonging to the city of Babas.'

18. *Bidi-adibad* must be some kind of property belonging to the hostages, and the ideograph after it shows that the final *d* marks the plural as in *armanidad*. The first part of the compound claims affinity with *bidus* 'priest,' 'minister,' the second part with *adayabadi* (see xxxvii. 4). Perhaps the word signifies 'duties' or 'offices,' *lubi* being 'I fixed.' At all events *lubi* must have some such meaning as 'establishing,' since it occurs in *ḳabḳaru-lubi* 'I approached' (? 'approach-made').

20. *Niribi* is in apposition with *hase lutu*. The phrase seems to mean that the inhabitants were carried away and put to death. Śarduris can hardly have robbed the graves.

22. The meaning of *ulkhu-di* is clear from the context, but the word is only found here. *Ḳabḳaru-li-ni* is an interesting form, the accusatival *-ni*, which unites it with the preceding word, being attached to the suffix *-li*. See note on v. 31.

23. See *ka-di* line 11. *Ka-ukie* is formed like *ebani-uki* (xxxix. 25). Considering *ka-di* (line 11), 'with fighting' would perhaps be the nearest English equivalent of the word. *Bibudid* must be a plural like *bidi-adibad* above. The analogy

of xlv. 21, 24, as well as of the Assyrian inscriptions, would lead us to expect a mention of bronze after 'gold' and 'silver,' and *gusi* is a genitive case governed by *bibubid*. Tiglath-Pileser I. received vessels of bronze and iron as tribute from Komagênê, and Assir-natsir-pal received from this district gold, silver, lead, and bronze.

26. We must notice the form *hal-tu-bi;* see p. 427.

28. Dhumeskis may be the Tuskha (in Nirbu) of the Assyrian texts. -*e-se-e* and *Ti-ku-ul-ra-i-ta-se-e* are accusatives plural of adjectives in *si-* like *Aṣkala-sie-di and Aṣkala-si-e* xlv. 6, 11, or *Zua-si-a-di* xlv. 5. From line 11 it would appear that Dhumeskis was one of the principal cities of the country.

39. It is most unfortunate that this word is so badly copied, as it gives us the reading of the name of the Sun-god. The copy has . The last character but one seems certainly to be *ni*, which explains the *ni* which sometimes appears as the phonetic complement of , and the second character seems most naturally to be meant for *di*. Mordtmann reads it *ka*. *Ardinis* would be 'belonging to the offerer,' a curious name for the Sun.

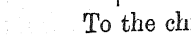
LI. (Schulz XL. and XLI.)

The following inscription is engraved on the Karatash rocks on the northern side of the Lake of Van, about five miles north-east of Ardish or Arjish. The rocks are also called Ilan-tash or 'serpent-rock,' and the inscription consists of three tablets eight feet above the level of the ground, and at a little distance from each other. The second tablet or column has been so much injured that no characters are any longer decipherable upon it. This is the more regrettable, since, as will be seen, it would have given us the Vannic words for ideas like 'protecting' or 'glorifying.' The first tablet or column has been copied by Schulz only, the third by Schulz and Dr. Humphry Sandwith.

Col. I.

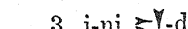
1. Khal-di-i-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni
To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous

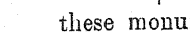
2. Śariduris Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s
the son of Argistis

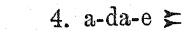
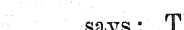
3. i-ni  these monuments has set up. Śariduris

4. a-da-e a-da-i-śi i-ku-ka-ni-e-di-ni
says: The king { summing up / assembling } the men of property

5. sa-hu-e na-nu-da me-i a-se-e-i
belonging there, the place of . . . . of him, for the house
pi-ur-ta-a-ni
he has remembered (?);

6. kha-i-di-a-ni te-ri-khi-ni-e 
the workmen (and) setters-up belonging to
ri-ni-i
Śariduris,

7. ti[1]-i-ni  hu-du-
he has called belonging to Śariduris. For the
da-e-i
place of the monument

8.  Se-kha-hu-da-e -ni hu-ru-da-e
the son of Sekhaudas the food of the household
 -ni-ni
for the gifts

9. Hu-i-du-s śu-ni[2] (?)
Vidus has provided (?). Śariduris
a-da-e
says:

[1] Schulz has .

[2] Schulz has *pa*.

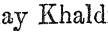
10. Se-kha-hu-da-e tu-ri-ni-ni
Of Sekhaudas for what belongs to the rock (?)
 Khal-di-s
may Khaldis,

11. the Air-god (and) the Sun-god, the gods,
 publicly the name (glorify).

Col. II. destroyed.

Col. III.

1. Khal-di-i-ni-ni al-śu-hu-i-si-ni
To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous

2.  Śariduris the son of Argistis

3. a-da-e i-hu Khal-di-is CXX tu-khi
says thus: Khaldis 120 prisoners
a-ru-ni
has brought.

4. na-kha-a-di On carrying away, of the . . . . . 20 prisoners

5. i-ku-ka-ni-mu te-ru-(ni) . . . . . e
(and) their goods he set up . . . . . .

6. of Śariduris . . . . . .

7. Khal-di-i-ni-ni (al-śu-i-si-ni)
To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous

8. belonging to Śariduris the son of Argistis,

[1] Schulz has *se*.

[2] Sandwith has *at-ti*.

9. al-śu-i-ni
the powerful king, the king of multitudes,
(Su-)ra-hu-e
king of the land of Suras,

10. Bi-a-i-na-hu-e (-)e khu-la[1]-hu-e
king of the land of Van, king of kings,

11. a-lu-hu-śi-e Dhu-us-pa-e
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

Col. i.—3. Line 7 shows that *du* is the phonetic complement of *udu*. The determinative and context fix the meaning of the word. We have already come across a root *du* 'to establish'; see notes on xxxix. 1 and xl. 72. *Ini* must here be plural.

4. Since *adaiśi* is the accusative (like *nu-śi*), the nominative to the verb must be *Vidus* at the end of the whole paragraph. With *adaiśi* compare *ada* and *adubi* in xlix. 25, 26. *Adaiśi* is from *ada* 'summation,' as *nuśi* from *nu(s)*. Participial adjectives in *-śi* followed by a case seem to be indeclinable. *Ikukaniedi-ni* is formed from *ikukani* (with adjectival *-nis*) by the suffix of agency *di* (as in *Khaldis, ardis*, etc.).

5. *Sa-ve* is formed from *sa* 'there' (as in *sada*) by the help of the suffix *-ve*. The stem *nanu* is not found elsewhere.

Pi-urta-ni is a compound of *pi* 'name' and *urta* of unknown signification. The word seems to be a verb here, the third person in *-ani* corresponding to a first person like *ustabi*.

6. *Khai-di-a-ni* is analyzable into the stem *khai*, and the suffixes *di* (of agency) and *a* (collective). With the stem *khai-* compare *khai-tu* xxxii. 4, *khai-ti-ni* xvi. 4. The sense seems clear. *Teri-khinis* is formed from the root *teru* by the suffix of derivation *khinis*.

7. In *ududaei* we have the full form of the root, which is expressed in line 3 by the phonetic complement *du* only.

[1] Sandwith has *te*.

8. The last word may also mean 'for the givers,' literally 'for those (things) belonging to giving.' *Śu-ni* (?) seems to be connected with *śui*. If the latter word really means 'all,' *śuni* would be literally 'he has fully supplied.' *Śu*, however, may be an ideograph signifying 'to increase.'

The sense of the paragraph will be this: 'Vidus, the son of Sekhaudas, has *remembered* (?) the king, when assembling (or taxing) the men of property belonging to this neighbourhood, and his place of .... for a house; the workmen and artizans of Śariduris he has called the men of Śarduris. For the place of the monument he has *provided* (?) the food of the household by way of gift.'

Col. iii.—10. For *khula-ve* or *khute-ve* see the parallel passage xlviii. 7. If Dr. Sandwith's reading *khute-ve* is the right one, an explanation appears to be afforded of *khuti-a-di*; see note on xxxvii. 3.

Inscriptions of Ruśas.

LII.

After an interval of nearly a century, we again meet with Vannic inscriptions on the bronze shields found in the ruins of the palace or temple of Tuprak Kilissa, near the village of Karatash, the ancient Managerd or 'town of Menuas.' Karatash is not far from Vastan, south of Van. Sir A. H. Layard purchased at Constantinople a number of bronze objects, now in the British Museum, which had come from this place. Among them are small winged bulls with human heads, the model of a palace, and the fragments of a shield. The inscription which runs round the shield shows it to have belonged to Ruśas, son of Erimenas, the contemporary of Assur-bani-pal.

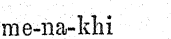
. . e-di (?)-ni[1] Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni

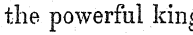
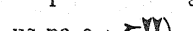
. . . . . To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous

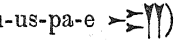
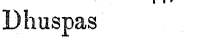
Ru-śa-a-ni

belonging to Ruśas

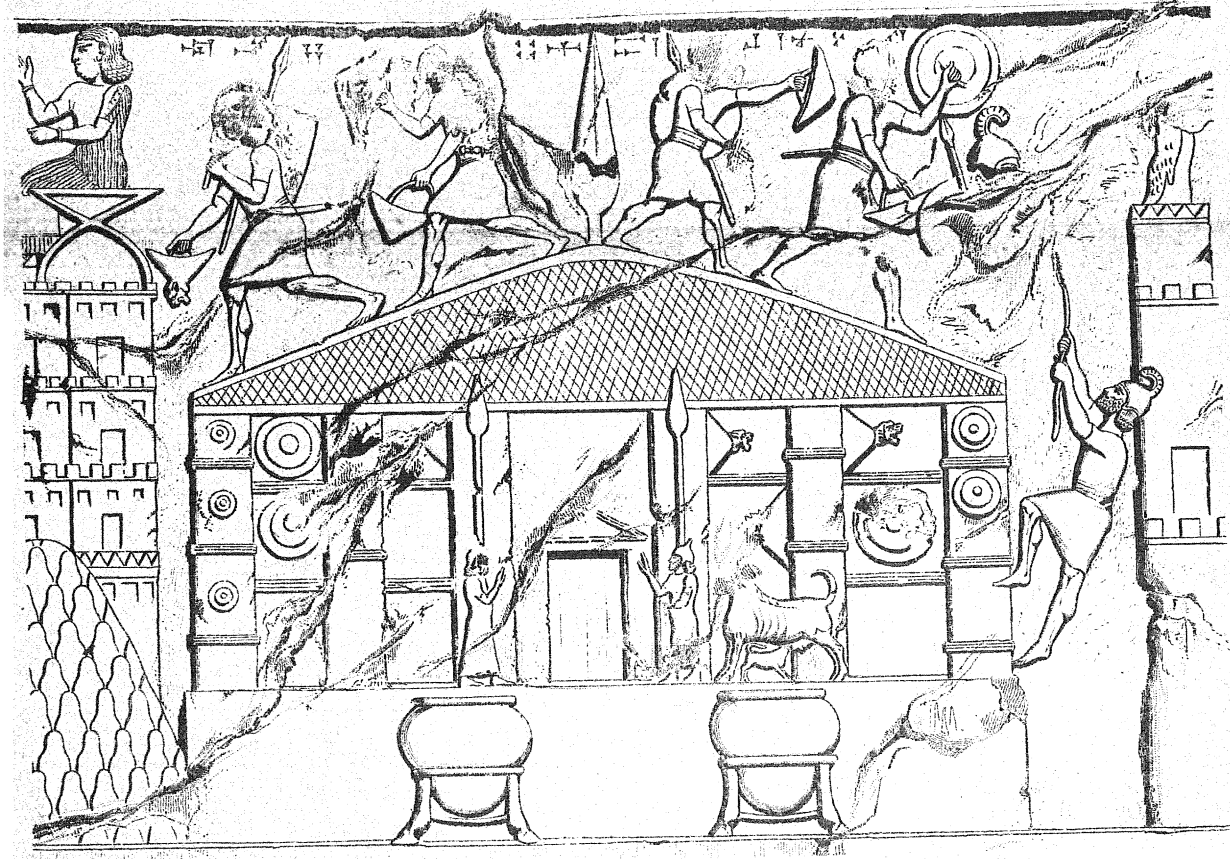
[1] Clearly for *ulgusiyani-e-di-ni*; see p. 655.

 E-ri-me-na-khi a-lu-śi
the son of Erimenas, the powerful king, the king inhabiting
( )
the city of Dhuspas

. . . . . ni  Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni
. . . . . To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous
Ru-śa-a-ni  Ar-gis-ti-(khi)
belonging to Ruśas the grandson of Argistis

 a-lu-śi
the powerful king, the king inhabiting
()
the city of Dhuspas.

The fact that the suffix *-khinis* indicates descent or derivation only generally is brought into relief by this inscription, where *Argistikhi* must signify 'the grandson of Argistis.' Argistis II. was a contemporary of Sargon and Sennacherib, which would exactly suit the relationship of Ruśas to him. Erimenas was probably the king to whose court the murderers of Sennacherib fled. The name is a compound of *Eri* and *menas*, which we have in *Menuas*. *Eri(s)* seems to have been a name of the Sun-god. Ruśas is probably the name which the Assyrians turned into Urśas. Assur-bani-pal, however, writes it *Ru-śa-a* (Smith's *Assurbanipal*, p. 147), and says of him: "Ruśa, king of Urardha, heard of the power of Assur my lord, and the fear of my sovereignty overwhelmed him, and he sent his chief men to the midst of Arbela to ask for my friendship." The successor of this Ruśas II. must have been Śarduris III., since, according to Assur-bani-pal (Smith's *Assurb.* p. 115), "Śar-dur, king of Urardhu, whose royal fathers had sent terms of brotherhood to my fathers, Śardur, again, heard of the might (and) the deeds which the great gods established for me, and like a son to his father sent acknowledgment of lordship; and he according to this tenour sent thus: Peace to the king my lord! Reverently (and)



DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF KHALDIA AT MUTSATSIR BY ASSYRIAN SOLDIERS; FROM A BAS-RELIEF IN SARGON'S PALACE AT KHORSABAD (BOTTA I.^ PL. 141. TWO OF THE SACRED SHIELDS ARE STILL HANGING ON THE WALLS, OTHERS ARE BEING REMOVED BY THE SOLDIERS.

submissively his abundant gifts he caused to be brought to my presence." This was after the final conquest of Elam, towards the end of Assur-bani-pal's reign (? B.C. 645), whereas the embassy of Ruśas had arrived at Nineveh several years before, just after the overthrow of the Elamite prince Teumman.

In the summer of 1880 Mr. Rassam excavated on the site of the temple, and discovered two other bronze shields, which are ornamented with rows of lions between lines of waves. The inscription upon one of them is, unfortunately, for the most part destroyed, but the other is fairly perfect. The latter reads as follows:

Khal-di gis-su-hu-ri-e -e i-ni (ul-gu-si-ni)
For Khaldis the mighty, the lord this shield

Ru-śa-a-s
Ruśas

E-ri-me-na-khi-ni-s us-tu-ni ul-gu-si-ya-ni-e-di-ni
the son of Erimenas has dedicated (and) the shield-bearers;

Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni Ru-śa-a-se [ni]
for the children of Khaldis the multitudinous belonging to

E-ri-me-na-a-khi
Ruśas son of Erimenas

(a-lu-śi) Dhu-us-pa
the strong king, the king inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

For *ulgusis* 'a shield' see v. 24-67. The meaning is fixed by *ulgusi-ya-ne-di-ni*, which is formed from *ulgusis* by the suffixes *-a*, *-ni*, *-di* (of agency), and *-ni* (the accusative suffix). The word is strictly analogous to *ebani-a-tse-di-ni* (xxx. 28), where the suffix *-tse* takes the place of the simple adjectival *-ne*. It is literally 'the corps of shield-bearers,' and must refer to the body of priests who carried the sacred shields in the temples. From this it would appear that the building disinterred by Mr. Rassam was a temple, not a palace. The temple of Khaldia represented on the bas-relief of Khorsabad

(see p. 356 *sup.*) has the shields suspended on either side of the entrance.

The signification of *us-tu-ni* is fixed by the context. It is a compound of *tu* 'to bring' and *us*, which seems to have the sense of 'near' (as in *us-tabi*). The existence of this verb accounts for the vowel of the stem *usta; usta-* is 'to approach,' 'pray,' *ustu* 'to make approach,' 'consecrate.'

The upright wedge at the beginning of the inscription is used, as it often is on the Assyrian tablets, to introduce a paragraph. It was from this usage that the oblique wedge came to be employed in Persian cuneiform as a word-divider; in the earlier Persian texts it stands before and not after a word.

The engraver has by mistake written *Ruśase* instead of *Ruśani*, which is correctly written on the Layard shield.

The inscription on the latter shield is evidently the same as that on the shield just given; the other shield found by Mr. Rassam seems to bear a similar inscription, though but little of it is legible. It may be restored as follows:—

(T) Khal-di-e -(e) i-ni (ul-gu-si-ni) Ru-śa-(a-s
For Khaldis the lord this shield Ruśas

E-ri-me-na-khi-)i-ni-s (us-tu-)ni (ul-gu-si-ya)-
the son of Erimenas has dedicated (and) the shield-
ni-e-di-ni . . . .
bearers . . . . .

Fragments of a kneeling bull and rosettes in bronze, found on the same spot, also bear portions of an inscription. As these, however, have not yet been cleaned, the inscription can be only partially made out:—

(Khal-di-e) e-hu-ri-e i-ni . . . . . (Ru-)śa-(a-s
To Khaldis the lord this . . . . . Ruśas

E-)ri-me-na-a-(khi-ni-s ( ) . . . . . .
the son of Erimenas, the mighty king . . . . . .

( ) Khi . . . . . -ni-e
king of the land of Khi . . . . . cities

. . . . . (𒀸𒅆𒀭 Khal-di-ni-ni al)-śu-i-(si-ni
. . . . . To the children of Khaldis the multitudinous

𒀭 Ru-śa-a-ni 𒀭 E-ri-me-na-a-)khi 𒆳𒆳
belonging to Ruśas the son of Erimenas, the

𒀸𒈾𒀭𒀭 𒀸𒅆 𒆳𒆳 al-(śu-i)-ni a-lu-śi
mighty king, king of multitudes, inhabiting

𒀸𒌑𒈾 Dhu-us-pa-a-e 𒀸𒌑𒀭
the city of Dhuspas.

The equivalence of 𒀸𒌑𒌑 and *euris* here is unmistakable.

Inscriptions of undetermined Date.

LIII.

This inscription was discovered by the Vartabed Mesrop Sembatiants or Sempadian on a height on the south-western bank of Lake Erivan, and near the village of Adam-khan or Atam-khan, north of Eranos, the ancient Tsag. His copy, however (in the Armenian Journal of Moskow, "Le Nouvelliste russe," 1863), was too inaccurate for use. A photograph of the inscription has since been published by the "Gesellschaft der Liebhaber der Archäologie des Kaukasus," Tiflis, 1875 (pl. 3), which leaves nothing to be desired. Śarduris, son of Rapis, may have been the king of Van mentioned in the annals of Assur-bani-pal as a successor of Ruśas, but he may also have been a local ruler in the neighbourhood of Lake Erivan, whose subjects spoke the same language as the people of Van. If so, we should have an interesting proof of the extension of the Vannic language on the north, within the territory of the modern Georgians. The latter view is supported by the dialectal peculiarities to which attention will be drawn.

1. 𒀸𒅆𒀭 Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni
To the children of Khaldis, the gracious,

2. Śar-du-ri-s Ra-pi-is-khi-ni-s
Śarduris the son of Rapis

3. a-da Tu-da-hu-ni nu-śi
says: the city of Tudaus, the royal city

4. Tsi-ma-da-bi-i Tsi-e-ri-khi-ni-i
of Tsimadabis the son of Tsieris,

5. gu-nu-sa kha-u-bi Tsi-ma-da-bi-ni
for a spoil I acquired. Tsimadabis

6. -ra-ni lu-tu-bi
the king, the men (and) women of him

7. ku-dhu-bi pa-ri U-du-ri-e-ti-ni
I carried away out of the land of Udurietis.

2. The spelling *Śar-du-ri-s* with not only shows that the Assyrian inscriptions have transcribed the Vannic name of the Asiatic goddess correctly, but also that the character in question had in Vannic the value of *śar* and not of *khir*. From the fact that the name of Śarduris is here written phonetically instead of ideographically as in the texts of the Vannic kings, and also that we have *Rapis-khinis* instead of *Rapi-khinis*, which would have been the proper Vannic form, I conclude that the inscription belongs to some northern ruler, and not to a king of Biainis. No name like Rapis is found at Van.

3. Tudaus would have been near Atam-khan, perhaps on the site of Eranos.

6. The suffix here can hardly have any other meaning than that of the suffixed 3rd personal pronoun. We may regard it as representing the *mei* of the Vannic texts, and constituting a peculiarity of the northern dialect, to which this inscription belongs.

7. Instead of the genitive-dative after *pari*, as at Van, we have the accusative—another peculiarity of the dialect of the inscription.

LIV.

This fragment was found near the ruins of Armavir on the Araxes, and has been published by Mordtmann in the Z. D. M. G. xxxi. 2, 3 (1877). The beginning and end are lost, as well as the commencement of every line. The mention of Hazas in the first line seems to show that the inscription belongs to Argistis, who conquered a Hazas (xl. 73).

1. . . (Ar-)gis-ti-khi-na Ha-za-ni
. . . . of the land of the son of Argistis, belonging to
-ni
Hazas the lands

2. . . . . a-ru-hu-ni su-hu[1]-ba-ra-ni
. . . . . he brought the . . . . . .

3. . . . . da-u-a-ni bar-za-ni zi-el-di
. . . . . the . . . . of the . . . .

4. . . . . khu-su -ni-ni ni[2]
. . . . . the flesh (and) belonging to the tablet the
śi-ni
inscription

5. . . . . e-gu-du-da-a me-da hu-da-ni
. . . . . the monument . . . . . there that

6. . . . . a-da-bi-di as-ta nu-la-da
. . . among the assembly (?) the palace the courtiers' quarters (?)

7. . . . . i-ni te-ir-du-da-ni e-śi-i
. . . . . this place of the setting up of the law

8. . . . . hu-e tar-a-i-hu-khi ma-
. . . . . belonging to, the offspring of the mighty, in
nu-da-e
each place

[1] The copy seems to have *ga*.
[2] This character must be wrong. Perhaps *e* should be read.

9. . . . . khi-e-hu-ni Ur-bi-i-ka-a-s
. . . . . the tribe of Urbis

10. . . . . da a-da-bi-di as-ta nu-la-
. . . . . among the assembly (?) the palace, the
a-da-e
courtiers' quarters (?)

11. . . . . da a-da-bi-di as-ta nu-la-
. . . . . among the assembly (?) the palace, the
a-da
courtiers' quarters (?)

12. . . . . (Se-)lu-i-ni-e-hu-ni Nu-nu-da-e
. . . . . the Seluinian of Nunudas

13. . . . . śi-ni ur-di-du Se-lu-i-ni-e
. . . . . the Seluinian.

1. . . *gistikhina* is plainly for *Argistikhina*, like *Menuakhina-di* xxix. B. 3. Argistis must have assigned the government of the province of Georgia on the Araxes to his son.

2. As the inscription relates to the erection of a shrine and the gift of flesh to the gods, *subarani* may mean 'sacrifices.'

3. For *barza-ni zildi* see xix. 9, where it is defined as 'the eating-place of a chapel.'

5. . . *egudu-da* is plainly compounded with *udu* 'monument.'—*Me-da* is the localizing case of *mes*.

6. For *adabidi* see xxxvii. 4. The next word is evidently for *as(i)da* 'a palace'; cp. *astiu* xliii. 42. *Nu-la-da* seems derived from *nu(s)* by the suffix *-la* (as in *burga-la*), which stands to *-li* as *-na* to *-ni*.

7. For *teir-du-da-ni* see v. 2 (34).

8. We have already met with the country of Taraius in xxx. 2. See also xliii. 71, 74. The word is a derivative from *tarais* 'powerful,' the vowel *u* being that which appears in *arni-u-sinida*, *ebani-u-kas*, etc.

9. From line 12 it appears that . . . *khieuni* is the accusative of some tribal name.

For *Urbi-kas* see xxxviii. 6.

12. From the next line we see that *-u-* in *Seluinie-u-ni* is an adjectival suffix, as in line 9.

LV.

This inscription was found by the Vartabed Mesrop Sembatiants or Sempadian at the foot of the hill of Otsapert, near the lower village of Ktanots or Alichalu, to the south-east of Lake Erivan. Unfortunately his copy, published in *Le Nouvelliste russe* 37*a*, for 1862, is so hopelessly bad that hardly a word in it is recognizable. Apparently, some Vannic king records the despatch of prisoners and materials from the neighbourhood of Erivan to Van, for the erection of a palace there. The following is all that I can make out of the text:—

1. Khal-di-ni[1]-ni us-ta-(bi ma)-śi-ni-e gis-su-ri-e
To the children of Khaldis I prayed; to the powers mighty,

2. . . . . ka-ru-ni-e Dha(?)-e-ba . . . .
. . . . . who have given the country of Dhaeba . . .

3. Khal-di-ni-e us-ta-bi . . . . . .
To the Khaldises I prayed . . . . . .

4. . . . . Hu-e-da . . . . . .
. . . . . the country . . . . . .

5. Ar . . . . . ni . . . . . .
the country of Ar . . . . . .

6. Śi . . . . . .
the country of Śi . . . . . .

7. . . . . . za-i-ni Zu-a-i-ni-e . . . . .
the country of . . . . zais, the land of Zuais, the land of
a-i-ni A-ma . . . . .
. . . . the land of Ama . . . .

8. Ir . . . a-ma . . . -ni Pa-la-i-ni
the land of Ir . . . . . the land of Palais, 6 pieces of
tu-a-i-ni
gold

[1] This should probably be *i*.

9. . . . . a-i-ni . . . . na ni hu ni gu si (?) e (?) a-i-ni al-zi-
. . . . . bronze (?) . . . . . .
ra-ni
. . . .

10. du-ru-a-i-ni me-la-a-i-ni . . . . . i-ni
. . . . . the . . . . . .

11. . . . . a-i-ni . . . za-a-i-ni E-ri-a-i-ni A-za-
. . . . . the gate, the land of Eriais, the land
ru-ni-ni
of Azarunis

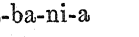
12. . . . . i-ni { si ri / ar } -i sa-ni ap-ti-ni
. . . . . belonging there which was called
me-la-i-ni a ni Ba-ba-ni-a
. . . . . the people of Babanis

13. ku(?)-ru-ni CCCC(?)XXIII
the givers (?), 423 men
su-śi-ni-ni as-gu-bi
belonging to the walled fortresses I took.

14. ha-se lu-tu Bi-a-i-na-di a-gu-bi
The men (and) women to Van I carried,
me-si-ni sa-a-da
belonging to him. There

15. ma-a-ni si-di-is-tu-hu-da i[1] hu pi
him a restoration . . . . . .

16. . . . . e-ba-a-ni . . . . . .
. . . . . the country . . . . . .

17. . . . i-ni  si-di-is-tu-bi
. . . . this palace I restored

[1] Perhaps *mu*.

18. . . . .
. . . . . the city . . . . . .
19. . . . .
. . . . . the country . . . . . .

A comparison of the first line as well as of line 14 with l. might seem to show that the inscription belongs to Śarduris II. Line 8 makes it clear that a number of objects are described as sent from the Araxes to Van. *Duruaini* and *melaini*, lines 10 and 12, appear pretty certain readings. In line 9 the word *gu-si-e-a-i-ni* 'of bronze' seems to occur. A photograph or squeeze of the inscription is much to be desired.

LVI. Inscription of Menuas at Kelishin.

As already mentioned (p. 386) Sir H. Rawlinson found a Cuneiform inscription of forty-one lines engraved on a column of stone in the pass of Kelishin, 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, and not far from Ushneï.[1] It lies to the west of

[1] Rawlinson (Journ. R.G.S. x. (1841) p. 21) says that the pillar of Keli-shin, "which is upon a little eminence by the side of the road, and nearly at the top of the pass," is "a pillar of dark-blue stone, 6 feet in height, 2 in breadth, and 1 in depth, rounded off at the top and at the angles, and let into a pediment, consisting of one solid block of the same sort of stone, 5 feet square and 2 deep. On the broad face of the pillar fronting the E. there is a Cuneiform inscription of forty-one lines, but no other trace of sculpture or device is to be seen." "On breaking away the sheet of icicles with which the surface of the stone was covered, the upper half of the inscription was shown to be irrecoverably obliterated, and the lower half also to be much destroyed." Keli-Shín signifies in Kurdish "the blue pillar." At the distance of five hours from this pass, "there is a precisely similar pillar, denominated also Keli-Shín, upon the summit of the second range, which overlooks the town and district of Sidek. This also is engraved with a long Cuneiform inscription; and as it is said to be in far better preservation than the one at Ushneï, it would be very desirable to examine and copy it." As for the pillar of Keli-Sipan, or "white pillar," Sir H. Rawlinson describes it as "a rude column of white stone, 12 feet in height, 3 feet in breadth, and 1½ feet in depth, fixed in a pediment, and differing only in size and colour and the want of an inscription from "the pillar of Keli-Shín Ushneï." "It faces also W.N.W. instead of due E., like the Keli-Shín. There are some rude figures like a horseshoe engraved upon different parts of it, which had been taken by the Kurds for writing. Between this pillar and the village of Legwin, there is another, which is also called Keli-Sipán, but it has been thrown down, and is of smaller dimensions even than the Keli-Shín; this, likewise, on the three sides which are exposed, is without inscription." The first-named pillar of Keli-Sipan is two miles from Khorenj, overlooking the plain of Lahijan, at the source of the Little Zab, and due south of Lake Urumiyeh. The pass of Kelishin, on the other hand, leads eastward from Rowandiz into the plain of Ushneï on the south-western shore of the lake.

Tash Tepéh (near Chillik, on the Tatáu), to the south-west of Lake Urumiyeh, and bears witness to the campaigns of the Vannic kings in the lands of the Minni and of Bustus. Schulz was the original discoverer of the inscription, but his copy of it was lost after his murder at Julamerk. In 1852 a cast of it was taken by Khanykow, which was destroyed on its way home, and a squeeze in 1853, of the subsequent fate of which I have not been able to learn anything. Another cast of it, however, was made by Dr. Blau, and sent by him through Dr. Rödiger, to the library of the German Oriental Society at Halle. It was broken on its way to Europe, but the fragments have been preserved, and Prof. August Müller has been kind enough to have a cast of them made for me and forwarded to England. Unfortunately the beginning and end of each line is destroyed, and the four pieces into which the cast was broken have been wrongly fitted together, so that not only are four lines obliterated by being fused together, but it is impossible to tell where the inscription begins or in what order the fragments come. The difficulty of translation is further increased by the occurrence of new words, the absence of the usual formulæ, and the loss and obliteration of many characters by the wear of the stone. It proves to be a record of Menuas, who will thus have preceded his son Argistis in forcing his way to the south of Lake Urumiyeh. The pass in which the column is erected appears to be called a gate.

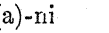
Fragment I.

1. . . . . .

2. . . . . (mu)-hu-mu-ni-ni Me-nu-(a-s a-da-e)
. . . . . the wealthy. Menuas says:

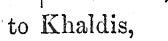
3. . . . . ra-za-hu-ni Bi-a . . .
. . . . razaus the king of the country of Bia . . .

4. . . . Dhu-us-pa-a Me-(nu-a-ni)
. . . the city of Tosp, the city of Menuas

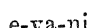
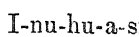
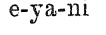
5. (Is-pu)-hu-i-ni-khe ya-ra-(a)-ni  i-(ni
the son of Ispuinis who has dedicated this stone
Khal-di)
to Khaldis,

6. . . . e-ya-ni I-nu-hu-a-si
. . . . . for the people of the country of Inus
te(-ru-ni)
who has appointed

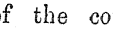
7. . . . (?) ku(?)-lu-a-i Is-pu-hu-i-(ni-i-e)
. . . country of Kuluas (?) for Ispuinis

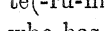
8. . . .  Ni-pu-ur[1]-ni hu-ri . . .
. . . the city of the fort of Nipur . . .

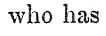
9. . . . li ni-ri-bi ga-śu-li-na . . .
. . . . the dead . . . . . .

10. . . . e (?)   ni . . . a(?)-ni
. . . the characters (?) of the tablet . . . . . .
 -na khu(?)[2] . . . .
belonging to the pass . . . .

11. . . . ni . . . . . ya-a-e za-du-(ni)
. . . . . he has made

12. . . . Al-di-na  a-ru-ni
. . . of the land of the god Aldis the gate he brought
Al-(di-e)
to the god Aldis

13. . . ri-i  ul-gu-si-ya-ni . . .
. . . . . of the gate the shield-bearers . . .

14. .  ni-ri-bi(?) hu-ni-ni . . . . . .
. . . . . the dead (?) . . . . . .

[1] Or *ri*.

[2] Perhaps *al*.

Fragment II.

1. (Me-nu-a-s) a-da Al-di-is Te-ra-a-i . . .
(Menuas) says: The god Aldis the city of Terais . . .

2. . . . . i Ar-di-ni Khal-di-e . . .
. . . . . the city of Ardis to the god Khaldis . . .

3. . . . . gu-ru-khu kha-i-ni kha(-u-ni)
. . . . . as a possession (?) he took

4. . . li-i-hu i-hu Khal-di-ka . . . .
. . . . . Thus for the race of Khaldis . . .

5. . . . di-ni-di nu-na-a-li Is-pu-hu-(i-ni-e)
(the city of Ardinis) after attacking for Ispuinis

6. ( ) -e-khe Me-nu-a Is-pu-
the son of Śarduris (and) Menuas the son
hu-i-(ni-khe)
of Ispuinis

7. . . . . MC hu . . . . -se . . . .
. . . . . 1100 . . . . . cities . . . . .

Fragment III.

1. . . . . ni (?) ni ni[1] ri (?) . . . .
. . . . . the country . . .

2. . . . Khal-di-na-ni
. . . belonging to the land of Khaldis the gate (pass)
kha-hu-li-i-e . . .
after conquering . . .

3. . . . da-ni a-lu-s a-i-ni-e i-hu-da-(i-e)
. . . . . whoever with earth undoes

4. . . . (e-)śi-e-ya me du-da-i-e . . .
. . . governors his destroys . . .

[1] Perhaps *us*. The upper portion of this line is cut off in the cast.

5. -i-ni a-lu-śi i-na-a-ni . . .
. . . . . the inhabitant of the city . . .

6. . . . li-ni Ar-di-ni
(the city of . . .)lis, the city of Ardis,

Kha-na-li-(ni) . . . .
the city of Khanalis . . .

7. . . . Khal-di-ni za-i-se-e-i . . . . .
. . . to the Khaldi's of the pass he has made (?)

8. . . . . [1] al-li-i-e me ku-i-gu-(ni) . . .
. . . . the records his he has inscribed . . .

9. . . . ( )[2] bi-ku-hu-ra-e-di ku-lu-di . . . .
. . . belonging to the city of Bikuras in the district . . .

10. (a-lu-s) i-ni mu-hu [3]-i-du-li-i-e . . .
Whoever tablet this after spoiling (?) . . . .

11. . . . a-lu-s ip-tu-li-i-e a-lu-s a . . . .
. . . whoever after flooding; whoever . . . . . .

12. . . . al-li-i-e pi-i-hu-li-i-e . . .
. . . the records after removing the name . . .

13. . . . i Khal-di-is -s
. . . may Khaldis, Teisbas (and) the

-s (-s)
Sun-god, the gods,

14. (ma-a)-ni ar-mu-zi Bi-ku-ra-e-di
him with a curse, of the city of Bikuras

ku(-lu-di)
in the district

[1] Must be *i*.
[2] Or perhaps *ri*.
[3] There is a fracture here, and the two characters may be *te-ru*.

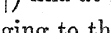
Fragment IV.

1. . . . . VIIIMXX
. . . . . 8,020 lambs . . .

2. . . . . II gu-ru-khe XMIIMCCCC . . . .
. . . . . 2 . . . . . 12,400 . . . .

3. . . . kha-at-ḳa-na-ni i-hu
. . . belonging to the city of Khatḳanas. Thus for the
Al-di-ka-(a-i)
race of Aldis

4. (Ar-)di-ni-di nu-na-bi Is-pu-hu-i-(ni-e)
(the city) of Ardinis I attacked for Ispuinis

5. ( )-dur-e-khe 
son of Śarduris the strong king, the king

Na-ra-a(-hu-e)
of Nahri

6. (a-lu-śi-)i Su-ra-e a-lu-śi
inhabiting the land of Suras, inhabiting the city
Dhu-us-(pa-e)
of Dhuspas.

7. . . . i-ni-ni us-ku[1]-bi-i Ni-bur [2] . . . . .
. . . . . the city of Nipur . . . . .

8. . . . i-ni-la-a-ni Hu-si . . .
. . . . . the city of Husi . . .

Fragment III. ought plainly to come at the end of the inscription, though the last two or three lines, containing the final words of the imprecatory formula, have been lost. Fragment IV. probably precedes Fragment II., Fragment I. forming the commencement of the text, of which, however, the first few lines are gone. About three characters at the end of each line and about as many at the beginning of each are also gone.

[1] Possibly *da*.

[2] Probably *ri*.

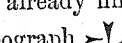
The inscription was engraved while Ispuinis and his son Menuas were reigning together. It is clear that it must have been after his return from the expedition to the south-east which it commemorates that Menuas caused the inscription of Meher-Kapussi to be made. The names of many of the territorial deities mentioned in the latter are explained by the inscription of Kelishin. We learn that Ardinis or Ardis (v. 14), Khatḳanas or Atḳanas (v. 19), and Inuas (v. 23) were all places in the mountains of Rowandiz, whose gods were adopted by the victor, and were consequently not native Vannic divinities at all. The land of Aais (v. 23) was probably in the same part of the world as Inuas, with which it is conjoined, and we know that the land of Babas (v. 20) was so.[1] Huisis (v. 16) seems to be the same city as the one named in Fragment IV. 8. In fact, the inscription of Meher-Kapussi turns out to be a record of the conquests of Menuas in the Kurdish mountains, the gods of Van and of the conquered districts being mixed together in it. The mention of Naras, too, instead of Biainas, further shows that the inscription before us belongs to the period which immediately succeeded the reign of Śarduris I. and the introduction of the Assyrian syllabary into Van (see note on Fragment IV. 5).

Linguistically, the inscription is of considerable interest. While we have Khatḳanas instead of Atḳanas, the guttural is more than once omitted in the name of the supreme god of Van, which is written Al-di-s (comp. *aldi-nie* v. 29). This suggests that the scribe or engraver spoke a slightly different dialect from that current in the capital, and the suggestion is confirmed by the remarkable fact that *t* between vowels is twice omitted, in *iuda* for *tiuda* (Frag. III. 3), and *piulie* for *pitulie* (Frag. III. 12).[2] This goes far to show that the Assyrian Bitanu is really the Vannic Biana(s), the dental of the Assyrian texts representing either an older pronunciation of the name or the pronunciation of the more correct speakers, and that the Aryan Armenian omission of a dental between

[1] The last sentence of the note on v. 20 (p. 486) must accordingly be erased.

[2] The dental, however, it must be remembered, is omitted in *iulie* or *iudae* in another inscription of Menuas, xxxi. 28.

two vowels is a continuation of a habit of their Alarodian predecessors. Possibly the tendency to drop the dental was most marked on the eastern side of the Vannic kingdom, and to this part of it the engraver of the Kelishin inscription may have belonged.

As compared with the later Vannic inscriptions the Kelishin text offers many peculiarities. It contains but few of the formulæ we are accustomed to meet with. On the other hand, it uses to express the second syllable of the name of Śarduris, as in the Assyrian inscriptions of Śarduris I. and Inscription iii. of Ispuinis. At Meher-Kapussi we already find *du-ri*. As at Meher-Kapussi, the compound ideograph  is also employed. Notice, further, the forms of the ideograph for 'city' and the character *khe*, as well as *me* for *mei* 'mine,' the omission of before the name of Menuas (Frag. I. 2, 4), and the postposition of the demonstrative *ini* (Frag. III. 10).

Frag. I. 2. We must evidently supply *mu*. With *mumu-ni-ni* compare *mumu-ni* 'tribute' (xlv. 23; see also vi.A. 2) and *mumuiya-bi* (xli. 15). If the latter means 'to make wealthy' or 'fill with spoil,' *mumunini* will be either the acc. s. or the dat. pl. of *mumu-nis* 'wealthy.' The root, in an unreduplicated form, seems to occur again in *mui-du-lie* Frag. III. 10.

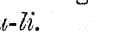
3. The construction here seems to be: '. . . . razaus king of the land of Bias (?) he (*i.e.* Menuas) took out of (*tuni parie*) the city of Tosp which belongs to Menuas son of Ispuinis.' The land of Bias mentioned in xxxvii. 8 lay on the north-west side of Lake Van.

5. For *yarani* see xxxiii. 13.

6. . . . *eya-ni* is probably *eśieya-ni* 'officers,' as in Frag. III. 4. *Inua-si* will be the acc. s. of the adj. in *-si(s)* agreeing with *eśieyani*, the translation of the line being: 'officers over the people of Inus he established.'

8. The city of Nipur or Nibur is mentioned again in Frag. IV. 7. It is, of course, different from the country of Nibur in the Assyrian texts, which lay among the highlands of Mons Masius.

9. For *gaśu-li* or *gaśu-li-na* I can suggest no meaning. As the lost word at the beginning of the line ends with *-li*, it is best to read *gaśu-li*.

10. We should perhaps read  *-ni-da-a-ni* for *armanida-ni* 'tablet.' The word 'gate' here evidently means 'the pass' in which the inscription was set up.

12. *Aldis* for *Khaldis* is very noticeable. Perhaps we should read *Aldis*, 'Aldis brought.'

13. For the sacred shield-bearers see lii.

Frag. II. 2. For the city of Ardis or Ardinis see v. 14.

3. *Gurukhu* must be the accusative pl. from *gurukhus*. In Frag. IV. 2 we have *gurukhe*, like *gunuse* by the side of *ebana*. Here it must denote some object, apparently an animal, which was offered to the gods. See note on the line.

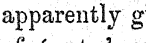
Khaini is the accusative sing. of the stem which we find in *khaubi* 'I took' or 'conquered.'

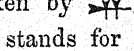
4. Just as the people of Van are called *Khaldias* 'the people of Khaldis,' so here they are called *Khaldi-kas* 'the race of Khaldis,' implying a belief that they were descended from the god. Here is plainly the origin of the name of Khaldæi given by the Greeks to the Khalybes.

Frag. III. 3. For the loss of the dental in *iudaie* see above. The proof that the dental is lost is furnished by *piulie* in line 12. See also xxxi. 28.

4. For *eśieya* see xlv. 17. *Me* for *mei* must be noticed.

5. *Aluśi inani*, which is exactly equivalent to *aluśi Dhuspae*, settles definitively the meaning of *inanis*.

7. This line apparently gives us the phonetic rendering of the ideograph of 'gate' or 'pass.' We should probably read  *Khaldi-ni zaisei zaduni* 'the tablet to the Khaldi's of the pass he (*i.e.* Menuas) made.'

8. The context here and in line 12 shows that *allie* must mean 'records,' or something similar. In later inscriptions its place is taken by  *puluśi* 'inscribed stone' before *kuiguni*. If it stands for *khallie* as *Aldis* for *Khaldis* it is possible that *Khal-dis* may mean 'the recorder.'

9. The signification of *kuludi* is fixed by the context. The only other sense that could be attached to it would be that of 'mountain,' but this is rendered highly improbable by the fact that the whole district in which the pass of Kelishin is situated consists of a mass of mountains. Moreover, the word *kulus* seems connected with *kulmeie* xlviii. 18.—Bikuras may be the modern Ushnei.

10. The position of *ini* after its noun, contrary to the invariable usage of all other inscriptions, goes far to show that the engraver of the inscription was not versed in the court language of Van.

If we read *mui-du-li*, the word will be a compound of *mui* 'spoil' (see Frag. I. 2. above), and *du* for *tu* 'bring;' if *teru-du-li*, we must analyze into *teru* 'set up,' and *du* 'destroy.' The doubtful characters are . In other inscriptions the word is replaced by *tu-dae* 'takes away,' and it must, therefore, have much the same sense.

12. For the omission of the dental in *piulie* see above.

Frag. IV. 1. Here the passage probably runs (Frag. II. 4.): "Thus for the race of Khaldis after attacking the city of Ardinis for Ispuinis son of Sarduris (and) Menuas, son of Ispuinis, I took" so much spoil, including "8,020 lambs, . . . 2 *gurukhe* (and) 12400 . . . belonging to the city of Khatḳanas." In the inscription of Meher-Kapussi (v. 19) the latter name is written Atḳanas. The locative case after the verb *nunabi* must be noticed. Since *gurukhe* is conjoined with 'lambs' here, while the only other inscription in which lambs are mentioned is that of Meher-Kapussi, where 'wild oxen' are stated to have been offered to the gods of the land of Babas, it is possible that *gurukhe* signifies 'wild oxen.'

5. It is interesting to find *Naras*, that is, the Assyrian Nahri, here taking the place of Biainas, just as it does in the two inscriptions of Śarduris I. We may infer from this that the inscriptions of Kelishin and Meher-Kapussi belong to the period which immediately followed the reign of Śarduris I., when Vannic scribes were only just beginning to use the Assyrian characters for their own language.

6. For Suras see xliii. 18.

7. Here we should probably read ➤𒀀 *Khal-di-i-ni-ni*. *Uskubi* seems to be the first person sing. of a verb, compounded with the adverb *us* 'near.' We may perhaps translate:—"For the children of Khaldis I besieged the city of Nipur (*Ni-pur-ri-i-ni*), the city of . . . nilas (and) the city of Huisis."

LVII.

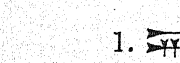
The Seal of Urzana King of Mutsatsir.

For the sake of completeness I add here the seal of Urzana of Mutsatsir, of whom Sargon speaks as follows (*Botta*, iv. [vii. viii. x.] 72–77)[1]:—"Urzana the Mutsatsirian, who to Urśa the Urardhian trusted and refused servitude, with the might of my army the city of Mutsatsir like a swarm of locusts I covered, and he to save his life fled by himself and his mountains ascended. Into Mutsatsir as suzerain I entered, and his wife, his sons, his daughters, the spoil, the furniture, (and) the treasures of his palace as many as there were, along with 20,100 men as well as their families, Khaldia (and) Bagabartu his gods, as well as their numerous treasures, for a booty I counted. Urśa king of Urardhu heard of the destruction of Mutsatsir (and) the carrying away of Khaldia his god, and with his own hand he cut off his life with the iron sword of his girdle." This was B.C. 714 (see above, pt. iii. p. 408). Mutsatsir lay to the south of Van, as we learn from the Black Obelisk (lines 177–180), where Shalmaneser states that he sent the Tartan first to Khupuscā, then to Zapparia "a stronghold of the country of Mutsatsira," and that after the capture of Zapparia and forty-six other cities of Mutsatsir the Assyrian army marched "up to the borders of the country of the Urardhians," fifty of whose towns it destroyed. The worship of Khaldia, the god of Urśa, seems to show that the population of Mutsatsir was allied to that of Van—indeed the

[1] See also W.A.I. i. 36, 27.

Vannic language appears to have extended as far south as Khupuscia, as the name of the latter country is formed by the gentilic suffix *-a*. Hence it is not surprising that the Assyrian title of Nahri "the river-land," which comprised the whole country between Lake Van and Mons Masius, was regarded by the Vannic kings as synonymous with the name of their own kingdom. If the Assyrians have reported the name of Khaldia correctly, the god worshipped at Mutsatsir was not Khaldis, but "the god of the people of Khaldis." As, however, Sargon says that he was the god of Urśa, it would seem that they must really have confounded together Khaldis and Khaldias.

The cylinder of Urzana must have been carried off by Sargon and is now in the Museum of the Hague. It has been published by Dorow, *Die assyrische Keilschrift*, pl. 1; Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, pl. xxix. No. 140; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. lxi. No. 9; and more accurately Ménant, *Les Cylindres orientaux du Cabinet royal des médailles à la Haye*, No. 145; Schrader, *Monatsbericht der Königl. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1879; and Lenormant, *Gazette archéologique*, No. 6 (1879), p. 250. Schrader first perceived that the inscription is in the Assyrian language, and gave a translation of it, while Lenormant showed that the two ostriches upon the cylinder which are being strangled by a winged human figure who stands between them represent the evil demons of the mountains overcome by the good genius. It is interesting to find the ostrich living so far to the north at this period. The fact that the inscription is Assyrian not only indicates that the seal was made at Nineveh, but further suggests that the Cuneiform characters of Van had not been communicated to the population of the neighbouring mountains. Had the king of Mutsatsir been acquainted with the Vannic mode of writing, he would not have gone to Assyria for the inscription on his seal. The inscription is talismanic and runs as follows:—

1.  Ur-za-na
Seal of Urzana

2. sar Mu-tsa-tsir u
king of the city of Mutsatsir and

3. Hu-ab (?) [1]-ti
the city Huabti (?)

4.
stone of the good-colossus (*lamaššu*)

5. sa cima tsir(i)
of whom like a serpent

6. ina sad-e limnuti
in the mountains evil

7. pi( )-su pi-tu-u.
its mouth is open.

cunúcu here takes the place of the *pulúsi* of the Vannic texts. The seal is composed of red jasper.

The Inscription of Tarku.

Among Schulz's papers was found a two-line inscription, entitled "Inscription de Tarkou, d'après un dessin du prince Dimitri Cantémir, qui se trouvait avec les instructions de Güldenstädt. St. P. 4 Aug. 1807." St.-Martin (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xii. 2, p. 114) averred that it stood at the gate of Tarku on the Caspian. It has, however, been shown by Löwenstern (*Rev. archéologique*, vii. p. 455), and more especially Holtzmann (*Z.D.M.G.* vi. pp. 379–388), that the inscription was not copied by prince Cantémir, but came from the first edition of Witsen's *Noord en Oost-Tartarye*, ii. p. 563 (Amsterdam, 1705). The latter writer states that: "In the countries beyond Zarku, Boinak and Osmin is a district where a German physician, who had traversed it when flying from the anger of Stenka Rasin, has

[1] . It may be meant for *sum* or even *tur*, or perhaps for the two characters *tab* and *ru* (*du*).

informed me that he has seen on arches, walls, and mountains characters of the same form as those on the ruins of Persepolis, which he had also seen. This mode of writing belongs, it is said, to the language of the ancient Persians Gaures, Gabres, or fire-worshippers. Two specimens of it will be found here, which I give, although to-day these characters are unintelligible. Throughout the whole district, says this physician, especially at a little distance from Derbent, in the mountains by the side of the main road, one sees, engraved on the rock, figures of men dressed in a very strange manner, like the ancient Greeks or perhaps Romans, and not only isolated figures, but entire scenes and representations of persons engaged in the same action, broken columns, aqueducts, and arcades."[1] But the first specimen given by Witsen—the so-called Inscription of Tarku—really came, not from a German physician, but from Hyde's "Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis Historia" (1700), who took it from a paper published by F(rancis) A(ston) in the *Philosophical Transactions*, June, 1693. Aston here states that Mr. S. Flower, an agent of the East India Company in Persia, had copied it from a fragment of marble "at the Mountains of Nocturestand and Chahelminar in Persia . . . in November, 1667," along with five other Greek, Sassanian, and Arabic inscriptions. Other cuneiform inscriptions copied at Persepolis by Flower are not given by Aston. The two-line inscription, however, which is given, now known as the Inscription of Tarku, really consists of specimen characters from the Persian, "Protomedic," and Babylonian transcripts of the Akhæmenian texts, grouped together without any regard to order and divided from each other by the Persian word-divider. It reads thus:

1. a (P.) r (P.) s (P.) u (B.) th (P.) bu (B.) si (B.) sa (B) rat (B) h (P) i (B.).

2. bumi (P.) a (B.) hu (B.) nu (B.) ak (Pr.) kha (Pr.) v (P) kh (P) ya (B) da (Pr.).

[1] See Burnouf, *Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions cunéiformes*, p. 176.

The Inscription of Xerxes at Van.

This is engraved in an almost inaccessible part of the rock of Van, on the southern side, and about 60 feet above the plain. Like other Akhæmenian inscriptions, it consists of three versions, Persian, "Protomedic," and Babylonian, placed side by side. We learn from it that the rock was prepared by Darius Hystaspis, but some unknown cause obliged him to leave the task of filling it in with an inscription to his son and successor. It is difficult not to believe that the great inscriptions of Argistis on the rock of Van suggested to Darius the idea of commemorating his own power in a similar way, and it is possible that we owe to this the inscriptions of Behistun and Naksh-i-Rustem. I have already noticed the remarkable resemblance between the form in which the Akhæmenian inscriptions are drawn up and that of the older Vannic texts. In both we have an invocation to the supreme deity at the beginning, and each paragraph is introduced by the phrase "he says." As this phrase does not occur in the Babylonian or Assyrian inscriptions, Darius must have borrowed it from Van. If the people of Van used the Hittite hieroglyphs before they adopted the cuneiform system of writing, they may well have been familiar with the phrase, since the inscriptions of Carchemish also begin with it. The following is a translation of the Inscription of Xerxes:[1]—

"A great god is Ormazd, who (is) the greatest of gods, who has created this earth, who has created that heaven, who has

[1] The text as copied by Schulz is published in the *Journal asiatique*, 1840. Another copy of the Persian text by Boré has been given by Sir H. Rawlinson in the J. R. A. S. Vol. X. p. 334. For Westergaard's copy of the "Protomedic" text as far as line 21 see Norris, in the J. R. A. S. Vol. XV. p. 156. For the Babylonian text see Oppert, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, ii. 2. It reads: *a-na e-bis liv-su vá tsalam-ma ina mukh-khi ul is-dhu-ur* 'he gave command) to make his tablet and an image; thereon he did not write.' *Liv* (𒆷𒀀) is the *lav* 'tablet' of the older Assyrian period. Oppert has already recognized that 𒀀 is here the ideograph of *tsalamu* 'image,' as at Naksh-i-Rustem (26), *ma* being the phonetic complement. See Bezold: *Die Achämenideninschriften*, p. 76.

created mankind, who has given happiness to man, who has made Xerxes king, sole king of many kings, sole lord of many. I am Xerxes the great king, the king of kings, the king of the provinces with many languages, the king of this great earth far and near, son of king Darius, the Akhæmenian. Says Xerxes the king: Darius the king, my father, did many works through the protection of Ormazd, and on this mountain he commanded to make his tablet and an image; yet an inscription he did not make. Afterwards I ordered this inscription to be written. May Ormazd, along with all the gods, protect me and my kingdom and my work."

Armenia seems to have formed part of the Median empire when it was conquered by Kyros. According to Hdt. i. 74, 75, the Median empire extended as far west as the river Halys, and a cuneiform inscription on a gryphon's head of red stone, discovered in Kappadokia, which I have published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Nov. 1881, is in the characters of the Amardian or "Protomedic" syllabary.[1] On the other hand, before the rise of the kingdom of Ekbatana, at the time when Jeremiah li. was first written, there were "kings" of the Medes, while the principalities of Askchenaz (Asguza), Minni and Ararat were independent. The war between Darius and the pretender Phraortes, who professed to be Satarritta the Median king, was partly carried on in Armenia, where the Armenian Dadarses, the general of Darius, fought three battles at Zuza, Tigra, and Uhyâma. That the Vannic language was still spoken in Armenia is pretty clear from the names of Khaldi-da or Khaldi-ta and of his son Arakha (Kharakha in the Amardian

[1] The only character not found in the Amardian texts is *dhu* in its later Babylonian form. The inscription is circular, and reads: *Ku-'ar-hu-man* ('the king') *Man-dhu-mas*. The sound *kw* seems to have been known in Kappadokia and Kilikia. Among the proper names found in the inscriptions of Hamaxia are Κούας (C. I. G. 4401, etc.), Ὀβραγούεις, Κούαλις, Κιδαμούασις, and Ἐπιούασις, and at Selindy we have Κούαλες (C. I. G. 4424). The inscription probably belongs to the time of Kyros, when the system of cuneiform writing employed in Khapirti or Amardia (the plain of Mal Amir) was likely to have been carried beyond its original boundaries, as Khapirti formed part of the ancestral dominions of Kyros, and its language and writing accordingly were those of the conqueror of Western Asia.

version), who had settled in Babylonia, and claimed to be Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidos.

In concluding this memoir, I have only to add that no one can be more sensible than myself of the imperfections it contains. There is much yet to be done before the decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions can be placed on a thoroughly satisfactory footing. New inscriptions are needed as well as squeezes or photographs of many of those of which we now possess copies only. The cast of the inscription of Kelishin, which I did not receive until after the publication of the first part of the memoir, shows the light that may be poured at any moment on obscure questions of Vannic grammar and lexicography by the discovery of a single fresh text. We know of the existence of four still unpublished inscriptions—those of Tash-Tepé, Sidek Kelishin, Erzerûm, and Alichalu (since the so-called copy of the latter which we have is a caricature rather than a copy)—all of them of considerable historical importance, and one at least within the limits of Russian territory. And there must be others besides these which are yet to be discovered.

The phonology of the language especially requires further elucidation. We have to settle the exact pronunciation of *e*, and its use as a modifier of the other vowels. The question of long and short vowels has also to be determined. My account of the grammar, too, will doubtless be corrected and supplemented by more extended researches. Light is thrown on the import of the suffix *-tsi* by the equivalence of *ebani-a-tse-di-ni* and *ulgusi-ya-ne-di-ni* (p. 655), and I am now disposed to think that the following view of the declension is the one which best explains the facts and gets rid of anomalies. I am now inclined to doubt whether originally any difference was made between the cases of the singular and plural any more than it was between the singular and plural third person of the verb. Originally both singular and plural were alike *Khaldis* in the nominative, *Khaldi* or *Khalde* in the genitive, dative, and accusative, *Khaldida* in the local, *Khaldidi* in the locative, and *Khaldili* in the perfective. The demonstrative

then came to be attached to all these cases—the nominative excepted—like *-ι* in Greek or *-ce* in Latin. Hence arose *Khaldini*, *Khaldidani*, *Khaldidini*, and *Khaldilini*. For reasons which I cannot explain the locative *Khaldidini* was disused; at all events no such form is found in the texts. *Khaldini* became the regular form of the accusative singular, as would naturally be the case, the accusative in other languages being similarly distinguished from the nominative by the help of a demonstrative. By way of distinction the demonstrative was dropped in the accusative plural. On the other hand, it was retained in the genitive-dative plural through a confusion with the adjectival suffix *-ni*, *Khaldi-ni* 'to that belonging to Khaldis' being equivalent to 'to the Khaldises.' A striving after differentiation next led to the omission of the demonstrative in the genitive-dative singular. In the perfective the demonstrative came to be employed only where a special emphasis had to be laid upon the word, as, for example, where it came at the end of a series of other perfectives. Its use in the local was influenced by the analogy of the accusative; when *-ni* had come to be regarded as the sign of the accusative singular, there was a natural tendency to attach it to the case (in the singular) which had much the same signification as the accusative. The new form, *Khaldida-ni*, tended to supersede the old attempt to distinguish between the singular and plural of the local by reduplicating the local suffix *-dada*, contracted into *-dad*. This attempt was imitated in the locative, where *-didi* contracted into *-did* was sometimes used to denote the plural. But the attempt was never fully or consistently carried out, and up to the last evident traces remained of the fact that originally the cases of the Vannic noun had been the same in both singular and plural. Indeed, where a noun was formed by the suffix *-ni(s)*, the latter was confounded with the old demonstrative affix of the accusative singular, producing *Khaldini* 'the Khaldinian,' instead of *Khaldinini*, like forms in *-khinis* which drop the *-ni* in the accusative. To explain this we must go back to the time when the demonstrative was not as yet invariably attached to the accusative singular, and where it was attached was affixed only to the substantive, not

to the adjective which agreed with it. It was only the pronoun, as in *pi mesini*, which took the demonstrative, and accordingly obliged its substantive to drop it.[1]

Before, however, these and such like questions of Vannic grammar can be finally settled, much will have to be done. I shall be content if my Memoir will have prepared the way for other and more advanced researches into the language of the Vannic inscriptions, and more satisfactory explanations of the words and phrases they contain. Above all, I would direct the attention of Georgian scholars to the subject, and ask them to examine whether or not the modern Kartvelian idioms are in any way connected with the old language of Van.

VOCABULARY.

[*The Roman ciphers denote the inscription, the Arabic ciphers the line.*[2]]

A.

 A-a-i-na-hu-e. *To the god of the land of Aais.* v. 23, 65. See p. 669.

 A-bi-a-ni-i-ni. *Abianis* (acc.). xlix. 14. King of Edias.

A-bi-da-du-bi. *I burnt;* interchanged with -bi. xliii. 4; xlv. 9; l. 27.

[1] I ought to have mentioned in my sketch of Vannic grammar that participial adjectives in *-śis* resembled those in *-khinis* in discarding the accusatival *-ni*. Indeed they went further, as neither the substantive which preceded the adjective in *-śis* nor the adjective itself in some instances took *-ni*. Thus we find *inani nuśi* 'royal city,' *nu adaiśi* (li. 4). On the other hand, we have *ini asê baduśie, Menua-ni . . . aluśie*, and in the dative plural *maśi-ni*. In my list of Vannic characters, also, *kab* must be expunged. I now feel convinced that in xxxii. 7 represents *kar*. Accordingly, the word for 'stone' will be *karbis* and not *kabbis*. I have to add, too, that in one passage (xxxi. 21) *tu* is replaced by . In the account of the verb, moreover, I have omitted to notice the causative conjugation formed by the suffix *su*, *sa* (as in *kharkhar-su-bi*, *kharkhar-sa-bies*). *Su* probably signified originally 'to cause,' 'make.' The noun-suffix *-tsi*, I am now inclined to think, contains the idea of 'all.'

[2] *Hu* and *u* are arranged alike under *u*, and *ś* and *ts* follow *s*. Otherwise the order of the letters in the Latin alphabet is followed. *Kh* follows *k* and *ḳ*. *Dh* comes after *d*.

A-bi-da-i-a-ni-e-khi. *The son of Abidayanis.* xxxvii. 17. A chief near Melazgherd.

A-bu-ni-i-e. *The land of Abunis* (N.W. of Lake Van). xlv. 38.

A-bu-ni-i-e-di. *Into the land of Abunis.* xxxvii. 12.

Abur-za-ni-ni. *The city of Aburzas.* xxxix. 37. In Bustus.

A-da. *And.* Originally 'partly.' v. 25, 70 (where the copies have *a-li*); xxx. 17; xxxiii. 9; xlv. 19, 22; xxi. 7 (?); see note on last passage.

A-da-a. xxxiii. 13.

A-da—a-da. *In part-in part* (*some-some*); *both-and.* xix. 7, 8.

A-da. *The whole, the sum;* ideograph . xxi. 3; xlix. 25.

A-du-bi. *I summed up.* xlix. 26.

A-da-i-śi. *Summing up, collecting* (?). li. 4.

A-da-e-da . . *Place of assemblage* (?). xlv. 33.

A-da-a-ba-a-di. *Among the assemblage* (?). xxxvii. 24.

A-da-a-ba-di. xxxviii. 39; xxxix. 27, 52; xl. 29, 49, 77; xliii. 22, 46; xli. 11; xliii. 10, 32, 69; xlix. 29; l. 10.

A-da-i-a-ba-di. xxxvii. 4; xxxviii. 10; xxxix. 3; xli. 4.

A-da-bi-di. *Probably the same word.* liv. 6, 10, 11.

A-da-ma-a-nu. *Some and each,* or *all and each.* xxxii. 10.

A-da-kid. *Partly, some.* xxxii. 9.

A-da-ki. xxxvii. 14; xli. 42; xxxviii. 21, 47; xxxix. 15, 42; xl. 3, 4, 37, 38, 61; xli. 8; xlii. 6, 28, 65.

A-da-e. *He says;* stem *a.* xx. 10; xxi. 3, 6; xxx. 7, 12, 18, 29; xxxii. 2; xxxiv. 8; xxxvii. 1, 2, 16, 21, 22; xxxviii. 2, 8, 11, 23, 29, 38, 49, 56; xxxix. 4, 23, 28, 39, 44, 49, 53; xl. 9, 24, 31, 40, 47, 51, 65, 71, 78; xli. 1, 10, 12, 15, 16; xliii. 1, 9, 15, 19, 31, 37, 41, 51, 68, 74, 77; xliv. 3; xlv. 33; xlvi. 13, 23; xlvii. 2; xlviii. 9, 14, 25; xlix. 4, 7, 25; l. 34; li. 4, 9, iii. 3; lvi. (1,) 2; xxxv.A. 1 Rev.

A-da-a. l. 6.

A-da. xx. 10; xxii. 7; xxviii. 2; xxix.B. 10; xxxiii. 22; l. 21; liii. 3; lvi. (2,) 1.

A-da-ru-ta-a. *To the god Adarutas.* v. 9, 41.

A-di-i-a. *To the god Adias.* v. 23.

A-gu-bi. *I took, selected.* xxii. 10; xxix.B. 7, 9; xxxvii. 14; xxxviii. 20, 21, 47; xxxix. 15, 42; xl. 4, 38, 61, 73; xli. 7; xliii. 6, 17, 28, 65; xlviii. 31; l. 25; lv. 14.

A-gu-hu-bi. xxii. 9.

A-gu-bi-e. xxxvii. 43.

A-gu-ni. *He took.* xxii. 3; xlv. 22, 40.

A-gu-hu-nu-ni. *Spoil.* xlviii. 28.
A-gu-nu-hu-ni. xlix. 16.
A-gu-nu-ni. xxxvii. 26; xxxix. 62; xliii. 16, 39, 56, 75, 78; xlix. 14, 15; l. 20.
A-gu-nu-ni-ma-a-nu (?). xxxviii. 13.
A-gu-hu-ni-e-da. *Place of spoil.* xxx. 27.

A-i-a. *To the god Aias* (the Earth-god). v. 21.

A-i-du-ni. *The land of Aidus.* xxix.B. 5. See p. 395.

A-i-e. *In the land.* xxv. 6.

A-i-ni-e. *To the earth* or *dust.* Literally *what belongs to the land*, ainis being an adj. in *-nis* from *ais.* xxxi. 27; xxxv.A. 5 *Rev.*; lvi. (3,) 3.
A-i-ni-e-i. xx. 12; xxii. 8; xliv. 6; xlviii. 17; l. 7.
A-i-ni. vii. 5; xxx. 31; l. 36.

A-i-ra-i-ni-e. *To the god Airainis.* v. 11, 45.

A-khi-u-ni-ka-ni. *City of the clan of Akhiunis.* xxix.B. 1. See p. 395.

 A-la . . . *The stone . . .* xxxvii. 29.

A-la-dha-i. *Of the country Aladhas.* xl. 57. Near Bustus.

Al-di-s. *The god Khaldis;* see Khaldis. lvi. ii. 1.
Al-di-e. *To Khaldis.* lvi. i. 12.
Al-di-ka-a-i. *To the race of Khaldis.* lvi. iv. 3.
Al-di-na. *The land of Khaldis.* lvi. i. 12.
Al-di-ni-e. *To the Khaldinians.* xli. 13.

Al-di-ni-i-e. *Stones* (?). v. 29, 80.

Al-du-tu-si-ni-e. *To the God Aldutusinis.* v. 10, 43. Perhaps a compound of *al* and *dutu.*

Al-ga-ni. *Of the land Alganis* (belonging to the Minni). xl. 36.

Al-ga-ni-na-hu-e . *To the god of the land of Alganis.* v. 18, 56.

Al-khi-e. *Inhabitants.* Cf. *alušie.* l. 2, 6. The root is *al.*
Al-khe. xxxiii. 16.
Al-khi. xxxviii. 41; xlix. 17.

Al-li-i-e. *Records.* lvi. iii. 8, 12.

Al-śu-hu-i-ni-e. *Belonging to multitudes.* xxxiii. 19.
Al-śu-hu-i-ni. xx. 7.
Al-śu-i-ni. xxi. 5; xxvii. 11; xxix. 10; xxxv. 7; xlviii. 6; l. 33; li. iii. 9; lii.
Al-śu-ni. xx. 7; xxxvi. 9.

Al-śu-i-si-e-ni. *To the multitudinous.* xli. 12. Perhaps a compound of *al* and *śui*.

Al-śu-i-si-i-ni. xxxix. 55; xl. 70.

Al-śu-u-si-i-ni. xlvii. 1.

Al-śu-hu-i-si-ni. xx. 5; xxvii. 8; xxix.B. 8; xxxiii. 17; xxxvii. 19; xl. 22, 81; li. iii. 1.

Al-śu-i-si-ni. vi.A. 1; xxxvii. 4, 23; xxxviii. 7, 10, 15, 28, 39; xxxix. 3, 5, 23, 27, 30, 48, 52; xl. 34, 46, 49, 53, 77; xli. 16; xlii. 1; xliii. 22, 36, 46, 73; xlviii. 4; xlix. 6; l. 9, 32; li. 1; lii.

Al-śu-si-ni. xx. 5; xxii. 4; xxix. 8; xxxv. 5; xxxvi. 8; xl. 28; xlvi. 10, 27.

Al-śu-i-si-e. (Sing.) v. 12.

Al-śu-hu-si-e. v. 49.

A-lu-hu-s. *Whoever.* xliv. 3.

A-lu-s. x. 3; xix. 13, 14, 15, 17; xx. 10, 11, 13; xxi. 6, 8, 9, 10, 12; xxii. 7, 8, 9; xxviii. 2; xxx. 29, 30, 31, 32; xxxi. 21, 22, 27, 29; xxxiii. 22, 23, 24; xxxiv. 16, 17, 18; xxxv.A. 2, 3, 5, 7 *Rev.*; xliv. 5, 6, 9, 11; xlviii. 14, 16, 17, 19; l. 35, 36; lvi. iii. 3, 10, 11.

A-lu-kid. *In any case.* v. 26.

A-lu-s-Hu-ru-li-hu-e-Si-hu-a-li. *To the god who (is) when the offspring are carried away.* v. 9, 43.

A-lu-hu-śi-e. *Inhabiting*; allied to *alkhe.* xxvii. 13; xlviii. 8; li. iii. 11.

A-lu-hu-śi. xxii. 6.

A-lu-śi-e. xxxiii. 21.

A-lu-śi. xx. 8; xxvi. 7; xxvi. (2,) 6; xxix. 12; xxxv. 9; xxxvi. 10; l. 34; lii.; lvi. iii. 5, iv. 6.

A-lu-hu-śi-ni (?). xxxvii. 4.

A lu-hu-śi-ni-ni. *To the gods of the inhabitants.* xxxvii. 23; xxxix. 51.

A-lu-śi-ni-ni. xxxviii. 10, 39; xxxix. 3, 27; xl. 28, 49, 76; xliii. 22, 45; xlvi. 27; l. 9.

 Al-zi-i-ni-ni. *The land of Alzis.* See p. 398. xxxii. 8.

Al-zi-ra-ni. lv. 9.

A-ma-as-tu-hu-bi. *I plundered.* Compounded of *amas* and *tu.* xxxii. 3; xxxix. 57; xxxv.A. 2 *Obv.*

A-ma-as-tu-bi. xxx. 9; xl. 58; xlv. 4, 7.

 A-me-gu (?) . . . *The city of Ame* . . . xliii. 54.

A-mu-hu-bi. *I captured* (?). xxxix. 32.

. . . a-na-si-i-e. xxxi. 1, 14.

An-da-ni. *Boys.* xxxvii. 8; xxxviii. 16; xl. 55; l. 12.

A-ni-is-ti(?)-ir-hu-e. *Of the land of Anistir* (in Georgia). xxxvii. 18.

. . . a-nu-ni. v. 31, 83; vi.D. 3.

Ap-ti-i-ni. *Which was called.* See *tini*. *Ap* seems to be a prefixed relative. xi.A. 3.

Ap-ti-ni. xxxii. 6, 7; lv. 12.

Arame *or* Arrame, King of Ararat, p. 405. Perhaps we should read Arave, which would be written in Vannic *A-ra-hu-e-s* 'belonging to Aras.' Cf. *aris*.

A-ra-za-a. *To the God Arazas.* v. 11, 46.

Ar-bi-i. xi.A. 3. See *si-ri-bi-i*.

Ar-da-ra-ki-khi. *The son of Ardarakis* (N.W. of Lake Van). lxv. 16.

Ar-di-ni. *The city of Ardis*, near Kelishin. lvi. ii. 2, iii. 6.

Ar-di-ni-di. *In the city of the Ardinians.* lvi. ii. 5, iv. 4.

Ar-di-ni-na-hu-e . *To the god of the city of the Ardinians.* v. 14, 52.

Ar-di-ni-e-i. xliii. 42.

Ar-di-i-e. *To the god Ardis.* v. 23.

Ar-di-ni. *Publicly.* Ideog. *-ni.* v. 26.

Ar-di(?)-ni(?)-ni. *Day by day.* l. 39.

Ar-di-se-e. *Regulations.* xlv. 23.

Ar-di-se. v. 2, 34; 29, 80; xix. 6; xlviii. 10.

Ar-dhu-ha-ra-ir-hu-e. *To the god of Ardhuharair.* v. 14, 51.

Ar-gi-is-ti-s. xxvii. 22; xxxix. 23, 28, 39, 53; xl. 23; xli. 15; xliii. 1, 19, 37; xliv. 1; xlvi. 12; xlvii. 2.

Ar-gis-ti-s. xxxvii. 2, 16, 21; xxxviii. 2, 8, 23, 29, 49; xxxix. 4, 44, 49; xl. 40, 46, 65, 71, 78; xli. 1, 10, 12; xlii. 1; xliii. 9, 31, 41, 51, 68, 74, 77; xlv. 33.

Ar-gi-is-ti-i-s. xxxviii. 11, 37, 55; xl. 9, 30, 50; xliii. 15; xlvi. 22.

Ar-gi-is-ti-e. xlv. 19, 40.

Ar-gi-is-ti-i-ni. xxxvii. 20.

Ar-gi-is-ti-ni. xxxvi. 5, 8; xxxviii. 4, 28; xlv. 31; xlvi. 11.

Ar-gis-ti-e-khi-ni-s. *The son of Argistis.* xlviii. 3, 25.

Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s. xlix. 25, 29; li. 2, iii. 2.

Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e. xlix. 2.

Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni. l. 3.

Ar-gis-ti-e-khi. xlviii. 5; l. 5.

Ar-gis-ti-khi. xlix. 4; l. 33; li. iii. 8; lii.

Ar-gis-te-e-khi-ni-da. *Place of the son of Argistis.* xl. 71.

Ar-gis-ti-i-ka-a-i. *To the race of Argistis.* xxxviii. 26, 54; xxxix. 48; xlvi. 7.

Ar-gis-ti-i-ka-i. xxxviii. 6.

Ar-gis-ti-ka-i. xxxvii. 18; xxxix. 22; xl. 69; xliii. 14, 72.

Ar-gi-is-ti-i-ka-i. xl. 45; xliii. 35; xlv. 29.

Ar-gi-is-ti-ka-i. xl. 20.

Ar-ha-a. *To the god Arhas.* v. 22.

A-ri-e-dha. *He becomes,* 3rd s. pres. of the subst. vb. xlix. 18.

A-ri-e-ni. xxxix. 5.

Aris (?). "A man." See *Ideographs* No. 6, and note.

Ar-kha-hu-e-e-di. *Into the land of the Arkhaians* (near Bustus). xxxix. 34.

Ar-khi-e-hu-ru-da-a-ni. *Family* (acc.); compound of *ar-khi* 'offspring' from *aru* 'to bear,' and *hurudas.* xxi. 14–15.

Ar-khi-hu-ru-da-a-ni. xx. 17; xxx. 34; xxxiii. 27; xxxiv. 22; xliv. 18; xlviii. 23; l. 39.

Ar-khi-u-ru-da-ni. xxii. 12.

Ar-khi-hu-ru-da-ni. xxviii. 11.

Ar-ma-a-ni-e-da-ad. *Tablets.* xx. 3.

Ar-ma-ni-da-ad. xx. 3.

Ar-mu-zi-i. *With a curse* (?). xliv. 16.

Ar-mu-zi. xxviii. 9; xlviii. 22; lvi. iii. 14.

Ar-ni-i-e. *Of the fort.* v. 17, 54.

Ar-ni-i-e. *To the god Arnis.* v. 12, 48.

Ar-nu-ya-da. *Castles.* xxxi. 4; xlv. 35.

Ar-ni-hu-si-ni-e-da. *The citadel (of Van).* xxxviii. 24, 50; xxxix. 45. See note on *Inani.*

Ar-ni-hu-si-ni-da. xxxvii. 16; xxxviii. 3; xxxix. 19; xl. 12, 41, 66; xli. 11; xliii. 10, 32, 69; xlix. 29.

 Ar-śi-me-la-e. *To the god Arśimelas.* v. 39.

 Ar-śi-me-la. v. 6.

 Ar-tsi-bad-di-ni-e. *To the god Artsibaddinis.* v. 12, 48.

Ar-tsu-hu-i-ni-ni. *The city of the Artsuians* (the modern Sirka, near Van). v. 15.

 Ar-tsu-hu-ni-ni. v. 54.

 Ar-tsu-ni-hu-i-ni-e. (Apparently the same city, now Sirka.) xi. 1.

Ar-tar-mu . . . *The land of Artarmu* . . . xxxvii. 33.

A-ru-hu-bi. *I brought.* xxxii. 10; xliii. 76.

A-ru-hu-ni. *He brought.* xxx. 16; liv. 2.

A-ru-ni. xli. 13; xlv. 20; xlviii. 26; li. iii. 3; lvi. i. 12.

A-ru-si. *The city of Arusis* (near Malatiyeh). l. 29.

A-sa-a-zi-e-khi-i-ni-e. '*The sons of the* . . .' (apparently the commissariat officers). xxx. 21, 23. It is possible that we ought to read *gi* instead of *zi*.

As-du. *Occupying.* xxxix. 1, 25. Literally 'house-establishments,' from *asis* and *du* (for *asidu*).

 A-si-e. *Of the house, temple.* v. 12, 49.

 A-se. vi.B. 1.

 A-si. xiv., xv.

-se. iii. 1, 2.

-i-ni. iv.

A-se. v. 29, 80; x. 2; xii. 1, 3; xxx. 81; x. 2, 4, 5, 6.

A-se-e-i. li. 5.

 A-si-da. *The site of a house,* i.e. *palaces.* xxx. 27.

A-si-da. xxxi. 12. See under .

A-se. *Gods* (?). xxiv. 7. This word may possibly be better rendered 'temples.'

As-ga-la-a-bi. *I* . . . . xlix. 12. The reading *as-hu-la-a-bi* must be rejected. The word is a compound of *as* (as in *as-du*) and *gala* (as in *gala-zi*).

As-gu-bi. *I took.* xxxix. 35; xlv. 26; l. 16; lv. 13. Probably a compound of *as* and *gu*.

As-kha-as-ti. *Of the food-remover.* x. 5; xii. 2. A compound of *askha-s(i)* 'belonging to food' and *ti(u)* 'to undo.'

(As)-kha-as-te-e-se. *The food-removers* (pl. of adj. in *-sis*). x. 2.

As-kha-as-tu-li. *After the bringing of the food.* vii. 2. A compound of *askha-s(i)* and *tu* 'to bring away.'

As-khu-da-ni. *Place of food* (acc. of the localizing form). xix. 12.

As-khu-me. *Let them eat* (?) xxiv. 6.

 As-ḳa-la-a-si-e-di. *Among the Asḳalaians* (N.W. of Lake Van). xlv. 6.

As-ḳa-la-a-si-e. xlv. 11.

 As-ḳa-ya-i. *Of the land of Asḳayas* (in Bustus). xl. 54.

As-ta (nu-la-da). *Palace* (?), perhaps for *asida*. liv. 6, 10, 11. See *nu-la-da*.

As-ti-hu. *War-magazines.* xliii. 42. Perhaps a derivative in *-di*, from *asis* 'house.'

As-te-hu-i-hu-ni. *Belonging to the war-magazines.* xxx. 21.

A-śi . *Horsemen, charioteers.* v. 13, 50; xxx. 20, 21; xlv. 26.

 A-śi . v. 51; xxxix. 16; xlviii. 31.

A-śi- -i-e. xliii. 14.

 A-śi- -se. (*Adj.* in *-sis.*) xlix. 12.

A-śi- -tsi-e. xl. 79.

A-śi- -tsi. l. 11.

A-śi- -hu-e-da. *Cavalry-quarters.* xli. 4; xliii. 23.

A-śi- -hu-e-da-du-da. *Ruined cavalry-quarters.* xliii. 43. Compounded with *du* 'to destroy.'

A-śi- -hu-e-da-du-hu-da. xxxix. 49.

A-śu-ni. *Neighbourhood* (?). xxx. 11; xxxiv. 14; l. 15.

A-śu-ni-ni. xli. 18.

A-tsu-s. *Month.* v. 2, 34.

A-tsu-si-ni-e. *Monthly.* xlviii. 10.

 At-bi-ni-i-e. *To the god Atbinis.* v. 8, 40.

A-ti-bi. *Thousands, myriads* (see p. 628). xxxi. 15; xxxvii. 14, 15; xxxviii. 2; xliii. 30, 67; xlv. 14, 21, 22.

At-ḳa-na-hu-e. *To the gods of Atḳanas.* v. 19, 57. See Khatḳanas.

A-hu-i-e-i. *To water* (nom. *avis*). xxi. 8; xliv. 13, 20.
A-hu-i-e. xx. 19; xxi. 16; xxii. 14; xxviii. 12; xxx. 36; xxxiii. 28; xxxiv. 24; xlviii. 24; l. 40.
A-hu-e. xx. 19.
A-hu-i-e. *To the water-god.* v. 21.
 A-hu-e-ra-si-da. *Place of the auxiliaries.* xxxix. 30.
 A-hu-e-ra-si-ni. xxxix. 32.
 A-za-ru-ni-ni. *Land of the Azarunians.* lv. 11.
A-zi-i-bi-e. *The dead* (?); *statues* (?). xxxvii. 1.
A-zi-bi-i. xi.A. 3 (*note*).

B. See also P.

Ba-ba-a. *Of the land of Babas.* v. 21, 59; xxxix. 40. See pp. 486, 579.
Ba-a-ba-ni-e. xliii. 71.
 Ba-ba-a-ni. xl. 57.
 Ba-ba-ni. xxxvii. 10; xxxix. 5; l. 14.
 Ba-ba-ni-a. *The people of the Babaian land.* lv. 12.
 Ba-ba-na-hu-e. *To the god of Babas.* v. 20, 58.
Ba-bi-lu-hu. *Of the land of Babilus* (the Babyrsa of Strabo, near Artaxata). xlix. 5.
Ba-bi-lu-ni-e. xlix. 4.
Bad-di-ni. *To all.* v. 24, 67; xi. 2.
Ba-di-ni-ni. xliii. 2.
Bad-di-ma-a-nu. *All and each.* xxx. 17.
Bad-di-sa-ni. *Of every kind.* v. 25, 72. Perhaps compounded with *sa* (as in *sa-da* 'there').
Bad-li . v. 7, 40. See -li .
Ba-a-du-hu-śi-e. *Decayed, old.* xxxv. 4.
Ba-du-hu-śi-i. xvii. 5.
Ba-du-śi-i-e. x. 8.
Ba-du-śi-i. xviii. 5.
Ba-du-śi-e. ix. 2; xiii. 2.
Ba-du-śi-ni. iii. 2.
Ba-al-tu-ul-khi-e. *The son of Baltul* (in N.W. of Lake Van). xxx. 25.
Bal-tu-ul-khi. xlv. 16.

Ba-am-ni. *The land of Bam* (in Kurdistan). xli. 18, 20.

Bar-su-hu-a-i. *Of the land of Barsuas.* xxxix. 13. South-west of Urumiyeh, the Barśuas or Parśuas of the Assyrians. See pp. 389, 400.

Bar-su-a-i-di. *Into Barsuas.* xxxix. 12.

Ba-ru-a-ta-i-ni-a. *The people of Baruatainis* (N.E. of Van). xlix. 6.

Bar-śu-di-i-bi-du-hu-ni. *A chapel.* xix. 4. Cf. *Biduni.*

Bar-śu-di-bi-i-du-hu-ni. xxv. 3, 5; xxvi. (3.) 3. Bar-śu-di-bi-du. xix. 12.

Bar-tsi-i-a. *To the god Bartsias.* v. 22.

Bar-za-ni. Apparently some kind of sacred edifice. xix. 9; liv. 3.

Bi. *His* (dialectal form). liii. 6.

Bi-a-i-na-e. *Of the land of Biainas* or *Van.* xx. 7; xxii. 5; xxxvi. 9.

Bi-i-na-e. xx. 7.

Bi-a-i-na-di. *Into the land of Biainas.* lv. 14.

Bi-a-na-i-di. xli. 7; l. 25.

Bi-i-a-i-na-a-i-di. xliii. 50.

Bi-a-i-na-a-hu-e. *The Biainian.* xxxv. 8.

Bi-i-a-i-na-hu-e. xxvi. 6; xxvi. (2.) 5; xxxiii. 20.

Bi-a-i-na-hu-e. xxvii. 12; xxix. 11; xlviii. 7, 13; l. 23; li. iii. 10.

Bi-a-na-as-te. Loc. pl. of adj. in *-sis.* xxxix. 2; xl. 27, 48, 76; xli. 3; xlvi. 26.

Bi-a-i-na-as-te. xxxviii. 9, 39; xxxix. 27, 51; xliii. 45; l. 9.

Bi-i-a-i-na-as-te. xliii. 21.

Bi-i-a. *Of the land of Bias.* xlv. 1. Near Melazgherd.

Bi-a-ni. xxxvii. 8.

Bi-a . . . . lvi. i. 3.

Bi-bu-di-id. *Vases.* l. 25.

Bi-di-a-di-ba-ad . Some kind of property belonging to slaves. l. 18.

Bi-du-ni. *Priests.* xxx. 17; xliii. 60. See *Barśudi-biduni.*

Bi-ku-hu-ra-e-di. *In the city of Bikuras* (near Rowandiz). lvi. iii. 9, 14.

 Bi-khu-ra-a-ni. *The city of Bikhuras* (perhaps the same as Bikuras). xli. 17, 18, 20.

Bi . . . hu (?)-kha-hu-ni-e. *The city of Bi . . . ukhaus.* xxxviii. 44.

Bu-lu-śi. *Written.* See *puluśi.*

 Bu-i-ni-(al-khi). (*The inhabitants*) *of Buis* (in Georgia). xlix. 17. See *al-khi-e.*

 Bu-ra-as. *The court.* xxxv.A. 7 Obv.; xlv. 18; xlix. 17.

Bu-ra-as. xlv. 39.

Bu-ra-na-di. l. 6.

Bur-ga-la-da. *Temples.* xxxi. 3, 11. Perhaps a compound of *bur* (as in *buras*) and *gala* (as in *galazi*).

Bur-ga-na-ni. *Altar* (?). iii. 1, 2; v. 29, 79.

 Bu-us-tu-hu-ni. *The land of Bustus* (adjoining Barsuas). xxxix. 61. It is the Bustu of the Assyrians. See p. 400.

 Bu-us-tu-ni. xxxix. 21, 47; xl. 44.

Bu-us-tu-hu-e-di. (Loc.) xxxix. 36.

Bu-us-tu-e-di. xl. 53.

D.

 Da-a-da-ni. *Dadas.* xxxix. 32. A chief of Barsuas or Bustus.

Da-di-ka-i. *Of the race of Dadis.* Apparently the same as Dadas. xxxix. 5.

 Da-ḳi-hu-e-e-di-a. *The people of Daḳis* (in Georgia). xlix. 14.

 Da-i-na-la-ti-ni-ni. *The river of the Dainalatians* (among the Minni). xliii. 17.

 Da-a-ra-ni. *The city of Daras* (near Erivan). xxxvi. 7.

Di-i-a-hu-khi-ni-e-i. (*The kingdom of*) *the son of Diaves.* xlv. 4; xlvi. 17. The Dayaeni of the Assyrians, on the Murad Chai, near Melazgerd. See p. 399.

 Di-a-hu-e-khi-ni-i. xxx. 19.

 Di-a-hu-khi-ni-e. xlv. 34.

Di-i-a-hu-e-khi. (Acc.) xxx. 13.

Di-a-hu-e-khi. xxx. 7; xxxvii. 6; xlv. 17; xlvi. 4.

Di-i-a-hu-khi. xlvi. 13.

 Di-a-hu-e-khi-ni-e-di. (Loc.) xxx. 2; xxxvii. 6.

Di-a-hu-e-khi-ni-di. xlv. 23.

Di-a-hu-khi-ni-s. (Nom.) xlv. 19.

Di-di-ni-e. *The land of Didinis* (N.W. of Lake Van). xlv. 2.

Di-e-du-a-i-ni-e. *To the god Diduainis.* v. 40.

Di-du-a-i-ni-e. v. 7.

Di-du-li-ni. *After the . . .* xvi. 3. The name of the god Diduainis ('belonging to the people of *Didu*'), which is followed at Meher-Kapussi by the name of the Moon-god, is from the same root. Perhaps the word means 'night.'

Di-ru-si-i-e. *To the . . .* (Dat. pl. of adj. in *-sis*). v. 13, 50.

. . . di-ra-hu-e. *To the god . . . diras.* v. 19, 57.

Du-u. *A monument.* li. 3. See *Udu.*

Du-hu-bi. *I destroyed.* xxxv.A. 6 Obv.; xxxvii. 6; xxxviii. 36; xxxix. 1; xliii. 2.

Du-bi. xxxv.A. 8 Obv.; xxxvii. 5; xxxviii. 35; xli. 4; xliii. 23; xlv. 10, 15, 39, 40; xlvi. 16.

Du-da-i-e. *He destroys.* xix. 14, 16; xx. 12; xxi. 12; xxxv.A. 36 Rev.; xliv. 7; lvi. iii. 4.

Du-da-e. xix. 17; xx. 12; xxviii. 5; xxx. 31; xxxi. 25, 26, 27; xxxiv. 17; xlviii. 15, 18; l. 36.

Du-da. xxii. 9; xxxiii. 24; l. 36.

Du-ḳa-ma-a-i-di. *Into the city of Duḳamas* (in Barsuas). xxxix. 8.

Du-ur-ba-ni. Coupled with *sisukhani.* xlvi. 14.

Duris in Sari-duris. Perhaps 'given' or 'servant.' Comparing *e-uris* and *giss-uris* we find the root to be *d-*.

Du-ru-a-i-ni. lv. 10. Doubtful reading.

Du-si-si-i-hu-li-ni. *After the winter.* v. 31, 83.

Du-tu. (Acc. pl.) xxxi. 10.

DH.

Dha-ni-śi-i. Some class of persons. li. iii. 4.

Dha-ni-e-śi-i. xlviii. 27.

 Dha-ir-tsu-bi. *The land of Dhairtsubi* (?). xxxvii. 25.

Dha-ri-khi-ni. *The inhabitants.* xvi. 2. The stem *dharu* is here weakened to *dhari.*

Dha-ru-khi-ni-i. xxxvii. 12.

Dhu-a-ra-a-tsi-ni-e-i. *The chief (?) of the land of Dhuarus.* xliii. 12. See p. 436. Perhaps we should read *Dhu-e-* for *Dhu-a-*.

 Dhu-ra-ni-i-e. *To the god of Dhuras.* v. 5, 37. Probably the same district as Dhuaras.

. . . . . dhu-ra-a-ni. xxxii. 6.

Dhu-lu-(hu)-ri-(ni). *A palace.* xiii. 1.

-ri-a. *The people of the palace.* xliii. 75.

 Dhu-me-is-ki. *Of the city Dhumeskis* (near Malatiyeh). l. 28.

Dhu-me-is-ki-ni-ka-i. *Of the clan of Dhumeskis.* l. 11.

Dhu-us-pa-(a)-e . *Dhuspas* (Tosp, the modern Van). xx. 8; xxii. 6; xxvi. (1,) 7; xxvi. (2,) 6; xxxiii. 21; xlviii. 8; li. iii. 1; lii. We should probably read *Dhuspae-inaini* 'the city of Tosp.' This was distinguished from the *inanida* or city of the rock subsequently built and fortified by Argistis and Sariduris II.

Dhu-us-pa-a . xxvii. 14; xxix. 12; xxxvi. 10; l. 34; lvi. i. 4, iv. 6.

 Dhu-us-pa. xxxv. 9.

Dhu-us-pa-ni-na-hu-e . *To the god of the Tospians.* v. 14.

Dhu-us-pa-na-hu-e . *To the god of Tosp.* v. 53.

 Dhu-us-pu-a. *To the Tospian god.* v. 21.

E.

E-ba-a-ni-i-e. *Countries.* xxx. 25, 26; xxxviii. 41; xxxix. 9; xl. 17, 43. See *-ni-e.*

E-ba-ni-e. xxxiii. 8, 9; xxxvii. 17; xlv. 37.

E-ba-a-ni. xxx. 9; xl. 58; xlix. 5; lv. 16.

E-ba-ni. xxxvi. 6; xxxv.A. 9 Obv.; xlix. 12.

E-ba-a-ni-i-e-di. *Into the land.* xxxix. 56.

E-ba-ni-e-di. xxxix. 11; xliii. 53; xlix. 5.

E-ba-a-ni-a. *The people of the land.* xxxii. 3; xliii. 4.

E-ba-ni-a. xxxix. 13.

E-ba-na. xlix. 26.

E-ba-a-ni-a-tsi-e. *The chief (?) people of the land.* xlix. 19.

E-ba-ni-a-tsi-e-di-ni. xxx. 28.

E-ba-ni-e-da-e-di-ni. *People of the (three) lands.* xlv. 8.

E-ba-ni-hu-ka-ni. *The race of the land.* xxxix. 7, 31.

E-ba-ni-hu-ki. *Part of the land.* xxxix. 1, 25.

E-ba-ni-hu-ki-e-di. (Loc.) xlv. 10.

E-ba-ni-ki-di. l. 27. (This form, when compared with the preceding, proves that *-u* is an adjectival suffix which may be omitted without injury to the sense).

E-ba-ni-na-hu-e . *To the god of the land.* v. 18, 56.

E-ba-hu-si-i-e. *Belonging to the land* (dat. pl.). xi. 5. This adjective is formed from *ebas*, instead of the derivative *eba-nis*.

The Iban of Kedrenos (p. 394) may be *ebanis* rather than *Biainas*.

E-di-a-ni. *The land* (or *city ?*) *of Edias* (in Georgia). xlix. 14.

. . . e-gu-du-da-a. liv. 5.

E-ha. *This.* v. 25, 73; xiii. 3; xliii. 16, 78; xlviii. 29.

 E(?)-ka-ar-su. *Of the city Ekarsus* (near Mush). xxxv.A. 5 Obv.

E-ki(?)-ma(?)-ni. xliii. 76. Perhaps 'offerings.'

 E-li-a-ha-a. *To the god Eliahas.* v. 16.

E-li-e-ha-a. v. 54.

E-li-ip-ri-i-e. *To the god Elipris.* v. 41. See *Ipris* and *Lutipri.*

E-li-ip-ri-e. v. 8.

E-ra-dha-da-hu-ni. *The city of Eradhadaus* (bordering on the Minni). xxxix. 58.

E-ra-dha-da-e-hu-da xxxix. 58.

E-ri-a-i-ni. *The country of Eriais.* lv. 11.

E-ri-a-khi. *The son of Erias* (king in Georgia). xxxiv. 2; xliii. 48; xlv. 36; xlvii. 3.

E-ri-ya-khi. xxxiv. 8.

E-ri-a-khi-ni-ni-e. xxxvii. 11.

E-ri-da-bi(?). xlvi. 18.

E-ri-di-a-ni. *The city of Eridias.* v. 16. See *Irdiya.*

E-ri-me-na-khi-ni-s. *The son of Erimenas* (Ruśas of Van). lii.

E-ri-me-na-a-khi. lii.

E-ri-na-a. *To the god Erinas.* v. 10, 43.

E-ri-nu-i-di. *Into the land of Erinus.* xxix.B. 2. Perhaps the island of Aghthamar.

E-śi. *Laws.* xxi. 2; xxxv.A. 8 Obv.; xlv. 22, 40.

E-śi-i. liv. 7.

E-śi-ni-e. *Regulations, inscriptions.* xxxi. 25.

E-śi-i-ni-e. xix. 15.

E-śi-i-ni. xxviii. 4.

E-śi-ni. xxi. 5; xxix.B. 6; xxxiv. 11; liv. 4.

E-śi-ni-ni. (Adj. in *-nis.*) xliv. 12.

E-śi-a. *Lawgivers, governors.* xlv. 17.

E-śi-e-ya-ni. lvi. i. 6, iii. 4.

E-ti-hu-ni. *The land of Etius* (Georgia). xliii. 34.

E-ti-hu-ni-ni. *The land of the Etiuians.* xxxvi. 2; xxxvii. 21; xxxviii. 25; xliii. 41; xlv. 28.

E-ti-hu-ni-i-e-di. (Loc.) xliii. 47.

E-ti-hu-ni-e-di. xlix. 13.

E-ti-hu-khi-ni. *Sons of the land of Etius.* xxxvii. 22.

E-ti-hu-khi-ni-da. xxxi. 3, 12.

E-ti-hu-khi-na-e-di. *In the land of the sons of Etius.* xxxi. 7.

E-u-ri-i-e. *To the lord(s).* xii. 4; xlviii. 1. From a root *e* (cp. *giss-uris*). Interchanges with , which see.

E-hu-ri-i-e. x. 7: xvii. 2; xxvi. 3; xxvii. 2; xxix. 2; lii.

E-hu-ri-e. v. 1, 32.

G.

Ga-la-zi. *Altars* (?). xi. 4. Comp. *bur-galada.* For the termination cf. *armuzi.*

Gar-bi-e. *Stones.* xxxii. 7. See *karbie.* Correct (*karbis*), p. 421.

Gar-bi. xxxvii. 26; xxxix. 62.

Ga-ri-ni. xxxix. 62. Should perhaps be read *marini.*

Ga-śu-li-(? na). lvi. i. 9.

Gi-e-i-is. *Images.* v. 28, 77. The nominative pl. seems here to have taken the place of the acc.

Gi-e-i. (Acc. pl.) xiii. 2; xliv. 11.

Gi-e-i-si-da. *Place of images.* iii. 1, 2.

Gis-la-a-i-e *and* gis-la-a-e. *Of the mother.* xxiii. 1.

Gis-su-hu-ri-e. *To the mighty* (dat. pl.). lii.

Gis-su-ri-i-e. xxxix. 46; xliii. 11, 33.

Gis-su-ri-e. xxx. 1; xxxi. 5; xxxiii. 2; xxxiv. 1; xxxvi. 1, 3; xxxvii. 17; xxxviii. 5, 7, 25, 51; xxxix. 20; xl. 15, 42, 67; xliii. 70; xlv. 27, 30; xlvi. 2; xlix. 1, 3; l. 1; lv. 1.

Gis-su-ri-i. xxx. 3; xxxi. 8; xxxiii. 5; xxxiv. 4; xxxvii. 19; xxxviii. 27; xxxix. 4, 29, 54; xl. 33, 52; l. 4.

Gis-su-ri. xlvi. 9; l. 17.

Gi-is-hu-ri-e. v. 78.

Gi-is-hu-ri. v. 28.

. . . gu-di. vii. 3.

Gu-li. *After dusk* (?). v. 26, 74.

Gu-lu-ta-a-khi-kha. *The land of Gulutakhikhas* (on the Araxes). xlv. 36.

Gu-nu-sa-a. *For a spoil.* xxx. 8; xxxvii. 26; xxxix. 63; xliii. 40, 75; xlix. 14, 16, 17; l. 20.

Gu-nu-hu-sa-a. xxxviii. 14.

Gu-nu-sa. liii. 5.

Gu-nu-se. (Pl. acc.) xliii. 16, 78.

Gu-nu-si-ni-i. *Slaves.* xlix. 20, 24, 27.

Gu-nu-si-ni-i. xlix. 10.

Gu-nu-si-ni-e. xxxvii. 34; xlvi. 19.

Gu-nu-si-ni. l. 17.

Gu-nu-si-ni-ni. l. 18.

Gu-hu-pa-a-ni. *The land of Gupas* (near Palu). xxxiii. 10.

Gu-pa-ni. xxxiii. 4.

Gur-ku-hu-e. *Of the land of Gurkus* (bordering on the Minni). xliii. 13.

Gu-ru-khu. *Wild bulls* (?). lvi. ii. 3.

Gu-ru-khe. lvi. iv. 2.

Gu-si-i. *Of bronze* (?). l. 25.

H.

Ha-a-kha-a-hu. *Chariots.* xxx. 20.

Ha-a-li. *For sacrifice.* v. 3, 35, 81, 82, 83. Ideograph .

Ha-al-du-bi. *I changed, removed.* xxx. 15; xxxvii. 8, 11; xxxviii. 16; xl. 55; xlv. 18; xlix. 18; l. 13. Compounded of *hal* 'sacrifice' and *du* for *tu* 'bring away.'

Ha-al-tu-bi. xxxiv. 13; l. 26. For the interchange of *d* and *t* see p. 427. Perhaps, however, *haldubi* is compounded with *du* 'destroy' rather than *tu*. Compare *zaduali* and *zatuali*.

Ha-al-du-hu-ni. *He changed.* xxxiii. 16.

Ha-na-ap-sa-e. *To the god Hanapsas.* v. 7, 40.

Ha-a-rat-ni. *The city of Harat* (near Malatiyeh). l. 29.

Ha-ar-śi-ta-ni. *Harśitas* (Assur-dan of Assyria). xxxviii. 52.

Ha-a-ru-ba-a-ni-e. *To the god Harubanis.* v. 59.

Ha-a-ru-ba-i-ni-e. v. 21.

Ha-se. *Men.* xxxviii. 43; xlv. 12.

Ha-se . xlix. 9, 19.

Ha-a-se. xl. 59.

Ha-se. xxxvii. 22, 26, 30; xxxviii. 18; xxxix. 59, 64; xli. 7; xliii. 26, 40, 50, 80; xlix. 23; l. 20; lv. 14.

Ha-za-i-ni-e. *Hazas* (Aza in the Assyrian texts), king of the Minni in the time of Argistis. xl. 73.

Ha-za-ni. liv. 1.

For HU see under U.

I.

I-bi-ra-a-ni. *Men* (?). xxx. 18.

I-bi-ra-ni. xix. 11.

 Id . . ku . . a-hu-ni-e-di. *In the city of Id . . ku . . aunis.* xxxvii. 29.

I-e-s. *Which, what.* xx. 14; xxii. 10; xxx. 32; xxxi. 30; xxxiv, 19; xxxv.A. 9 Rev.; xliv. 10; xlviii. 20. See *i-hu.*

I-ga-a-e. *Of the land of Igas* (N.W. of Lake Van). xlv. 39.

I-ga-ni-ni. *The land of Iganis.* xxxvii. 11.

I-ku-hu-ka-a-ni. *A series of goods, property.* xxxii. 3.

I-ku-ka-a-ni. xxxvii. 5, 24; xlviii. 28; xlix. 22.

I-ku-ka-ni. xxxviii. 40; xxxix. 8, 33 (60 ?); xliii. 43, 81; xlviii. 30; xlix. 13; l. 12; li. iii. 5.

I-ku-ka-ni-e-di-ni. *Men of property.* li. 4.

I-na-a-i-ni. *A city.* xxxvii. 2. *Inas* 'city' may be connected with *inus* 'a rock-chamber.'

I-na-a-ni. lvi. iii. 5.

I-na-i-ni-e. xxi. 15.

I-na-i-ni. xx. 18; xxii. 13; xxviii. 11; xxx. 35; xxxiii. 27; xxxiv. 23; xliv. 19; xlviii. 23.

I-na-ni. xx. 18; xli. 15; xlix. 11; l. 40.

I-na-a-ni-da-e. *The place of the city, the capital* (*i.e.* the new upper town built on the rock of Van by Argistis, as opposed to the old lower town of Tosp; cp. Greek ἄστυ and πόλις). xl. 11.[1]

I-na-ni-e-da. xxxix. 45.

I-na-ni-da. xxxvii. 16; xxxviii. 3, 24, 50; xxxix. 19; xl. 41, 66; xli. 11; xliii. 10, 32, 69; xlix. 18, 29.

I-ni-i. *This* (always precedes its noun except in lv. iii. 10). xxxiii. 12.

I-ni. iv., xiv., xv., xvii. 3, 5; xix. 2; xx. 10; xxi. 2, 10; xxii. 2, 7, 10; xxiii. 2; xxiv. 5; xxv. 3; xxvi. 4; xxvi. (2,) 3; xxvii. 3; xxviii. 3; xxix. 3; xxix.B. 9; xxx. 29; xxxi. 21, 26; xxxiii. 22; xxxv. 3; xxxv.A. 2 Rev.; xxxvii. 1; xliv. 4; xlviii. 2, 16; l. 35; li. 3; lii., liv. 7; lv. 17; lvi. iii. 10.

I-ni-li. *After this.* v. 2, 33; x. 8; xvii. 4; xviii. 3.

I-ni-da. *Here.* xx. 2, 12; xxi. 12; xxii. 9; xxx. 31; xxxi. 27; xxxiii. 24; xxxiv. 17; xxxv.A. 6 Rev.; xliv. 7; xlviii. 18; l. 36.

[1] M. Guyard believes *inanida* to signify 'spoil,' and would translate the stereotyped phrase: *inanida arniusinida* *X zaduni* 'the spoil and tribute in one year X has made.' *Da* is used to form abstracts, and as the phrase occurs at the end of the account of a campaign and an enumeration of the booty carried off in the course of it, it would seem naturally to be a summing up of what had been done. Moreover, in xlix. line 29 appears to be parallel to line 26. The repetition of the statement that the king had built the citadel of Van is unmeaning, and *arniusinida* could easily be derived from the root *ar* 'to bring.' If the interpretation of M. Guyard is adopted, *inani* in the execration formula would signify 'property.' On the other hand, *zadu* means properly 'to build,' and *arnuyada* seems to be 'castles.' But the expression *aluši inani*, parallel to *aluši Dhuspae*, in lvi. iii. 5, really settles the question. See also xlix. 11. We must further remember that *-ni* is the phonetic complement of , and that the root of *inas* and *inus* is probably the same, while no verb from a root *in*, signifying 'to spoil' or 'carry away,' has been found in the inscriptions. In the execration formula the ascending scale is naturally: the offender himself—his family—his name—his city. For his 'property' to come at the end, instead of 'city,' would be an anti-climax.

I-nu-hu-a-si. *Belonging to the land of Inuas* (near Rowandiz). lvi.

 I-nu-a-na-hu-e. *To the god of Inuas.* v. 23, 66.

I-nu-ki. *Part of a chamber* (better than: *as a chamber*). iii. 1, 2.

I-nu-ka-a-ni. *A series of tomb-chambers.* xxi. 5.

I-nu-ka-ni. xliv. 11.

I-nu-śi-i-ni. *Belonging to the chambers.* xxi. 3.

Ip-pu-hu-e. *The inundator* (a title of Teisbas). v. 4, 36.

Ip-tu-da-i-e. *He brings an inundation.* xliv. 13. A compound of *ip* and *tu*.

Ip-tu-li-i-e. *After bringing an inundation.* lvi. iii. 11.

 Ip-kha-ri-e. *To the god Ipkharis.* v. 22. Perhaps a compound of *ip*.

Ipris in *El-ipris* and *Lutipris* (which is compounded with *lutu* 'women'). Comparing *euris*, *gissuris*, *duris*, we find the root to be *ip* 'to inundate.' *Lutipris* will be 'women-flooding.'

 Ir-da-ni-u-ni. *The city of Irdanius* (near Erivan). xlvii. 4.

 Ir-di-ya. *The city of Irdiya.* v. 54. See *E-ri-di-a-ni.*

 Ir-du-a-ni. *The city of Irduas* (capital of Edias in Georgia). xxxviii. 42.

 Ir-ki . . . *The land of Ir-ki* . . . (perhaps the same as the next). xxxvii. 31.

 Ir-ki-hu-ni-ni. *The land of the Irkiuians* (among the Minni). xl. 18, 35.

Ir-ku-a-i-ni-i. *Of Irkuainis* (prince of Irvias). xlix. 15.

 Ir-ma-a-ni. *The city of Irmas* (in Georgia). xlix. 16.

 Ir-mu-si-ni-e. *To the god of Irmusis.* v. 9, 41.

 Ir-hu-i-a-ni. *The city of Irvias* (in Georgia). xlix. 15.

 Is-lu-bu-ra-a-ni. *Isluburas.* xxxviii. 41.

 Is-ḳi-gu-lu-hu-e. *Of the land of Isḳigulus* (near Kalinsha). xliii. 49; xlvii. 5.

Is-pu-hu-i-hu-bi. *I overmastered.* xxxix. 24.

 Is-pu-hu-i-ni-s. *Ispuinis* or *Isbuinis* ('the lordly,' the son of Sarduris I.). iii. 1, 2; iv.; v. 1, 32, 25, 70, 27, 75, 28, 78.

 Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e. lvi. i. 7, ii. 5, iv. 4.

Is-pu-hu-i-ni. v. 24, 68.

Is-pu-hu-i-ni-ni. xxxi. 9.

Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi-ni-e-s. *The son of Ispuinis.* xix. 2; xx. 2.

Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi-ni-s. v. 79.

Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s. v. 2, 33, 25, 70, 27, 75, 29; vii. 7; ix. 1, 3; x. 7; xiii. 1, 3; xiv.; xv.; xvii. 3; xviii. 2; xxi. 1; xxii. 2; xxiv. 4; xxv. 2; xxvi. 2; xxvi. (2,) 2; xxvii. 5; xxxii. 1.

Is-pu-hu-ni-khi-ni-s. xx. 9.

Is-pu-u-ni-khi-ni-s. xx. 2, 9; xxix. 5.

Is-pu-u-ni-khi-ni-i-s. xxxv. 2.

Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi-ni. v. 24, 68.

Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-e. xxxiv. 12.

Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi. xx. 6; xxvii. 10; xxx. 5; xxxiii. 7; xxxiv. 6.

Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khe. xxvi. 5; xxvi. (2.) 4; xxxiii. 18.

Is-pu-u-i-ni-e-khi. xxix. 9.

Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khe. lvi. i. 5, ii. 6.

Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi. xxxi. 10.

Is-pu-u-i-ni-khi. xxxv. 6.

Is-pu-u-ni-khi. xx. 6.

(Is-pu-i-)ni-ka-i. *To the race of Ispuinis.* vi.C. 1.

Is-ti. *For this.* xliii. 15.

Is-ti-di. (Loc.) l. 21.

Is-ti-ni-e. *To these.* xxxvii. 16; xxxviii. 3, 23, 49; xxxix. 18; xl. 10, 40, 65; xli. 10; xliii. 9, 31, 68; xlix. 28.

Is-ti-ni-i-e. xxxix. 44.

Is-ti-ni-i. xliii. 76.

Is-ti-ni. xiii. 2; xxxviii. 35, 36; xxxix. 6; l. 7, 21.

Is-ti-ni-ni. *Belonging to them.* xix. 6; xxi. 7, 9; xxxi. 14; xxxviii. 43; xxxix. 59, 64; xl. 59; xliii. 26, 40, 80; xlix. 9, 19, 23.

Is-ti-ni-hu-e-di-a. *The people belonging to them.* xxxi. 15.

I-hu. *Thus.* xxxii. 2; xli. 13, 17; li. iii. 3; lvi. ii. 4, iv. 3. See *i-e-s.*

I-hu-da-i-e. *He undoes.* lvi. iii. 3. For *tiudaye* with the dental dropped.

I-hu-da-e. xxxi. 28.

I-ya-a-ni-ni. *The land of Iyanis* (bordering on the Minni). xxxix. 47, 56.

K.

Ka-a-di. *In battle.* l. 11.

Ka-a-i-hu-kid. *In battle* or *with arms.* xxx. 13.

Ka-hu-ki-e. l. 23.

Ka-la-ha-ni. l. 13.

Ka-am-na-a. *Possessions* (acc. pl.). xxx. 19.

Ka-am-ni-ni. *Belonging to the possessions.* vii. 4.

Kar-ni-si-e. *The land of Kar-nisi* (Assn. 'fort of the men') on the Hittite border. l. 13.

Ka-a-ru-ni. *Who have given* (dat. pl.). xxxiii. 3. See *ku-ru-ni.*

Ka-ru-hu-ni. xl. 32, 43, 44.

Ka-ru-ni-e. xxxiii. 2; lv. 2.

Ka-ru-ni. xxxiv. 2; xxxvi. 2; xxxvii. 17; xxxviii. 5, 6, 25, 26, 52, 53; xxxix. 4, 21, 47; xl. 16, 18, 68; xliii. 12, 13, 34, 71, 72; xlv. 28; xlvi. 3, 5; xlix. 1; l. 1.

Ka-tar-za-e. *Of Katarzas,* a Georgian prince (called Ḳudhurzas by Argistis; see *Ḳu-dhur-za-ni-i-ni*). xliii. 48; xlv. 35.

Ka-tar-za-a. xxxi. 11.

Ka-tar-za-ni-i-e-di. *In the (land) of Katarzas.* xxxi. 6.

Ka-hu-ri. *Of the land of the Kauians* (near Malatiyeh). l. 7. Probably the Kue of the Assyrians; see p. 647.

Kid-da-nu-hu-da. xxxii. 4.

Ki-da-nu-bi. xxxix. 30.

Ki-ri. xxxviii. 17. The reading is doubtful.

Ku-hu-dha-a-di. *On departing.* xxxvii. 32.

Ku-dha-i-a-di. xliii. 49; xlv. 1.

Ku-dha-a-di. xxxvii. 7, 10, 21, 28, 36; xxxviii. 17; xxxix. 40; xl. 36, 56; xli. 6; xliii. 25; xlix. 5.

Ku-dhu-hu-bi. *I departed.* xxx. 10.

Ku-dhu-bi. xxix.B. 4; xlv. 38; l. 13, 14; liii. 7.

Ku-dhu-ni. *He departed.* xxxiii. 10.

Ku-hu-i-gu-hu-ni. *He wrote, engraved.* xxvii. 6; xxix. 6.

Ku-i-gu-ni. xxxiii. 12.

Ku-gu-ni. xxvi. 4; xxvi. (2,) 3; xlviii. 3.

Ku-i-gu-bi. *I wrote.* lvi. iii. 8.

Ku-gu-bi. vi.B. 2.

Ku-la-si-ni. *The land of Kulasis* (near Bustus). xxxix. 5.

Ku-ul-me-i-e. *Strongholds.* xliii. 18.

Ku-lu-di. *In the district.* lvi. iii. 9, 14.

 (?) Ku-lu-a-i. *Of the land (?) of Kuluais.* lvi. i. 7.

Ku-ri-e-da. *Gifts* (abstract from root *kuru* 'to give'). xxx. 14, l. 24.

Ku-ru-hu-ni. *The givers* (dat. pl.). xl. 33; xlvi. 8. See *karuni*.

Ku-ru-ni. xix. 5; xxx. 3, 4; xxxi. 7, 8; xxxiii. 4, 5; xxxiv. 4, 5; xxxvi. 3; xxxvii. 19; xxxviii. 7, 27; xxxix. 29, 54; xl. 51, 52; xliii. 36, 73; xlv. 29, 30; xlvi. 9; xlix. 2, 3; l. 4.

 Ku(?).. ru-pi-ra. (The first character may be *lu*.) xxxvii. 28.

KH.

Kha-i-di-a-ni. *Workmen* (?). li. 6. A derivative in *-a* and *-di* from root *khai*.

Kha-i-ti-ni. *Monument* (?). xvi. 4.

Kha(?)-a-i-ti(?). xvi. 6.

Kha-a-i-tu-hu. *Monuments* (?). xxxii. 4.

Kha-i-la-a-ni. *The* .... xl. 74.

Kha-i-ni. *A possession (?)*. lvi. ii. 3.

 Kha-khi-a-hu-e-e-di-a. *The people of Khakhias.* xxxviii. 43.

 Khal-di-i-s. *Khaldis* (the supreme god of Van). xxviii. 7; xliv. 14. Also written *Aldis*, which see.

 Khal-di-is. xlviii. 26; li. iii. 2.

Khal-di-s. xix. 9, 18; xx. 15; xxi. 10; xxii. 11; xxx. 33; xxxi. 30; xxxiii. 25; xxxiv. 20; xxxv. 11 Rev.; xli. 13; xlviii. 21; l. 38; li. 10; lvi. iii. 13.

 Khal-di-i-e-i. *Of Khaldis.* xxiv. 7; xxvi. 3.

 Khal-di-i-e. xii. 4; xvi. 6; xvii. 2; xxvii. 1; xxix. 1; xlviii. 1.

 Khal-di-e. v. 1, 32, 3, 34, 35, 4, 36, 27, 76, 30, 81, 31, 82; vii. 1; x. 1; lii.; lvi. ii. 2.

Khal-di-i. x. 2; xix. 5; xxx. 3; xxxi. 7; xxxvi. 2; xxxvii. 19; xxxviii. 7, 27; xxxix. 4, 29, 54; xl. 32, 51; xliii. 36, 73; xlv. 29; xlviii. 8; l. 4.

 Khal-di. x. 1; xvi. 3; xvii. 4; xviii. 3; xxxiv. 4; xliii. 15, 76, 78; xlix. 2; lii.

Khal-di-*. xix. 7.

Khal-di-i-ni. viii. 4; xxxvii. 17; xxxviii. 5, 29; xl. 33; l. 1.

Khal-di-ni. v. 12, 49, 13, 50, 17, 54, 20, 58, 24, 67, 25, 73; xi. 5; xxx. 1, 3, 6; xxxi. 5, 8; xxxiii. 1, 5; xxxiv. 4, 7; xxxv. 1; xxxvi. 1, 3; xxxvii. 19; xxxviii. 7, 12, 25, 27, 51; xxxix. 4, 20, 29, 46, 54; xl. 14, 42, 52, 67; xliii. 11, 33, 51, 70; xlv. 29, 30, 32; xlvi. 1, 9; xlix. 1; l. 4; lvi. iii. 7.

Khal-di-ni-e. lv. 3.

 Khal-di-i-ni-ni. *To the (gods) belonging to Khaldis.* xvii. 1; xxv. 1; xxvii. 7; xxix. 7; xxx. 4; xxxvii. 19; xl. 34, 70, 81; li. 1, iii. 1, 7.

Khal-di-ni-ni. v. 17, 54; vi.A. 1; viii. 2; xiii. 1; xviii. 1; xix. 1; xx. 1, 4; xxii. 1, 4; xxiv. 1; xxvi. 1; xxxii. 1; xxxiii. 6, 17; xxxiv. 5; xxxv. 5; xxxvi. 4, 7; xxxviii. 7, 15, 28; xxxix. 5, 23, 30, 48, 55; xl. 21, 46, 52; xli. 12, 16; xlii. 1; xliii. 36, 73; xlv. 30; xlvi. 10; xlvii. 1; xlviii. 4; xlix. 3, 6; l. 32; lii.; liii. 1; lv. 1.

Khal-di-e-di-e. (Loc.) l. 8.

Khal-di-e-di. xxxvii. 23; xxxix. 2, 26; xl. 25, 47, 75; xliii. 20, 44; xlvi. 24.

Khal-di-di. xxxvii. 3; xxxviii. 8, 38; xxxix. 50; xli. 2.

Khal-di-i-a. *To the people of Khaldis.* xlix. 28.

Khal-di-a. xxxvii. 16; xxxviii. 3, 23, 49; xxxix. 18, 44; xl. 10, 40, 65, 75; xli. 10; xliii. 9, 68.

Khal-di-na. *The land of Khaldis.* x. 4; xi. 3; xvi. 2, 4, 5, 6.

Khal-di-na-ni. xi. 2; lvi. iii. 2.

Khal-di-na-hu-e. *To the god of the land of Khaldis.* v. 7, 40, 13, 50, 16, 54.

Khal-di-ka. *To the race of Khaldis.* lvi. ii. 4.

Khal-di-ni-da-si-i-e. *To the god of the place of Khaldis.* v. 15, 54.

Kha-al-di-ri-(ul?)-khi. *The city of the Khaldiriulians (?).* xxx. 26.

 Khal-ra-i-ni-e. *To the god Khalrainis.* v. 8, 41.

Kha-lu-li. vii. 2; x. 3.

Kha-na-li-ni. *The city of Khanalis* (in the neighbourhood of Rowandiz). lvi. iii. 6.

Kha-ra-a. *To the god Kharas.* v. 11, 46.

Kha-ar-kha-a-ru. *Dug up* (acc. pl.). xli. 18.

Kha-ar-khar-ni-e-i. *Excavated* (adj. in *-nis*). xxi. 4. The 'excavated' chambers in the rock of Van have given it its modern name of Khorkhor.

Kha-ar-khar-su-hu-bi. *I dug up.* xxxviii. 19; xxxix. 57; xlv. 7. *Su* here forms a causative conjugation as in *kha-su-bi.*

Khar-kha-ar-su-bi. xxxviii. 44; xliii. 79; l. 16.

Khar-khar-su-bi. xxxvii. 7; xl. 58; xlix. 8, 23.

Khar-khar-sa-bi-i-e-s. *Digging up* (part. pres.). xli. 20.

Kha-a-si-al-me. *May they make dwell in triumph* (?). A word of very doubtful meaning. Apparently a compound of *al* 'inhabit' and *khasu* 'cause to possess.' xl. 50; xliii. 23.

Kha-si-al-me-e. l. 10.

Kha-si-al-me. xxxviii. 10, 40; xxxix. 3, 28, 52; xl. 29, 77; xli. 4.

Kha-su-bi. *I caused to possess.* xliii. 41. The causative in *su* of *khau-bi*: see *kharkharsu-bi* above.

 Kha-a-te. (*Land of*) *the Hittites.* xxxviii. 5.

Kha-a-te-i-na-a. *Of the land of the Hittites.* xxxiii. 11.

 Kha-ti-na-i-di. *Into the land of the Hittites.* xxxviii. 12.

Kha-ti-na-a-tsi-e. *Chief* (?) *of the land of the Hittites.* xxxviii. 15.

Kha-ti-na-as-ta-ni. *Place of the land of the Hittites.* xxxii. 7.

Kha-at-ka-na-ni. *The city of Khatkanas* (near Rowandiz). lvi. iv. 3. Called *Atkanas* v. 19.

Kha-a-hu-bi. *I conquered, possessed.* xxxvii. 9, 25, 27, 31; xxxviii. 14, 41, 42; xxxix. 9, 56, 63; xli. 20; xliii. 40, 47.

Kha-hu-bi. xxx. 7, 8; xxxiv. 12, 19; xxxvii. 7, 12, 21, 26; xxxviii. 13, 14; xxxix. 38, 58; xl. 35, 54; xli. 5; xliii. 3, 54, 75; xlv. (2,) 35; xlvii. 3, 4; xlix. 5, 7, 14, 16, 17, 19, 22; l. 20; lvi. ii. 3.

Kha-u-bi. liii. 5.

Kha-hu-ni. *Who has conquered* (acc.). xxxiii. 8, 10; xxxvi. 6.

Kha-a-hu-da-i-e. *He robs.* xxi. 10.

Kha-hu-li-i-e. *After conquering.* lvi. iii. 2. See *khubi* and *khuada.*

Kha-a-za-a-ni. *The city of Khazas* (near Malatiyeh). l. 28.

Khi-la-ru-a-da-ni. *Khila-ruadas* (king of Malatiyeh). xxxviii. 6; l. 2, 23. See pp. 403, 588.

Khi-la-ru-a-da-a-i. (Genitive.) l. 19. The name may also be read *Khite-ruadas.*

Khu-bi. *I conquered, destroyed.* xxxviii. 13; xl. 54. A contracted form of *khau-bi.*

Khu-u-a-da. *Destroyed* (local case). xx. 3.

Khu-a-da. xx. 3; xxi. 8.

Khu-da-i-e. xxxi. 22.

Khu-dhu. *Portions.* xliii. 12, 16, 78; xlviii. 28.

Khu-la-hu-e. *Belonging to the king.* li. iii. 10. More probably *khutehue;* see *khutiadi.*

Khu-ra-a-di-e. *Soldiers.* xxxviii. 53.

Khu-ra-di-i-e. xxxix. 25.

Khu-hu-ra-di-i-a. *Soldiery.* xxx. 22.

Khu-ra-a-di-ni-da. *Camp.* xlvi. 15.

Khu-ra-di-ni-da *Camps.* xxxii. 4.

Khu-ra-di-ni-da-hu-e-da. *Site of the camp.* xxxvii. 5; xxxix. 1.

Khu-ra-di-na-hu-e *Belonging to the place of the soldiers.* xxxii. 10.

Khu-ru-la-a-i. *For sacrifices* (?). v. 74. Probably from the same root as *khura-dis.*

Khu-ru-la-i. v. 26.

Khu-sa-ni. *The land of Khuzas* (N.W. of Lake Van). xxxvii. 8; xlv. 2.

Khu-su. *Flesh.* liv. 4.

Khu-su. xi. 4.

Khu-hu-śi-e. *Holy.* xiv.; xv.

Khu-ti-i-a-di. *Among the king's people* (?). xlvi. 23. This will be the meaning if *khutehue* should be read instead of *khulahue.* But 'by the help of' is also a possible signification, though grammatically not very defensible.

Khu-ti-a-di. xxxvii. 3, 23; xxxviii. 8, 38; xxxix. 2, 26, 50; xl. 24, 47; xli. 2; xliii. 20, 44; l. 7.

Khu-za-a-na-ni. *The city of Khozanas* (now Palu). xxxiii. 9. Khozanas is the modern province of Khozan.

Khu-za-na-a-ni. xxxiii. 3.

Ḳ.

Ḳa . . . . . a-ni. xxxviii. 18.

Ḳa-ab-ḳa-ru-hu-bi. *I approached.* xl. 80.

Ḳa-ab-ḳa-ri-da-ni. *Place of approach.* v. 25, 73.

Ḳa-ab-ḳa-ab-ru-li-ni. *After approaching.* l. 22.

Ḳa-ab-ḳa-a-ru-lu-hu-bi. *I gave approach.* xli. 17. Compounded with *lubi*.

Ḳa-bi . . . The son of Baltul in the district N.W. of Lake Van. xlv. 16.

Ḳa-da-i-ni. *The land of Ḳadais* (N.W. of Lake Van). xlv. 10.

Ḳa-du-ḳa-ni-hu-ni. *The city of Ḳadukanius* (in Bustus). xxxix. 38.

Ḳar-bi-e. See *gar-bi-e*.

Ḳi-li-ba-ni. *To the god Ḳilibanis.* v. 18, 55.

Ḳu-dhur-za-ni-i-ni. *Belonging to Ḳudhurzis.* xxxvii. 18. Also called *Katarzas*, which see.

Ḳu-hu-e-ra-a. *To the god Ḳueras.* v. 8, 40.

(Ḳu-e-ra. vi.A. 4.

Ḳu-ul-bi-tar-ri-ni. *The city of Ḳulbitarris* (near Malatiyeh). l. 30.

Ḳu-ul-me-e. *The city of Ḳulmes* (near Mush). xxxv.A. 4 Obv.

Ḳu-me-nu-na-hu-e . *To the god of the land of Ḳumenus.* v. 14, 52.

L.

La-ku-ni. *They have given* (?). v. 26. Possibly a softened form of *laḳuni*.

La-ḳu-ni. *Who have given*; *a present.* xxxiv. 3; xxxviii. 26; xlvi. 6; xlix. 2.

La-e-ḳu-ni. l. 3.

La-ḳu-hu-a-da. *A present.* xxxviii. 54; xl. 44.
La-e-ḳu-hu-a-da. xl. 19; xlv. 28.
La-e-ḳu-hu-a-da-e. xliii. 35.
La-ḳu-a-da. xxxvii. 18; xxxviii. 6; xxxix. 22, 48; xliii. 14, 72.

La-la-ni (?). xxxiv. 10.

Lu-hu-bi *I* . . . . . l. 18. See *ḳabḳaru-lubi.*

Lu-hu-e-se (?). *Gifts* (?). v. 27, 77.

Lu-nu-hu-ni-ni. *The city of Lununis* (near Armavir). xxxiv. 13, 14, 19.

Lu- . . ru-pi-ra. xxxvii. 28. The first character may be *Ku.*

Lu-sa-a. *Of the land of Lusas* (in Georgia). xxxi. 11.
Lu-sa-e. xlv. 35, 38.
Lu-sa-i-ni-e-di. *Into the land of the Lusians.* xxxi. 6.

Lu-tu <<<. *Women* (acc. pl.). xlix. 9, 19, 24, 26; lv. 14.
Lu-tu. xxxvii. 22, 26; xxxviii. 18, 20, 43; xxxix. 35; xl. 59; xli. 7; xliii. 40, 50, 80; xlix. 23; l. 20; liii. 6.

M.

Ma. *His, its.* xxxvii. 26; see also xxxix. 62; xliii. 39. The word is probably a misreading for *mu.* Cf. note on p. 439.

Ma-ḳa-al-tu-ni. *The city of Maḳaltus* (N.W. of Lake Van). xxxvii. 11.

Ma-na. *A maneh* (borrowed from Assyrian). xlv. 20, 21, 24.

Ma-na-a. *The land of the Minni* (west of Lake Urumiyeh). xxxix. 40. See pp. 389, 400.
Ma-na-a-ni. xl. 43, 68, 80; xliii. 13.
Ma-na-ni. xxxix. 47; xl. 16, 73; xliii. 34; xlix. 1.
Ma-a-na-a-i-di. (Loc.) xxxii. 2; xxxix. 60.
Ma-na-i-di. xl. 35; xliii. 24, 38.
Ma-na-da-(?)-śi-ra-ni. An uncertain word. xl. 74.

Ma-a-ni. *Him.* xix. 19; xx. 16; xxi. 13; xxx. 34; xxxiii. 26; xxxiv. 21; xliv. 16; l. 26, 38. See *mei* and *manini.*
Ma-ni. xxviii. 9; xlviii. 21.

Ma-ni-nu-hu-i. *Of the city of Maninus* (near Malatiyeh). l. 29.

Ma-nu-s. *Each.* v. 2, 34.
Ma-a-nu. xlix. 15. Cf. *Ada-manu, Baddi-manu.*
Ma-nu. xxx. 17; xxxii. 10; xlix. 14, 17; (?l. 6); l. 20.
Ma-ni-ni. (Dat. pl.) v. 24, 67; xix. 6. The word may belong to *mei, mani,* rather than to *manus.*
Ma-nu-da-e. *In each place.* liv. 8.
Ma-ri-ni. xxxvii. 26. See *garini.*
Ma-ar-mu-hu-a-ni. *The land of Marmuas* (among the Hittites). xxxviii. 18.
Ma-a-śi-ni-e. *To the powers.* xxxviii. 51; xxxix. 46.
Ma-śi-ni-i-e. xxxiii. 1.
Ma-śi-ni-e. xxxvii. 17; xxxviii. 25; xxxix. 20; xl. 15, 42, 67; xliii. 11, 33, 70; xlv. 27; xlvi. 2; xlix. 1; lv. 1.
Ma-śi-ni. xxx. 1; xxxi. 5; xxxiv. 1; xxxvi. 1; xxxviii. 5; l. 1.
Ma-a-śi-ni-e-i-a-ni. *Officers.* xxx. 23.
Ma-śi-ni-ya-ni. xlv. 26.
 Ma-at-khi. *Girls.* xxxvii. 8; xxxviii. 16; xl. 56; l. 14.
Me. *Of him, of it.* lvi. iii. 4, 8.
Me-i. xx. 17, 18; xxi. 14, 15, 16; xxii. 12, 13; xxviii. 11; xxx, 34, 35, 36; xxxiv. 22, 23; xliv. 18, 19; xlviii. 23, 24; l. 39, 40; li. 5.
Me-e-s. *He.* xxx. 16; xlv. 19, 22; xlix. 18.
Me-s. xlv. 40.
Me-i-a-da. *The place of it.* xlix. 11. [Possibly two words, 'of it, and.']
Me-da. liv. 5.
Me-e-si-ni. *His, its.* xxxiv. 14; l. 26.
Me-si-ni. xxx. 15; xlv. 18; xlix. 17; lv. 14.
Me-i-e-si. v. 31, 82.
Mu. *His, its, their.* xxxvii. 5, 14, 40; xxxviii. 21, 46; xxxix. 33; xl. 2, 37; xli. 8, 11; xliii. 27, 32, 43; xlviii. 28, 30; xlix. 13, 22; li. iii. 5. See *ma.*
Me-da-a-i-ni. Perhaps the name of a river. xxxviii. 17.
Me-la-a-i-ni. lv. 10, 12.
 Me-li-dha-i-e. *Of the city of Malatiyeh.* xxxiii. 16.
Me-li-dha-a-ni. xxxviii. 16; l. 14, 22.
Me-li-dha-al-khi-e. *The inhabitants of Malatiyeh.* l. 2.

Me-e-lu-i-a-ni. *The city of Meluias* (near Malatiyeh). l. 31.

 Me-na-ab-su-ni-e-di. *Into the city of Menabsu(ni)s* (in Bustus). xxxix. 8.

Me-i-nu-hu-a-s. *Menuas* (son of Ispuinis). xxiv. 3; xxvii. 4.

Me-i-nu-a-s. viii. 3.

Me-nu-hu-a-s. v. 1, 32, 70, 27, 75, 29, 79; xxi. 6; xxvi. (2.) 1; xxix. 4; xxx. 18.

Me-nu-a-s. v. 25; vii. 7; ix. 1, 3; x. 7; xii. 1, 3; xiv.; xv.; xvii. 2; xviii. 2; xix. 1; xx. 1, 9; xxii. 1, 7; xxv. 2; xxvi. 2; xxviii. 1; xxix.B. 10; xxx. 6, 12, 29; xxxii. 1; xxxiii. 22; xxxiv. 7; xxxv. 2; xxxv.A. 1 Rev.; lvi. i. 2.

Me-nu-hu-a-i. *Of Menuas.* xxv. 4.

Me-nu-a-i. xi. 4; xxii. 3.

 Me-nu-hu-a. xix. 6; xxxiv. 11, 15.

Me-nu-a. v. 24, 68; xix. 9; lvi. ii. 6.

Me-i-nu-hu-a-ni-i. *Belonging to Menuas.* xxv. 6.

 Me-i-nu-hu-a-ni. xxvii. 9.

 Me-nu-a-i-ni-e-i. xxiii. 1.

 Me-nu-a-i-ni. xix. 12.

 Me-(i)-nu-a-ni. xx. 5; xxii. 4; xxvi. 5; xxvi. (2.) 4; xxix. 8; xxx. 5; xxxi. 9; xxxiii. 7, 18; xxxiv. 6; xxxv. 6; lvi. i. 4.

 Me-nu-a-ka-i. *For the race of Menuas.* xxxiv. 3.

Me-i-nu-hu-a-khi-ni-e-s. *The son of Menuas.* xxxix. 53; xliii. 77; xliv. 2.

Me-nu-a-khi-ni-e-s. xxxviii. 11; xliii. 37.

Me-nu-a-khi-ni-s. xxxviii. 8, 23, 32, 38, 56; xxxix. 28, 44; xl. 31, 51, 71; xli. 1, 10; xliii. 19.

Me-nu-a-khi-ni-i-e. (Gen.) xl. 45, 69.

Me-nu-hu-a-khi. (Acc.) xxxvii. 20; xxxviii. 28; xlv. 32.

Me-nu-a-khi-e. xxxvi. 5.

 Me-nu-a-khi. xxxvi. 8; xlvi. 12.

Me-nu-a-khi-na-a-di. *In the district of the son of Menuas.* xxix.B. 3.

Me-s. See under *Me.*

Me-su-li. *After the summer.* v. 30, 82; vii. 4.

Me-tsi-el . . . v. 31, 83.

Mu. See under *me.*

Mu-hu-i-du-li-i-e. *After* . . . . lvi. iii. 10. Possibly a compound of *du* and *mui*, which we find perhaps in the reduplicated *mumu-ni*; but the reading is uncertain.

Mu-mu-ni. *The rich.* xlv. 23.

Mu-hu-mu-ni-ni. *Belonging to the rich.* lvi. i. 2.

Mu-mu-hu-i-ya-bi. *I enriched.* xli. 15.

Mu-mu-ya-a-bi. xi. 4.

Mu-na-a. *Of the island* (?). xxix.B. 4.

Mu-ru-ba . . . . A Georgian prince. xxxvii. 25.

Mu-ru-mu-ri-a-khi-ni. *The children of* . . . . xli. 19.

Mu-sa-ni-e. *The land of Musanis* (near Malatiyeh). l. 15.

N.

Na-ku-ri. *Gifts* (?). xxx. 15; l. 24.

Na-kha-a-di. *On despoiling.* li. iii. 4.

Na-kha-di. xlviii. 27.

Na-khu-bi. *I despoiled.* xxxi. 12; xlix. 9, 23, 26; l. 24.

Na-la-i-ni-e. *To the god Nalanis* (*the god of Nalas*). v. 6, 38.

Na-a-ni. Perhaps for *inani* 'city.' xli. 19. More probably *ma-a-ni* 'it.'

Na-nu-da. li. 5.

Na-a-ra-a. *To fire.* xxii. 13; xxxiii. 28; xxxiv. 24.

Na-ra-a. xx. 18; xxi. 16; xxviii. 12; xxx. 36; xliv. 19; xlviii. 24.

Na-ra. l. 40.

Na-ra-ni. *With fire* (lit. *belonging to fire*). xxxviii. 45.

Na-ra-a-ni. xlv. 9.

Na-ra-a-hu-e. *Of the land of Naras.* lvi. iv. 5. The Vannic form of the Assyrian Nahri (*i. e.* Southern Armenia and Kurdistan).

Na-a-hu-hu-se (*i. e.* navuse). *Horses.* xlv. 26. Better, 'belonging to horses,' an adj. in *-sis* from *navus*. See Ideographs No. 34.

Ni-ḳa-li. *After* . . . . x. 6; xii. 3.

Ni-ip-śi-di. An epithet of Khaldis, formed by the suffixes *-śi* and *-di*. v. 3, 35.

Ni-ip-śi-di-e. xix. 7.

 Ni-pur-ri-(ni). *The city of Nipur* (near Rowandiz). lvi. iv. 7.

Ni-pu-ri-ni. lvi. i. 8, iv. 7.

Ni-ri-ba-i. *Of the land of Niribas.* xxxviii. 13. The Nirbu of the Assyrians; see p. 397.

Ni-ri-bi. *The dead.* v. 20, 58; xxi. 9; xlvi. 18; l. 20; lvi. i. 9, 14.

Ni-si-a (?)-du (?)-ru-ni. *The city of Nisiadurus* (?). v. 20, 58.

Ni-śi-i-ni. *The city of Niśis.* l. 19. The capital of Khilaruadas king of Malatiyeh.

Nu-hu-s. *Queen* (*king*). xxiv. 8.

Nu. *King* (acc.). xxxvii. 6.

 Nu-a-di. *Among the people of the king.* xli. 13.

 Nu-śi. *Royal.* xxxvii. 12, 27; xxxviii. 14, 42; xxxix. 9, 34; xliii. 39, 59; xlix. 14, 15, 16; l. 19; liii. 3.

Nu-la-da-e. liv. 10. Possibly 'courtiers' quarters,' from *nu-s*, with the suffixes *-da* and *-la*, the latter being to *-li* as *-da* to *-di* and *-na* to *-ni*.

Nu-la-a-da. liv. 11.

Nu-la-da. liv. 6.

Nu-lu-us-tu-hu-bi. *I ravaged.* xxxviii. 42. A compound of *tu*.

Nu-na-a-bi. *I attacked.* xlix. 11; l. 22.

Nu-na-bi. xxx. 13; xl. 80; lvi. iv. 4.

Nu-na-a-li. *After attacking.* lvi. ii. 5.

Nu-nu-da-e. *Of Nunudas.* liv. 12. Apparently a chief of the Seluians near Armavir.

Nu(?)-su. v. 26.

P.

For PU see also BU, which is written in the same way.

Pa-kha-(ni). *Winged bulls* (?). xxi. 7.

Pa-khi-ni-e. *Oxen.* xxxviii. 48.

 Pa-khi-ni . xxxviii. 1; xl. 39; xlix. 9, 14; xliii. 8, 29, 66; xlv. 14, 21; xlix. 11.

Pa-khi-ni. xxxi. 17; xxxvii. 15; xxxviii. 22; xxxix. 16, 43; xl. 7; xlviii. 29; xlix. 21, 24, 28.

Pa-la-i-ni. *The land of Palais* (in Georgia). lv. 8.

Pa-a-ri-e. *Out of.* xxx. 10; xxxiii. 11; xxxvii. 10, 37; xliii. 49.

Pa-a-ri. xxxix. 40.

Pa-ri-e. xxxvii. 21; xl. 57; xliv. 1.

Pa-ri. x. 1; xxxvii. 8, 10, 22, 28, 32; xxxviii. 17; xl. 36; xli. 6, 19; xliii. 25; xlv. 38; xlvii. 5; xlix. 5; l. 13, 14; liii. 7.

Pa-ru-hu-bi. *I carried away.* xxxix. 59; xl. 59, 62; xlix. 21, 23, 27.

Pa-ru-bi. xxxi. 18; xxxvii. 15, 22, 26; xxxviii. 1, 22, 31, 48; xxxix. 17; xliii. 7, 26, 29, 40, 67, 81; xlix. 9, 10, 19, 21, 26, 27, 28.

Pa-ar-tu-se. *Captive.* xlix. 12. A compound of *par(u)* and *tu.*

Pi-e-i. *The name.* l. 26.

Pi-i. xxx. 15; xxxiv. 14; xlv. 18; xlix. 17.

Pi-e-i-ni-e. xxxiii. 26; xliv. 17.

Pi-e-i-ni. xix. 19; xx. 17; xxi. 14; xlviii. 22.

Pi-e-ni. xxxi. 30; xxxiii. 17; xliii. 58; l. 39.

Pi-i-ni. xx. 17; xxii. 12; xxx. 34; xxxiv. 21; li. 11.

Pi-ni. xxviii. 10; xxxviii. 17.

Pi-da-e. *Memorial.* xxii. 10; xxix.B. 7.

Pi-da. xxii. 2, 3; xxix.B. 9.

Pi-i-tu-hu-da-i-e. *He carries away the name.* xxxv.A. 4 Rev. A compound of *tu.*

Pi-tu-da-i-e. xxx. 30; xxxiii. 23; xliv. 5; l. 35.

Pi-tu-da-e. xx. 11; xxii. 8; xxxiv. 16; xlviii. 16.

Pi-i-tu-hu-li-i-e. *After taking away the memory.* xxi. 11.

Pi-i-hu-li-i-e. With the dental dropped. lvi. iii. 12.

Pi-ur-ta-a-ni. *He has remembered* (?). li. 5.

Pi-la-i (?) . . . . (among the Hittites). xxxviii. 17. Perhaps we should read *Pi-te-ra* 'Pethor.'

Pu-lu-hu-śi. *Written.* xxvi. 4; xxvi. (2.) 3; xxvii. 3. See p. 675.

Pu-lu-śi. vi.B. 2; xxviii. 3; xxxiii. 12; xlvii. 2.

Pu-ru-da-ni. *The place of sacrifice* (?). xix. 8. Compare *buras.*

 Pu-te-ri-a-ni. *The city of Puterias* (now Palu). xxxiii. 2, 8. May be read *Pularias.*

 Pu-te-ri-a. xxxiii. 14.

Pu-ti-e. *The city of Putis* (N.W. of Lake Van). xxxvii. 8.

R.

 Ra-bi-khu-ni (?). *The city of Rabikhus* (?) near Armavir. xxxiv. 9.

 Ra-pi-is-khi-ni-s. *The son of Rapis* (a Georgian prince). liii. 2.

. . . . . ra-za-hu-ni. A king near Rowandiz. lvi. i. 3.

Ru-ḳu. *Victims.* xix. 14.

Ru-śa-a-s. *Rusas* (king of Van). lii.

Ru-śa-a-ni. lii.

S.

Sa-a-da-e. *There.* xxxix. 14, 41. See *sa-tuada.*

Sa-a-da. xl. 13; lv. 14.

Sa-hu-e. *Belonging there.* li. 5.

Sa-na. *Of that country* (?). xi.*a.* 3.

Sa-ni. lv. 12.

Sa-da-ha-da-e-khi-ni-ni. *Belonging to the son of Sada-hadas* (probably for *Sanda-hadas*), king of the Hittites. xxxii. 5.

Sa-da-ha-da-e-khi-ni-da-a-ni. *Place belonging to the son of Sada-hadas.* xxxii. 6.

Sa-khu-khi. *Son of Sakhus* (king of Malatiyeh). l. 2.

Sal-du-hu-li. v. 29, 81. See *si-du-hu-li.*

 Sa-a-ra-ra-a. Probably to be read Sa-ti-ra-ra-a, *of Satiraras,* in the land of Bustus. xxxix. 10. See *Sa-ti-ra-ra-hu-ni.*

 Sa-as-ki . . . *Saski* . . (king of Sasilus). xlv. 15.

 Sa-a-si-lu-hu-i-ni. *The city of Sasilus* (among the Aṣḳalaians, N.W. of Lake Van). xlv. 11.

 Sa-si-lu-ni. xxx. 8.

 Sa-ti-ra-ra-hu-ni. *The land of Satiraraus* (in Bustus, the Sitivarya of the Assyrians). xxxix. 36; xl. 54. See Sa-a-ra-ra-a and p. 400.

Sa-tu-hu-bi. *I took hostages.* l. 17. Compounded with *sa* and *tu.*

Sa-tu-a-da. *Hostages, homage.* xxx. 14; l. 24. Literally 'place of the people of taking away from there.'

 Se-bi-tu-hu-e. *To the god Sebitus.* v. 6, 39.

 Se-kha-hu-da-e. *Of Sekhaudas.* li. 8, 10.

Se-e-khi-e-ri-e. *Alive.* xxxvii. 13.
Se-khi-e-ri. xxxvii. 14; xxxix. 42.
Se-khi-ri-e. xl. 4, 61.
Se-khi-ri. xxxvii. 42, 47; xxxix. 15; xl. 38; xliii. 6, 28, 65.

Se-lu-i-ni-e. *The Seluians.* liv. 13.
Se-lu-i-ni-e-hu-ni. *What belongs to the Seluians.* liv. 12.

Se-ir(?). xxxi. 26.
Se-ri. *Characters.* xix. 17; l. 36.
Se-ri-i-a-zi. *Of the land of Seriazis* (N.W. of Lake Van). xxxvii. 7.
Se-se-e-ti-i-na-a. *Belonging to the land of the Sesetians* (near Melazgherd). xxx. 10.
Si-a-di. *On carrying away, despoiling.* xxxvii. 11.
Si-i-e-s. *Removing* (pres. part.). xli. 19.
Si-i-hu-bi. *I took away.* xxxviii. 18; l. 21.
Si-hu-bi. xxx. 22; xxxviii. 43; xxxix. 7, 64; xliii. 50, 80.
Si-i-hu-da-i-e. *He takes away.* xliv. 12.
Si-hu-da. xxi. 7.
Si-da-hu . . . xiii. 2. See note on the passage.
Si-i-di-i-(si-tu-ni). *He brought back, restored.* viii. 5.
Si-di-si-tu-ni. iii. 1, 2; ix. 2, 3; xiii. 2, 3.
Si-di-is-tu-hu-ni. xvii. 5.
Si-di-is-tu-ni. xvii. 3; xxxv. 3.
Si-di-is-tu-bi. *I restored.* lv. 17.
Si-di-si-tu-a-li. *After restoring.* x. 8.
Si-di-is-tu-a-li. xvii. 4; xviii. 4.
Si-di-is-tu-a-da. *He restores.* xx. 4.
Si-di-is-tu-hu-da. lv. 15.
Si-du-bi. *I established* (?). xl. 72. Probably connected with the next word.
Si-i-du-li. *After the beginning of the year* (?). vii. 5, 6. See *sal-du-hu-li.*
Si-e-la-ar-di-e. *To the Moon-god.* v. 40. A compound of *si-lis* and *ar.*
Si-li. *After dawn.* v. 26, 74.
 Si-ni-ri-e. *To the god Siniris.* v. 10, 44.
Si-ri-i. lv. 12.
Si(?)-ri-bi-i. xi.*a.* 3. See *niribi* and *karbi.*

Si-si . . . *I occupied* (?). xlv. 34.

Si-si-ri-kha-di-ri-ni. *The city of Sisirikhadiris* (of the Minni). xliii. 39. See p. 400. As the Assyrian name was Izirtu we should perhaps read *Si-ar-kha-di-ri-ni*.

Si-is-ti-ni. *Furniture* (?). xlix. 22. It interchanges with *sisukhani* and is probably for *sis(u)-di-ni*.

Si-su-kha-ni. *Furniture, harness.* xxxvii. 5; xxxviii. 40; xliii. 43; xlvi. 14. See *sur-kha-a-ni*.

Su-ba-a. *To the god Subas.* v. 15, 54.

Su-hu-ba-ra-ni. liv. 2.

Su-i-ni-ni. *Belonging to lambs.* xi. 4; xix. 8; xxix.B. 8. If *susis* is an adjectival formation in *-si* from a root *su, suinis* would be 'belonging to a sheep,' *i.e.* a lamb.

Su-khe. *These.* v. 27, 76; 28, 77; 29, 80.

Su-ra-hu-e. *Of the land of Suras* (part of the kingdom of Van). xliii. 18; xlviii. 6; li. iii. 9; lvi. iv. 6.

Su-ri-si-da-ni. *The city of Surisidas* (among the Hittites). xxxii. 5.

Su-ri-(si)-da-(ni)-i. *The land of Surisidanis* (?) (in Bustus). xxxix. 24.

Sur-kha-a-ni. *Furniture, harness.* xxxix. 49. Either a synonym of *sisukhani*, or *sur* is a false reading for *sisu*. The latter is the more probable.

 Su-hu-se-e. *Sheep.* xlviii. 29. See *suinini*.

Su-se . xxxvii. 15; xxxviii. 2, 22, 32, 48; xxxix. 17; xl. 8, 39; xliii. 8, 30, 67; xlv. 14; xlix. 21, 25.

Su-se. xlv. 22; xlix. 11, 28.

Su-śi-ni-ni . *Fortified walls.* lv. 13. Cp. *śuśi* "wall of a house' (*paries* as opposed to *mœnia*).

Su-śi-ni. xxxviii. 23; xxxix. 45; xl. 13; xli. 11; xliii. 32; l. 16.

S.

 Sar-di-i-e. *To the god Sardis.* v. 22. In Lydian Σάρδις (in Xanthos Ξύαρις) meant 'the year' and the 'Sun-god' (Lydus, *De Mens.* 3, 14).

 -s. *The goddess Saris.* xxiv. 8. Probably borrowed from the Assyrian Istar.

 Śar-du-ri-s. *Śar-duris* or *Śari-duris* (a royal name). liii. 2.

 -du-ri-i-s. xlviii. 14.

 -du-ri-s. xlviii. 2, 9, 25; xlix. 4, 6, 25, 29; l. 6, 21, 34; li. 2, 3, 9, iii. 2.

 -du-ri-e-i. (Gen.) li. iii. 6.

 -du-ri-e. xlix. 18.

 -du-ri-i-ni. (Adj. in *-nis*). xlix. 3.

 -du-ri-ni. xlviii. 5; l. 5, 32; li. iii. 8.

 -du-ri-ni-i. li. 6, 7.

 -du-hu-ri-e-khi-ni-e-s. *Son of Śarduris.* iv.

 -du-ri-e-khi-ni-s. v. 1, 32.

 -du-ri-khi-ni-s. v. 25, 70.

 -dur-khi-ni-s. iii. 1, 2.

 -du-ri-khi-ni. (Gen.) v. 24, 68.

 -du-ri-khi. (Acc.) xxxi. 9.

 -dur-e-khe. lvi. ii. 6, iv. 5.

 -du-ri-ka-i. *To the race of Śarduris.* xlix. 2; l. 3.

Śi . . . v. 25, 72.

 Śí-li-i-a. *To the god of the deity of Śílis.* v. 22.

Śi-lu-a-di. *Among the people of . . .* xxx. 15; l. 24.

Śi-ri. *Corn-pits.* xliii. 13. See also xxxviii. 17. Cp. Georgian *soro*, Arm. *śirim*, Kappadokian *siri* (Pliny, N.H. xiii. 73).

Śi-ir-si-ni-e. *Belonging to the rock-tomb* (adj. in *-si* and *-ni*). xxi. 2.

Śi-ir-si-ni-ni. xxi. 4.

 Śí-ri-mu-tar-a. *The land of Śírimutaras* (N.W. of Lake Van). xxxvii. 10.

 Śu-da (?)-ni (?)-za-a-hu-a-da. *Śudani* (?)-*zavadas* (king of Malatiyeh). xxxiii. 15.

Śu-dhu-ḳu-hu-bi. *I despoiled.* xxx. 24, 28; xxxix. 6; xlv. 8. See also xxxvii. 34.

Śu-du-ḳu-bi. l. 27.

Śu-hu-i. *All* (?). xix. 16; xxxi. 10; xxxix. 31; xliii. 2; xlviii. 15.

Śu-u-i. xxviii. 5.

(? Śu)-hu-i-ni. xxix.B. 6.

Śu-lu-us-ti-i-bi. *I imposed.* xxx. 14; l. 23. A compound of *śulu* and *ustabi*.

S'u-ni (?). li. 9.

S'u-śi. *Wall (of house)*. xvii. 3. See *suśini* 'fortified walls.'

S'u-hu-śi-ni. *Belonging to the wall.* v. 54.

S'u-śi-ni. v. 17.

TS.

Tsi-e-ri-khi-ni-i. *Of the son of Tsieris* (a Georgian king). liii. 4.

Tsi-nu-ya-ar-di-e. *To the god Tsinuyardis.* v. 22, 62.

Tsi-ma-da-bi-i. *Of Tsimadabis* (a Georgian king). liii. 4.

Tsi-ma-da-bi-ni. liii. 5.

Tsu(?)-i-na-hu-e . *To the god of the city of Tsuis.* v. 19, 56.

T.

Ta-la(?)-ap-hu-ra-a. *To the god Talapuras.* v. 18, 55.

Ta-li-ni. xlix. 13.

Tar-a-i-e. *Powerful.* xx. 6.

Tar-a-i-hu-e-di. (Loc.) xxx. 2.

Tar-a-i-hu-khi. *The son of the mighty.* liv. 8.

Tar-i-hu-ni. *The land of Tarius* (N.W. of Lake Van). xxxvii. 8; xxxix. 22; xliii. 71. Perhaps 'the powerful land.'

Tar-i-hu-i-di. (Loc.) xliii. 74.

Ta-ri-ri-a-i. *Of Taririas* (the mother of Menuas). xxiii. 2.

Ta-ri-ri-a-khi-ni-da. *Place of the son of Taririas.* xxiii. 3.

Tar-khi-ga-ma-a-ni. *The city of Tarkhigamanis* (among the Hittites). xxxii. 5.

Tar-ra . . . *The land of Tarra* . . . xxxvii. 28.

Ta-ar-su-a. *Soldiers.* xxxviii. 45; xlv. 9. From the causative of *tar* 'strong.'

Ta-ar-su-a-ni. xxxii. 8; xxxvii. 14; xliii. 5, 27.

Ta-ar-su-a-ni . xxxix. 41.

Ta-ar-su-a-ni-e-i. xl. 2, 60.

Ta-as-mu-s. *The nobles.* xxx. 17.

Te-e-i-se-ba-a-s. *The Air-god (Teisbas).* xx. 15. See .

 Te-ra-a-i . . *The city of Terai* . . (near Rowandiz). lvi. ii. 1.

Te-e-ru-hu-bi. *I set up, established.* xlviii. 9.

Te-ru-hu-bi. xliii. 57.

Te-ru-bi. vi. 3 (?); xlv. 5, 17, 23; lvi. ii. 6.

Te-ru-hu-ni. *He set up.* li. 3.

Te-ru-ni. v. 2; 27, 76; 28, 77; 29, 80; li. iii. 5.

Te-ir-du-hu-ni. *He has executed.* xxi. 5. A compound of *ter* and *tu* (softened to *du*).

Te-ir-tu[-ni]. *They have set up.* v. 34.

Te-ir-du-da-ni. *A place of setting up.* liv. 7.

Te-ri-khi-ni-e. *Workmen.* li. 6.

Ti-ku-ul-ra-i-ta-a-se-e. *The city of Tikulraitasis* (near Malatiyeh). l. 31.

Ti-i-ni. *He has called.* xix. 4; xxii. 3; xxiii. 3; xxv. 5; li. 7. See *ap-tini*.

Ti-su-ul-du-li-ni. *After dark.* v. 26, 74.

Ti-i-hu-da-i-e. *He undoes.* xxxv.A. 8 Rev. See *ihudae*.

Ti-i-hu-da-e. xxxi. 29.

Ti-hu-da-i-e. xx. 13; xlviii. 18, 20.

Ti-hu-da-e. xx. 13; xxx. 32; xxxiv. 18; xliv. 8, 10.

Ti-hu-da. xxii. 9.

Ti-hu-li-e. *After undoing.* l. 37.

Tu-a-i-e. *Gold.* xlv. 20.

 Tu-a-i-e. *Pieces of gold.* xlv. 24.

 Tu-a-i-ni. lv. 8.

 Tu-a-te-khi-ni. *The son of Tuates* (king of Malatiyeh). xxxviii. 16. Perhaps we should read *Tu-a-la-khi-ni*.

Tu-hu-bi. *I carried away.* xxxii. 3; xxxix. 39; xxxv.A. 7 Obv.

Tu-bi. xxxiv. 8; xxxix. 13; xli. 6; xliii. 4, 24, 38, 53; xlv. 18; xlix. 8, 17.

Tu-hu-da-i-e. *He carries away.* xix. 13; xxxiii. 23.

Tu-hu-da-e. xxxi. 28.

Tu-u-da-e. l. 35.

Tu-da-e. xx. 10; xxii. 7; xxxi. 21; xxxiv. 16; xlviii. 17.

Tu-da-i-e. xxx. 30; xliv. 4.

Tu-khi. *Prisoners, captives.* xlix. 25.

Tu-khi. xliii. 16, 78; xlviii. 26, 28; li. iii. 3.

Tu-khi-ni. xlviii. 27; li. iii. 4.

Tu-da-hu-ni. *The city of Tudaus* (near Eranos, Lake Erivan). liii. 3.

Tu-me-ni-e. *Villages.* l. 10, 12.

Tu-me-ni. l. 16.

Tu-ra . . . *The river Tura* . . . (in Bustus). xxxix. 61.

Tu-ri-e. *Stone* (?) l. 37.

Tu-ri. xliv. 8; xlviii. 19.

Tu-ri-i-ni-ni. *For those belonging to the rock* (?). xxxv.A. 10 Rev.

Tu-ri-ni-ni. xix. 18; xx. 14; xxi. 13; xxii. 10; xxviii. 6; xxx. 33; xxxiii. 25; xxxiv. 20; xliv. 14; xlviii. 20; l. 37; li. 10.

Tu-su-kha-ani. *Plunder* (?). xxxii. 2.

U, HU.

 Hu-a. *To the god Uas.* v. 6, 38. We learn from the Assyrian inscriptions that Uas was the name of a god of the Moschi.

 Hu-a-i-na-hu-e. *To (the gate of) the god of the land of Uais.* v. 20, 58.

. . . . hu-a-tsi-i-di. xxxvii. 12.

 Hu-ba-a-ru-gi-il-du-ni. *The city of Ubarugildus.* xxxvii. 27.

 Hu-bur-da-al-khi. *The inhabitants of the land of Uburdas* (in Georgia). xxxviii. 41.

 Hu-bur-da-hu-e-di-ya. *The people of Uburdas.* xxxviii. 40.

Hu-da-e-s. *That.* xxxi. 29; xliv. 9; xlvi. 16; xlviii. 19.

Hu-da-s. xx. 13; xxii. 9; xxx. 32; xxxiv. 18; xxxv.A. 7 Rev.

Hu-da-ni. liv. 5.

Hu-da-i. xliv. 8; xlviii. 19; l. 37.

Hu-da-e. xxi. 12; xxxiii. 24.

 Hu-du-da-e-i. *Of the place of the monument.* li. 7. See *Du-u.*

 Hu-du-ri. *Of Uduris* (king of Etius). xxxvii. 22. Apparently the same as Udharus.

 U-du-ri-e-ti-ni. *The land of Uduretis* (near Erivan). liii. 7.

Hu-dha-ru-hu-khi. *The son of Udharus* (acc.). xxxi. 2. See *Hu-du-ri* and *Hu-i-dha-e-ru-khi-i-ni-e-i.*

Hu-dha-ru-khi-ni-e-di. *Into the land of the son of Udharus.* xxxi. 5, 10.

 Hu-dhu-bu-ur-si-ni. *Udhubursis* (king on the N.W. side of Lake Van). xxx. 12.

 Hu-dhu-bur-si-ni. xlvi. 3.

Hu-dhu-kha-a-i. *Of the city Udhukhais* (N.W. of Lake Van). xxx. 11.

-hu-e-da-śi-ni. *Rank and file.* xl. 79.

Hu-e-da-i-ni. *Vedainis* (king of Irmas in Georgia). xlix. 16.

Hu-gi-is-ti-ni. *The land of Ugistis* (in Bustus). xl. 55.

Hu-i (=Vi). *And.* v. 26, 73; 28, 77; 29, 80; ix. 2; xiii. 2; xxxvii. 12; xli. 13; l. 7.

Hu-i-a. *To the god of Vis.* v. 23.

Hu-i-du-s. *Vidus.* li. 9.

Hu-i-dha-e-ru-khi-i-ni-e-i. *Of the son of Uidharus.* xlv. 37. See Uduris and Udharus.

Hu-i-dha-ru-khi-e-ni-e. xliii. 52, 55.

Hu-i-khi-ka-a. *The city of the tribe of Vikhis* (in Bustus). xliii. 25.

Hu-i-si-ni. *The city of Visis.* v. 54.

Hu-i-si-ni-ni. v. 16.

Hu-i-su-si-ni. *The land of Visusis* (in Georgia). xxxviii. 42.

Ul-di-e. *Monuments.* v. 27, 76; 30, 81.

Ul-di. xxiii. 2.

Ul-gu-se. *Shields.* v. 24, 67; xi. 2. See vii. 3.

Ul-gu-si-ni. *Belonging to shields.* lii.

Ul-gu-si-ya-ni. *Shieldsmen.* lvi. i. 13.

Ul-gu-si-ya-ni-e-di-ni. *Shieldbearers.* lii.

Ul(?)-dhu-ni *Camels.* xl. 6.

Ul-khu-di. *In the campaign.* l. 22.

Ul-tu-za-i-ni. *Ultuzais* (king of Anistir in Georgia). xxxvii. 18.

Hu-lu-a-ni-e-i. *Of the land of Uluanis* (Erivan). xxxvi. 6.

Hu-lu-hu-da-e. *They give.* xxi. 17; xxxiii. 28.

Hu-lu-hu-da. xxii. 14.

Hu-lu-da-e. xx. 19; xxviii. 12; xxx. 36; xxxiv. 24; xl. 20; xlviii. 24; l. 40.

Hu-lu-us-ta-i-bi. *I approached with offerings.* xxx. 6; xxxvii. 20; xxxviii. 12, 29; xliii. 51; xlv. 32. A compound of *hulu* and *ustabi*.

Hu-lu-us-ta-bi. xxxiv. 7.

 Hu-me(?)-ku . . . *The land of Umekus* (?). xxxvii. 24.

 Um (?)-e-se-e. Perhaps "the city of tablets." l. 30. Near Malatiyeh.

Um-nu-li. *After the spring.* v. 30, 81; vii. 6.

Um-nu-li-ni. xii. 3.

Hu-ni-na-a. *To the god of the land of Unis.* v. 10, 44.

 Hu-ra-a. *To the god Uras.* v. 11, 47.

Ur-bi-i-ka-a-s. *The tribe of Urbis.* liv. 9.

Ur-di-du. liv. 13.

 Ur (?)-kha (?)-ni. *The city of Urkhas* (?). xxxiv. 3.

Hu-ri . . . lvi. (1,) 8.

Hu-ri-e-i-hu-ni. *The city of Urieyus* (N.W. of Lake Van). xxxvii. 12.

 . . . ur-ma-ni. *The land of . . . urmas* (in the Hittite district). xxxviii. 13.

 Ur-me-i-ni. *The land of Urmes* (apparently north of the Araxes). xli. 5.

Ur-me-e-di. (Loc.) xli. 5

Ur-me-hu-e-e-di-a. *The people of the land of Urmes.* xlix. 22.

Ur-pu-li. *After the shrine* (?). xi. 3.

Ur-pu-li-ni. x. 6; xvi. 3.

Ur-pu-da-i-ni. xlviii. 12.

Ur-pu-a-tsi. *Ministers* (?). vii. 1; xvi. 5.

Hu-ru-da-e. *Of the family.* li. 8. See *arkhie-urudas.*

Ur-ya-ni. *The land of Uryas* (probably in Georgia). xxxvii. 25.

Us-gi-ni. *Favourable* (?). iii. 2. See vi. A. 3. Probably a compound of *us* 'near' and *gi* (as in *gies*).

Hu-si . . . *The city of Usi* . . . (near Rowandiz). lvi. (4.) 8.

Us-ku(?)-bi-i. lvi. (4.) 7.

Us-ma-si-i-e. *Gracious* (?). v. 17. More probably 'of the city.' Perhaps compounded with *us*.

Us-ma-si-e. v. 54.

Us-ma-a-si-i-ni. xvii. 1; xxiv. 2; xxv. 1; xxvi. 1.

Us-ma-a-si-ni. xiii. 1; xviii. 1; xxx. 4; xlv. 31; ?lvi. (1.) 5.

Us-ma-si-ni. xix. 1; xx. 1; xxii. 1; xxxii. 1; xxxiii. 6; xxxiv. 5; xxxv. 1; xxxvi. 4; liii. 1.

Us-ta-a-bi. *I approached, prayed.* xxxi. 4, 8; xxxiii. 1, 6; xxxviii. 51; xxxix. 46; xlv. 31. A comparison with *us-tuni* shows that it is a compound of *us* and *tâ* or *tai*. The latter may be connected with *ti-ni* 'he called'; *us* must signify 'near.' A comparison with *nulus* makes it possible that *us* stands for *u-si*, from a root *u*. The difference between *ustabi* and *kabkarubi* is that between the Assyrian *karabu* (קרב) and *lavu* (לוה).

Us-ta-bi. xxx. 1, 5; xxxiv. 1, 5; xxxvi. 1, 4; xxxvii. 17, 20; xxxviii. 5, 25, 28; xl. 14, 42, 67; xliii. 11, 33, 70; xlv. 27; xlvi. 1, 11; xlix. 1, 3; l. 1, 5; lv. 1, 3.

Us-ta-a-di. *On approaching.* xxxii. 2; xxxvii. 9, 24; xxxviii. 15; xliii. 52; xlix. 4.

Us-ta-di. xxix.B. 2; xxxvii. 6, 12, 29, 33; xxxviii. 12, 40, 43; xxxix. 8, 33, 36, 55, 60; xl. 34, 53; xli. 5; xliii. 24, 38, 47, 74; xlv. 2; xlix. 13, 22; l. 12.

Us-tu-ni. *He has dedicated.* lii. A compound of *us* and *tu;* cp. *sidistu-ni.*

Hu-tsi-di. *Among future ones* (?). xix. 11.

Hu-tsu-ni. *He has destined* (?). xix. 10.

Hu-hu-ra-a-khi. *The city of Vurakhis* (near Malatiyeh). l. 28.

Hu-hu-si-ni. *The country of Vusis* (in Bustus). xl. 56.

Hu-zi-na-bi-tar-na-a. *Of the city of Uzibitarnas* (N.W. of Lake Van). xxxvii. 10.

Y.

Ya-ra-ni. *Who has consecrated.* xxxiii. 13; lvi. (1.) 5.

. . . ya-si-na-tsi-e. xlviii. 11.

Z.

Za-ba-a-kha-a-e-si-i-da. *The district of the Zabakhaians* (N.W. of Lake Van). xxxvii. 9.

 Za-ba-a-kha-a-e-hu-e-e-di-ya. *The people of Zabakhas.* xxxvii. 9.

Za-a-du-hu-bi. *I built, made.* xxxv.A. 9 Rev.; xliii. 18. Perhaps a compound of *za* and *du* or *tu*. Cf. *zasgubi*.

Za-a-du-bi. xx. 14; xl. 41; xli. 11.

Za-du-hu-bi. xxxi. 30; xxxviii. 24; xxxix. 45.

Za-du-bi. xx. 14; xxx. 32; xxxvii. 16; xxxviii. 3, 50; xl. 13, 66; xliii. 10, 32, 69; xliv. 10; xlviii. 20; lvi. (1,) 11.

Za-a-du-hu-ni. *He has built.* iv.; xiv.; xxv. 4.

Za-du-hu-ni. xv.

Za-du-ni. vii. 1; xxi. 2; xxiv. 5; xxvi. (3.) 4; xlix. 29; lii.

Za-a-du-hu-a-li. *After being built.* v. 2.

Za-a-tu-hu-a-li. v. 33.

Za-a-i-ni. lv. 11. Probably connected with the next word.

Za-i-se-e-i. *Of the gate, pass.* lvi. (3.) 7. The ideograph for 'gate' given on p. 421 should accordingly be pronounced *zaisis*. The word, however, may be strictly *zais* (cf. *zaini*), *zai-sis* being an adjective in *-si*.

Za-na-ni-ni. xvi. 4. Probably "for those that belong to the people (*or* land) of the gate." Hence we may assume a word *zais* or *zas* 'gate,' from which come the derivatives *zai-nis*, *zai-sis*, and *za-nas*.

Za-ap-sa. *Of the city of Zapsas* (near Malatiyeh). l. 15.

Za-as-gu-hu-bi. *I killed.* xxxii. 9; xl. 3. The existence of *asgubi* 'I took' seems to show that *zasgubi* is compounded with *za*. *Za* will then mean 'thoroughly,' 'to an end,' *zadu* being 'to bring to an end' (*i.e.* 'complete' or 'make') and *zasgubi* 'take to an end' (*i.e.* 'destroy').

Za-as-gu-bi. xxxvii. 14, 41; xxxviii. 21, 47; xxxix. 15, 37, 42, 61; xli. 8; [x]liii. 6, 28, 65; xxxv.A. 1 Obv.

Zi-el-di. xix. 9; liv. 3.

. . . zi-ni-e-i. xi. 3. Cp. *asazie-khinie*.

Zi-ir-bi-la-ni. xliii. 42.

Zi-hu-ḳu-ni-e. *To the god of Zihuḳus.* v. 11, 47.

Zu-a-i-ni-e. *The land of Zuais* (near Daher and Melazgherd). lv. 7.

Zu-hu-a-ni. xlv. 3.

Zu-a-i-na-a. *The district of Zuais.* xxx. 11.

Zu-hu-a-i-di. (Loc.) xlv. 3.

Zu-a-si-a-di. *Among the Zuaians.* xlv. 5.

Zu (?)-a- { khu / da } -hu-i-e. *The city of Zuakhuis (?)* (in Georgia). xxxiv. 9.

(*or* Zu)-zu-ma-(a)-ru-e. *To the god of the city of Zumarus* (or less probably *to the god Zuzumarus*). v. 10, 45.

IDEOGRAPHS.

[*These are arranged in the same order as in the list given on pp.* 421-2.[1]]

1. *King.* xx. 6, 7; xxii. 5; xxvi. 6; xxvi. (2.) 5; xxvii. 11; xxix. 11; xxx. 12; xxxiii. 16, 19; xxxv. 7; xxxvi. 9; xxxvii. 6; xlv. 17, 38; xlviii. 6, 7; l. 2, 7, 33; li. iii. 9, 10; lii.; liii. 6; lvi. (1.) 3, (4.) 5.

-e (*? khute*). Acc. Sing. xlix. 11; li. iii. 10.

 -ni (*nuni*). Acc. Sing. xlix. 17.

Pl. xix. 11.

-di. Loc. Pl. xxxi. 7.

-hu-e (*khulave*). *Belonging to the kings.* xlviii. 7.

-hu-e-di-a. *People of the kings.* xlv. 15.

 -da-da-e-di-ni. *People of the two kingdoms.* xxx. 24.

 -śi (*nuśi*). *Royal.* See -śi.

. li. 4.

. xxxi. 3, 11.

2. -e (*eurie*). *To the lord.* lii.

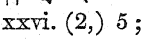
-di. Loc. xxxvii. 3, 23; xxxviii. 8, 38; xxxix. 2, 26, 50; xl. 25, 47, 75; xli. 2; xliii. 20, 44; xlvi. 24; l. 8.

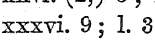
3. . *Governors.* xlv. 17. Probably pronounced *eśiyani.*

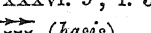
[1] In one or two cases, it will be noticed, the pronunciation given on pp. 421, 422, has been corrected.

4. (*tarais*). *Powerful.* xx. 6; xxii. 5; xxvi. 6; xxvi. (2,) 5; xxvii. 11; xxix. 10; xxxiii. 19; xxxv. 7; xxxvi. 9; l. 33; li. iii. 9; lii.; lvi. (4,) 5.

5. (*hasis*). *Man.* v. 50, etc. In v. 50 it interchanges with .

6.  (*? ibirani*). *Men, persons.* xxxvii. 40; xxxviii. 21, 46; xxxix. 14; xl. 37; xli. 8; lv. 13. See No. 9.

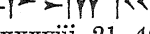
 -ra-ni. xxxix. 35.

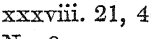
 -ra-ni. liii. 6.

-ra-a-ni-tsi. xxxv.A. 8 Obv.; xlv. 40.

-a-ri. xxxi. 13.

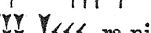
-a-ri-e. v. 78.

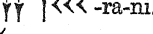
 -a-ri. v. 28.[1]

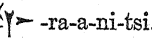
7.  . *Son.* li. 8.

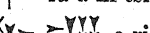
8. -se. xxxviii. 19, 45; xlix. 9, 20, 23. The word ends in *-sis*.

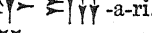
-se. xxxi. 15; xxxvii. 13; xxxix. 6; xlv. 12; xlix. 26.

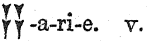
9.  . *People.* xxxviii. 20, 45. See No. 6.

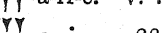
 -ra-a-ni-tsi. xxxv.A. 8 Obv.; xlv. 40.

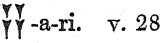
 -hu-e-di-a. xxxi. 18.

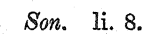
 -hu-e-di-a-ni. xlix. 20.

 -hu-e-da-śi-ni. *The rank and file.* xl. 79.

 (?)-a-tsi. xlv. 40.

10.  (*tarsua, khuradia*). *Soldiers.* xxxvii. 13.

11.  . *Slave.* xi.A. 1.

12.  . *Peoples, languages.* v. 3, 34; 19, 57; 25, 73; 30, 81; 31, 83. M. Guyard considers that the ideograph means 'all.'

[1] It is possible that *aris* is the full word, from which *arani* is formed. *-ra* would stand to the suffix *-ri* as *-na* to *-ni* and *-ka* to *-ki*. If we compare *giss-uris*, *e-uris*, the root would be *a* 'to speak,' so that 'man' would be 'the speaker.' The legend of Ara (Aras) seems to show that the word *aras* actually existed in Vannic (pp. 414-416). The solar hero of Van might as well be called 'the man' as his Phœnician representative *Adonai*, *Adônis* 'the lord.' Compare also the name of the king *Arame(s)* or *Arave(s)*, perhaps *Ara-hu-e-s* (p. 405).

13. (*ebanis*). *Country.* Passim. See *Ebanie*, etc.

-ni-i-e. xxx. 7; xlvi. 4.

-ni-e. xxxiii. 3; xxxiv. 2; xxxvi. 7; xxxvii. 18; xxxviii. 6, 26, 52; xxxix. 47; xl. 73; xli. 6; xliii. 34, 48; xlv. 35, 36; xlix. 2; l. 3.

-ni. xxix.B. 5; xxxiv. 8; xxxviii. 16; xxxix. 56; xl. 69; liv. 1.

-ni-e-di. Loc. xxxvii. 11.

-ni-di. xlv. 2; l. 12.

-ni-ni. Adj. xxxii. 5.

-ni-a. *Countryfolk.* xli. 6; xliii. 24, 38, 53; xlix. 8.

14. (*inanis*). *City.* v. 20, 58; ix. 2; xiii. 2, 3; xxxviii. 4.

Pl. xxxv.A. 1 Obv.; xxxvii. 7, 35; xxxviii. 19, 44; xxxix. 3, 13, 57; xl. 58; xli. 7; xliii. 4, 38, 53; xliv. 7; xlix. 8; l. 15, 17.

-ni-e. lii.

-ni. xlvii. 3.

-e. xxxviii. 44.

-se. *Belonging to the city.* x. 4; xii. 1. Cp. *zai-nis* and *zai-sis*.

-tsi-e. xxxviii. 57.

-e-a-tsi-da-ni. xxxiv. 15.

-śi. *Royal city.* xxx. 8, etc. Cf. xxxvii. 12.

nu-śi.

15. (*asis*). *House.* xxiv. 5.

-e. iv.

-ri-a (*dhuluria*). *People of the palaces.* xliii. 75.

16. (*asida, dhuluris*). *Palace.* ix. 2; xiii. 2, 3; xvii. 5; xxxv. 3; xliii. 3; lv. 17.

Pl. xxxvii. 7; xxxviii. 19, 44; xxxix. 24, 57; xliii. 24, 79; xlv. 6; xlix. 8, 18, 22; l. 15, 16.

-ri-a. See above.

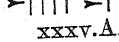
-e-di. Loc. l. 26.

 People of the palace. xi.A. 1.

-si-a (*asia*). *People of the palace.* xxxv.A. 3 Obv.

-ni-a (*asinia*). *People belonging to the palace.* xxxv.A. 6 Obv.

-si-da (*asida*). *Palace.* xxx. 9.

 -si-du-hu-hu-da. *The site of the palaces.* xxxix. 24.

17. . *Firm house* (?). xi.A. 2.

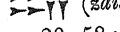
18. (*zais, zai-nis, zai-sis*). *Gate, pass.* v. 2, 33; 16, 54; 20, 58; x. 4, 8; xi. 2; xvi. 6; lvi. (1.) 12, 13, (3.) 2.

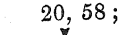
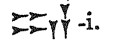
-i. Gen. xvi. 2.

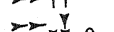
-e. xvi. 5.

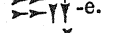
-li. Perfective. xvii. 4; xviii. 3.

-na. *Belonging to the land of the gate.* xvi. 4; lvi. (1.) 10.

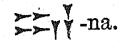
 . Pl. v. 33.

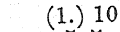
19.  (*karbis*). *Stone.* xxxiv. 17. Cf. *turi.* For  *puluśi* 'written stone' see *puluśi.*

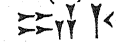
20.  (*armanida*). *Tablet.* xvi. 1. See *Armanidad.*

 -ni-ni. Adj. liv. 4. See -e-se-e, l. 30.

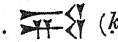
. xx. 10; xxi. 11; xxii. 7; xxx. 29; xxxiii. 22; xxxv.A. 2 Rev.; xliii. 57; xliv. 4; xlv. 5; xlviii. 16; l. 35; li. 11; lvi. (3.) 13.

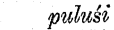
21.  (*tuais*). *Gold.* xxx. 16; l. 25. See xlv. 20.

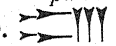
22.  . *Silver.* xxx. 16; xlv. 20; l. 25.

23.  (*gusi*). *Pieces of bronze.* xlv. 21, 24.

24. . *A maneh.* xlv. 20, 21, 24.

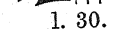
25.  (*khusus*). *Flesh.* See liv. 4.

26.  . *Food.* v. 24.

 -ni. Acc. x. 1, 4; xii. 1.

. Pl. v. 67.

-ni. *Food.* li. 8.

27.  (*halis*). *To be sacrificed.* v. 30, 31.

-e. Dat. xix. 7.

28. (*rukus*). *A victim.* See xix. 14.

. . . si na. *Belonging to the land of the victims.* xix. 5.

29. (*susis*). *Sheep.* v. 22, etc. See v. 36, etc.

. Pl. v. 4, etc.; xli. 14; xlv. 25.

-se. xxxi. 17; xxxix. 43; xli. 9.

30. (*pakhinis*). *An ox.* v. 4, 36, etc.; x. 5.

. Pl. v. 4, 36, etc.; xlv. 25.

31. . *Wild ox.* v. 21. See *Gurukhu.*

-se. Pl. xlv. 25. *Se* probably should be .

32. . *A lamb.* v. 3, 35; lvi. (4.) 1.

33. (*ul(?)dhuni*). *Camels.* xxxix. 43; xl. 60; xliii. 7.

34. (*navus*). *Horse.* xxxix. 42. *Navusis* is 'belonging to horses.'

. *Horses.* xxxi. 16; xxxvii. 15; xxxviii. 1, 22, 47; xl. 5, 38, 62; xli. 9; xliii. 7, 29, 66; xlv. 13; xlix. 10, 27.

-hu-hu. xxx. 20.

35. (*sekhiri*). *Alive.* xxxii. 9; xxxviii. 20, 45; xli. 8.

-ni. x. 5; xii. 2.

36. -e. *Many.* xliii. 79. Perhaps pronounced *alśuisie.*

-da. *Place of many.* xxx. 19.

37. . *In all.* xlix. 26.

38. -e. *Hostile.* xl. 73.

39. -bi (*abidadubi*). *I burnt.* xxxvii. 7; xxxviii. 19, 44; xxxix. 13; xli. 7; xliii. 24, 38, 53, 74; xlix. 8; l. 17.

40. -ni-ni. *For the gifts.* li. 8.

41. -da. *Buildings.* xliii. 79.

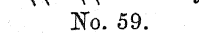
42. . *Twice.* xxxvii. 14, 40; xxxviii. 21.

-e. xliii. 17.

43. . *Sixty.* xliii. 16, 78.

44. . *Four fours.* xxviii. 10; xliv. 17; xlviii. 22. See No. 59.

45. . *Times.* xliv. 17; xlviii. 22.

46.  (*astiu*). *War-magazines.* xlv. 21, 25.

47. (*atsus*). *Month.* xxiv. 6. See xlviii. 10.

48. . *One year.* xxxvii. 16; xxxviii. 24; xxxix. 19; xl. 41, 66; xliii. 10, 69; xlix. 26, 29.

49. . *The gods.* v. 3, 34; 15, 53; 17, 54; 19, 57; 24, 67; 25, 73; 28, 78; 30, 81; 31, 83; xxii. 11; xxxiv. 21; xxxviii. 10, 40; xxxix. 28, 52; xl. 29, 49, 77; xliii. 46; l. 10.

-se. xx. 16; xxx. 34; xxxiii. 26; xliv. 15; xlviii. 21; l. 38; li. 11.

-se-di. Loc. Sing. xix. 10.

-as-te. Loc. Pl. xxxviii. 9, 39; xxxix. 2, 27, 51; xl. 27, 48, 76; xli. 3; xliii. 21, 45; xlvi. 26; l. 8.

-i-e. *Of the god.* xlviii. 13. The word for "god" is either *asis*, in which case it would have the same sound as the word for 'house,' or a word which terminates in *-asis*.

50. (*Ardinis*). *The Sun-god.* v. 3, 34; 4, 36; 16, 54; xxi. 13; xli. 19.

-s. xx. 16; xxii. 11; xxviii. 8; xxxiii. 25; xxxiv. 20; xliv. 15; xlviii. 21; l. 38; li. 11; lvi. (3.) 13.

-ni-s. xx. 16; xxx. 33.

-di. *Loc.* xxxvii. 3, 23; xxxviii. 9, 38; xxxix. 2, 26, 50; xl. 25, 48, 76; xli. 2; xliii. 21, 44.

-ni-di. xlvi. 25; l. 8.

(*Ardinis*). *The day.* v. 2; xix. 19; xxiv. 6.

-ni. *During the day, publicly.* xx. 16; xxi. 14; xxii. 12; xxx. 34; xxxiii. 26; xxxiv. 21; xliv. 17; xlviii. 10, 22; li. 11.

-ni-ni. *Day by day.* v. 34.

51. (*Teisbas*). *The Air-god.* xx. 15; xxi. 13.

-s. xxii. 11; xxviii. 8; xxx. 33; xxxiii. 35; xxxiv. 20; xxxv.A. 11 Rev.; xliv. 15; xlviii. 21; l. 38; li. 11; lvi. (3.) 13.

-a. Dat. xxvi. (2,) 1.

-(a)-e. v. 51.

-di. Loc. xxxvii. 3, 23; xxxviii. 9, 38; xxxix. 2, 26, 50; xl. 26, 48, 75; xli. 2; xliii. 20, 44; xlvi. 25; l. 8.

52.[1] (*Selardis*). v. 7.

53. . *Citadel.* lvi. (1.) 8. Probably pronounced *arniusinida.*

54. . *Assyria.* xxxviii. 53, 57; xxxix. 21, 25, 31. Probably pronounced *Harśis.*

-ni-ni. *Belonging to the Assyrians.* xl. 36. (? *Harśi-ni-ni.*)

55. . *River.* xxxviii. 17; xxxix. 61; xliii. 17.

56. -hu-e-di-a (*lutuvedia*). *Womenfolk.* xxxviii. 46; xlv. 39.

-hu-e-di-a-ni . xlix. 10.

-hu-e-di-i-a-ni. xxxvii. 13, 30, 39; xxxix. 59, 65; xliii. 26; xlv. 13.

57. . *Wooden objects.* v. 29, 80.

?58. -li. *To the dead* (*?*). v. 7, 40. Should perhaps be read *tilli.*

59. -ni. *To the four.* v. 12, 49. See No. 44.

60. placed at the beginning of an inscription, lii., as in the Assyrian bilingual tablets. Hence the word-divider of the Persian inscriptions.

VOCABULARY OF THE WORDS IN THE ASSYRIAN TEXTS.

ℵ

Al-ni-hu-nu. *The city of Alniun,* which seems to have preceded Van. i. 6; ii. 8.

(Ana). *To, for.* i. 6; ii. 7.

Ana-cu. *I.* i. 7; ii. 8.

[1] The compound ideograph "heaven" must be excised, and "citadel" substituted for it.

An-ni-hu. *This.* i. 7; ii. 8.
An-nu-te. *These.* i. 6; ii. 7.

ד

Dan-nu. *Powerful.* i. 1; ii. 2.
Dur. *Fortress.* i. 7; ii. 8.

י

 Istu. *From.* i. 6; ii. 8.

כ

Cu-bu-la-ni. *Habitations* (?). i. 6; ii. 7.
Ca-ca-ar. *Ground.* i. 6; ii. 7.
Can-śu-te. *Obedient* (pl.). i. 3; ii. 4.
Mu-sac-nis. *Subduer* (shaphel part.).

ל

La. *Not.* i. 3; ii. 4.
La-di-ru. *Unfearing.* i. 3; ii. 3. For *la adiru.*
Libbi. *Heart, midst.* i. 6; ii. 7.
 Lu-ti-ip-ri. *Lutipris.* i. 1, 4, 5; ii. 1, 5, 6.

מ

Ma-a. *This* (suffixed pron.). i. 6; ii. 7.
Am-khar. *I received.* i. 5; ii. 6.
Ma-da-tav. *Tribute.* i. 5; ii. 6. For *mandantav*, from נדן 'to give' (נתן).

נ

Na-i-ri. *Riverland* (i.e. Biainas). i. 2; ii. 2.
Na-tsa-cu. *I remove* (1st pers. S. permansive Kal). i. 7; ii. 8. Should perhaps be *matsacu* 'I have found.'

ס

-ri-dur. *S'ariduris.* i. 1, 4, 5; ii. 1, 5, 6.

ר

Rab-e. *Great.* i. 1; ii. 1.
Ar-ti-tsi-ip. *I built* (for *artetsip* 1st. pers. S. Iphteal aor.). i. 7; ii. 8.

ש

Sa. *Of, whom.* i. 1, 4; ii. 1, 5.
Sa-nin. *Rival.* i. 2; ii. 2.
Su. *His, him.* i. 2, 3; ii. 2, 4.
Su-nu. *Them.* i. 4; ii. 5.

ת

Tap-ra-te. *Habitations.* i. 2; ii. 3.
Tu ()-ku-un-te. *Opposition* (pl. fem.). i. 3; ii. 4.

ASSYRIAN IDEOGRAPHS.

1. ? . *? Tablet.* i. 1.
2. . *? Tablet.* ii. 1.
3. (*Abil*). *Son.* i. 1, 5; ii. 1, 5, 6. See above, No. 7.
4. . *King.* i. 1, 2, 3, 4; ii. 1, 2, 4, 5. See above, No. 1.
-ni (*sarrani*). *Kings.* i. 4; ii. 5, 6.
5. (*Cissati*). *Multitudes.* i. 1; ii. 2.
6. (*lá*). *Not.* i. 2; ii. 3.
7. (*Cal*). *All.* i. 4; ii. 5.
8. -hu (*ibsu*). *He was.* i. 2; ii. 3.
9. (*Rihu*). *Shepherd.* i. 2; ii. 3.

ERRATA AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 453, line 26. *For* there *read* these.
Page 463, line 20. *For* l. *read* li.
Page 496, note 1. *For* lxv. *read* xlv.
Page 632. *For* xlvii. *read* xlviii.
Page 650. M. Guyard ingeniously suggests that we should read *a-lu-s kha-hu-da-e* in line 8, and *-s* as *alu-s* in line 10. In this case the original meaning of *alus* would be 'one.'

ART. XXIV.—*Sanskṛit Text of the Sikshā-Patrī of the Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa Sect.* Edited by Professor MONIER WILLIAMS, C.I.E., D.C.L.

[THE text of the Śikshā-patrī of the modern Vaishṇava Sect, called Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa, was lithographed in Samvat 1928 (A.D. 1872) by order of the Heads of the Sect. It has a Gujarātī Commentary by Nityānanda-muni. So far as I know, this is the only version of the text that has yet appeared. It was given to me by the Wartāl Mahārāja on the occasion of my first visit to Wartāl in 1875. It is full of mistakes, and in preparing the following edition of the text I have taken as my guide the far more accurate manuscript and Sanskṛit commentary written by Paṇḍit Śatānanda-muni, and given to me by the Mahārāja on the same occasion.]

श्रीहरिकृष्णाय नमः

॥ अथ शिक्षापत्री लिख्यते ॥

वामे यस्य स्थिता राधा श्रीश्च यस्यास्ति वक्षसि ।
वृन्दावनविहारं तं श्रीकृष्णं हृदि चिन्तये ॥ १ ॥
लिखामि सहजानन्दः स्वामी सर्वान्निजाश्रितान् ।
नानादेशस्थितान् शिक्षापत्रीं वृत्तालयस्थितः ॥ २ ॥
भ्रात्रो रामप्रतापेच्छारामयोर्धर्मजन्मनोः ।
याववोधाप्रसादाख्यरघुवीराभिधौ सुतौ ॥ ३ ॥
मुकुन्दानन्दमुख्याश्च नैष्ठिका ब्रह्मचारिणः ।
गृहस्थाश्च मयारामभट्टाद्या ये मदाश्रयाः ॥ ४ ॥
सधवा विधवा योषा याश्चमच्छिष्यतां गताः ।
मुक्तानन्दादयो ये स्युः साधवश्चाखिला अपि ॥ ५ ॥

स्वधर्मरक्षका मे तैः सर्वैर्वाच्याः सदाशिषः।
श्रीमन्नारायणस्मृत्या सहिताः शास्त्रसम्मताः॥ ६॥
एकाग्रेणैव मनसा पत्रीलेखः सहेतुकः।
अवधार्योऽयमखिलैः सर्वजीवहितावहः॥ ७॥
ये पालयन्ति मनुजाः सच्छास्त्रप्रतिपादितान्।
सदाचारान् सदा तेऽत्र परत्र च महासुखाः॥ ८॥
तानुल्लङ्घ्य तु वर्त्तन्ते ये तु स्वैरं कुबुद्धयः।
त इहामुत्र च महल्लभन्ते कष्टमेव हि॥ ९॥
अतो भवद्भिर्मच्छिष्यैः सावधानतयाऽखिलैः।
प्रीत्यैतामनुसृत्यैव वर्तितव्यं निरन्तरम्॥ १०॥
कस्यापि प्राणिनो हिंसा नैव कार्या च मामकैः।
सूक्ष्मयूकामत्कुणादेरपि बुद्धया कदाचन॥ ११॥
देवतापितृयागार्थमप्यजादेश्च हिंसनम्॥
न कर्त्तव्यमहिंसैव धर्मः प्रोक्तोऽस्ति यन् महान्॥ १२॥
स्त्रिया धनस्य वाप्राप्त्यै साम्राज्यस्य च वा क्वचित्।
मनुष्यस्य तु कस्यापि हिंसा कार्या न सर्वथा॥ १३॥
आत्मघातस्तु तीर्थे पि न कर्त्तव्यश्च न क्रुधा।
अयोग्याचरणात्क्वापि न विषोद्बन्धनादिना॥ १४॥
न भक्ष्यं सर्वथा मांसं यज्ञशिष्टमपि क्वचित्।
न पेयं च सुरामद्यमपि देवनिवेदितम्॥ १५॥
अकार्याचरणे क्वापि जाते स्वस्य परस्य वा।
अङ्गच्छेदो न कर्त्तव्यः शस्त्रादैश्च क्रुधापि वा॥ १६॥
स्तेनकर्म न कर्त्तव्यं धर्मार्थमपि केनचित्।
सस्वामिकाष्टपुष्पादि न ग्राह्यं तदनाज्ञया॥ १७॥
व्यभिचारो न कर्त्तव्यः पुंभिः स्त्रीभिश्च मां श्रितैः।
द्यूतादिव्यसनं त्याज्यं नाद्यं भङ्गादिमादकम्॥ १८॥

अग्राह्यान्नेन पक्वं यदन्नं तदुदकं च न ।
जगन्नाथपुरं हित्वा ग्राह्यं कृष्णप्रसादपि ॥ १९ ॥
मिथ्यापवादः कस्मिंश्चिदपि स्वार्थस्य सिद्धये ।
नारोप्यो नापशब्दाश्च भाषणीयाः कदाचन ॥ २० ॥
देवतातीर्थविप्राणां साध्वीनां च सतामपि ।
वेदानां च न कर्त्तव्या निन्दा अन्या न च क्वचित् ॥ २१ ॥
देवतायै भवेद्यस्मै सुरामांसनिवेदनम् ।
यत्पुरोऽजादिहिंसा च न भक्ष्यं तन्निवेदितम् ॥ २२ ॥
दृष्ट्वा शिवालयादीनि देवागाराणि वर्त्मनि ।
प्रणम्य तानि तद्देवदर्शनं कार्यमादरात् ॥ २३ ॥
स्ववर्णाश्रमधर्मो यः स हातव्यो न केनचित् ।
परधर्मो न चाचर्यो न च पाषण्डकल्पितः ॥ २४ ॥
कृष्णभक्तेः स्वधर्माद्वा पतनं यस्य वाक्यतः ।
स्यात्तन्मुखान्न वै अन्याः कथावार्त्ताश्च वा प्रभोः ॥ २५ ॥
स्वपरद्रोहजननं सत्यं भाष्यं न कर्हिचित् ।
कृतघ्नसङ्गस्त्यक्तव्यो लुब्धा ग्राह्या न कस्यचित् ॥ २६ ॥
चौरपापिव्यसनिनां सङ्गः पाषण्डिनां तथा ।
कामिनां च न कर्त्तव्यो जनवञ्चनकर्मणाम् ॥ २७ ॥
भक्तिं वा ज्ञानमालम्ब्य स्त्रीद्रव्यरसलोलुभाः ।
पापे प्रवर्त्तमानाः स्युः कार्यस्तेषां न सङ्गमः ॥ २८ ॥
कृष्णकृष्णावताराणां खण्डनं यत्र युक्तिभिः ।
कृतं स्यात्तानि शास्त्राणि न मान्यानि कदाचन ॥ २९ ॥
अगालितं न पातव्यं पानीयं च पयस्तथा ।
स्नानादि नैव कर्त्तव्यं सूक्ष्मजन्तुमयाम्भसा ॥ ३० ॥
यदौषधं च सुरया सम्पृक्तं पलेन वा ।
अज्ञातवृत्तवैद्येन दत्तं चाद्यं न तत्क्वचित् ॥ ३१ ॥

स्थानेषु लोकशास्त्राभ्यां निषिद्धेषु कदाचन ।
मलमूत्रोत्सर्जनं च न कार्यं ष्ठीवनं तथा ॥ ३२ ॥
अद्वारेण न निर्गम्यं प्रवेष्टव्यं न तेन च ।
स्थाने सस्वामिके वासः कार्योऽपृष्ट्वा न तत्पतिम् ॥ ३३ ॥
ज्ञानवार्त्ताश्रुतिर्नार्या मुखात्कार्या न पूरुषैः ।
न विवादः स्त्रिया कार्यो न राज्ञा न च तज्जनैः ॥ ३४ ॥
अपमानो न कर्त्तव्यो गुरूणां च वरीयसाम् ।
लोके प्रतिष्ठितानां च विदुषां शस्त्रधारिणाम् ॥ ३५ ॥
कार्यं न सहसा किञ्चित्कार्यो धर्मस्तु सत्वरम् ।
पाठनीयाऽधीतविद्या कार्यः सङ्गोऽन्वहं सताम् ॥ ३६ ॥
गुरुदेवनृपेज्यार्थं न गम्यं रिक्तपाणिभिः ।
विश्वासघातो नो कार्यः स्वश्लाघा स्वमुखेन च ॥ ३७ ॥
यस्मिन् परिहिते पि स्युर्दृश्यान्यङ्गानि चात्मनः ।
तद्दूष्यं वसनं नैव परिधार्यं मदाश्रितैः ॥ ३८ ॥
धर्मेण रहिता कृष्णभक्तिः कार्या न सर्वथा ।
अग्ननिन्दाभयान्नैव त्याज्यं श्रीकृष्णसेवनम् ॥ ३९ ॥
उत्सवाहेषु नित्यं च कृष्णमन्दिरमागतैः ।
पुम्भिः स्पृश्या न वनितास्तत्र ताभिश्च पूरुषाः ॥ ४० ॥
कृष्णदीक्षां गुरोःप्राप्तैस्तुलसीमालिके गले ।
धार्ये नित्यं चोर्ध्वपुण्ड्रं ललाटादौ द्विजातिभिः ॥ ४१ ॥
तत्तु गोपीचन्दनेन चन्दनेनाथवा हरेः ।
कार्यं पूजावशिष्टेन केसरादियुतेन च ॥ ४२ ॥
तन्मध्य एव कर्त्तव्यः पुण्ड्रद्वयेन चन्द्रकः ।
कुङ्कुमेनाथवा वृत्तो राधालक्ष्मीप्रसादिना ॥ ४३ ॥
सच्छूद्राः कृष्णभक्ता ये तैस्तु मालोर्ध्वपुण्ड्रके ।
द्विजातिवद्धारणीये निजधर्मेषु संस्थितैः ॥ ४४ ॥

भक्तैस्तदितरैर्भाले चन्दनादीन्धनोद्भवे।
धार्यं कण्ठे ललाटेऽथ कार्यः केवलचन्द्रकः ॥ ४५ ॥
त्रिपुण्ड्ररुद्राक्षधृतिर्येषां स्यात्स्वकुलागता।
तैस्तु विप्रादिभिः क्वापि न त्याज्या सा मदाश्रितैः ॥ ४६ ॥
ऐकात्म्यमेव विज्ञेयं नारायणमहेशयोः।
उभयोर्ब्रह्मरूपेण वेदेषु प्रतिपादनात् ॥ ४७ ॥
शास्त्रोक्त आपद्धर्मो यः स त्वल्पापदि कर्हिचित्।
मदाश्रितैर्मुख्यतया ग्रहीतव्यो न मानवैः ॥ ४८ ॥
प्रत्यहं तु प्रबोधव्यं पूर्वमेवोदयाद्रवेः।
विधाय कृष्णस्मरणं कार्यः शौचविधिस्ततः ॥ ४९ ॥
उपविश्यैव चैकत्र कर्त्तव्यं दन्तधावनम्।
स्नात्वा शुच्यम्बुना धौते परिधार्ये च वाससी ॥ ५० ॥
उपविश्य ततः शुद्ध आसने शुचिभूतले।
असङ्कीर्ण उपस्पृश्यं प्राङ्मुखं वोत्तरामुखम् ॥ ५१ ॥
कर्त्तव्यमूर्ध्वपुण्ड्रं च पुंभिरेव सचन्द्रकम्।
कार्यः सधवनारीभिर्भाले कुङ्कुमचन्द्रकः ॥ ५२ ॥
पुण्ड्रं वा चन्द्रको भाले न कार्यो मृतनाथया।
मनसा पूजनं कार्यं ततः कृष्णस्य चाखिलैः ॥ ५३ ॥
प्रणम्य राधाकृष्णस्य लेख्यार्चां तत आदरात्।
स्तुत्वा जपित्वा तन्मन्त्रं कर्त्तव्यं व्यावहारिकम् ॥ ५४ ॥
ये त्वम्बरीषवद्भक्ताः स्युरिहात्मनिवेदिनः।
तैश्च मानसपूजान्तं कार्यमुक्तक्रमेण वै ॥ ५५ ॥
शैली वा धातुजा मूर्त्तिः शालग्रामोऽर्च्य एव तैः।
द्रव्यैर्यथाप्तैः कृष्णस्य जप्योऽथाष्टाक्षरो मनुः ॥ ५६ ॥
स्तोत्रादेरथ कृष्णस्य पाठः कार्यः स्वशक्तितः।
तथानधीतगीर्वाणैः कार्यं तन्नामकीर्त्तनम् ॥ ५७ ॥

हरेर्विधाय नैवेद्यं भोज्यं प्रासादिकं ततः।
कृष्णसेवापरैः प्रीत्या भवितव्यं च तैः सदा ॥ ५८ ॥
प्रोक्तास्ते निर्गुणा भक्ता निर्गुणस्य हरेर्यतः।
सम्बन्धात्तत्क्रियाः सर्वा भवन्त्येव हि निर्गुणाः ॥ ५९ ॥
भक्तैरेतैस्तु कृष्णायानर्पितं वार्यपि क्वचित्।
न पेयं नैव भक्ष्यं च पक्वकन्दफलाद्यपि ॥ ६० ॥
सर्वैरशक्तौ वृद्धत्वाज्जरीयस्यापदाऽथवा।
भक्ताय कृष्णमन्यस्मै दत्त्वा वृत्यं यथाबलम् ॥ ६१ ॥
आचार्येणैव दत्तं यद्यच्च तेन प्रतिष्ठितम्।
कृष्णस्वरूपं तत्सेव्यं वन्द्यमेवेतरत्तु यत् ॥ ६२ ॥
भगवन्मन्दिरं सर्वैः सायं गन्तव्यमन्वहम्।
नामसङ्कीर्त्तनं कार्यं तत्रोच्चै राधिकापतेः ॥ ६३ ॥
कार्यालस्य कथावार्त्ताः अत्याश्च परमादरात्।
वादित्रसहितं कार्यं कृष्णकीर्त्तनमुत्सवे ॥ ६४ ॥
प्रत्यहं कार्यमित्थं हि सर्वैरपि मदाश्रितैः।
संस्कृतप्राकृतग्रन्थाभ्यासश्चापि यथामति ॥ ६५ ॥
यादृशैर्यो गुणैर्युक्तस्तादृशे स तु कर्मणि।
योजनीयो विचार्यैव नान्यथा तु कदाचन ॥ ६६ ॥
अन्नवस्त्रादिभिः सर्वे स्वकीयाः परिचारकाः।
सम्भावनीयाः सततं यथायोग्यं यथाधनम् ॥ ६७ ॥
यादृग्गुणो यः पुरुषस्तादृग्गा वचनेन सः।
देशकालानुसारेण भाषणीयो न चान्यथा ॥ ६८ ॥
गुरुभूपालवर्षिष्ठत्यागिविद्वत्तपस्विनाम्।
अभ्युत्थानादिना कार्यः सन्मानो विनयान्वितैः ॥ ६९ ॥
नीरौ कृत्वा पादमेकं गुरुदेवनृपान्तिके।
उपवेश्यं सभायां च जानू बद्ध्वा न वाससा ॥ ७० ॥

विवादो नैव कर्त्तव्यः स्वाचार्येण सह क्वचित्।
पूज्योऽन्नधनवस्त्राद्यैर्यथाशक्ति स चाखिलैः॥ ७१॥
तमायान्तं निशम्याशु प्रत्युद्गन्तव्यमादरात्।
तस्मिन् यात्यनुगम्यं च ग्रामान्तावधि मच्छ्रितैः॥ ७२॥
अपि भूरिफलं कर्म धर्मापेतं भवेद्यदि।
आचार्यं तर्हि तन्नैव धर्मःसर्वार्थदोऽस्ति हि॥ ७३॥
पूर्वैर्महद्भिरपि यद्धर्माचरणं क्वचित्।
कृतं स्यात्तत्तु न ग्राह्यं ग्राह्यो धर्मस्तु तत्कृतः॥ ७४॥
गुह्यवार्त्ता तु कस्यापि प्रकाश्या नैव कुत्रचित्॥
समदृष्ट्या न कार्यश्च यथार्हार्चाव्यतिक्रमः॥ ७५॥
विशेषनियमो धार्यश्चातुर्मास्येऽखिलैरपि।
एकस्मिन् श्रावणे मासि स त्वशक्तैस्तु मानवैः॥ ७६॥
विष्णोः कथायाः श्रवणं वाचनं गुणकीर्त्तनम्।
महापूजा मन्त्रजपः स्तोत्रपाठः प्रदक्षिणाः॥ ७७॥
साष्टाङ्गप्रणतिश्चेति नियमा उत्तमा मताः।
एतेष्वेकतमो भक्त्या धारणीयो विशेषतः॥ ७८॥
एकादशीनां सर्वासां कर्त्तव्यं व्रतमादरात्।
कृष्णजन्मदिनानां च शिवरात्रेश्च सोत्सवं॥ ७९॥
उपवासदिने त्याज्या दिवानिद्रा प्रयत्नतः।
उपवासस्तया नश्येन्मैथुनेनेव यत्नृणाम्॥ ८०॥
सर्ववैष्णवराजश्रीवल्लभाचार्यनन्दनः।
श्रीविट्ठलेशः कृतवान् यं व्रतोत्सवनिर्णयम्॥ ८१॥
कार्यात्तमनुसृत्यैव सर्व एवव्रतोत्सवाः
सेवारीतिश्च कृष्णस्य ग्राह्या तदुदितैव हि॥ ८२॥
कर्त्तव्या द्वारिकामुख्यतीर्थयात्रा यथाविधि।
सर्वैरपि यथाशक्ति भाव्यं दीनेषु वत्सलैः॥ ८३॥

विष्णुः शिवो गणपतिः पार्वती च दिवाकरः ।
एताः पूज्यतया मान्या देवताः पञ्च मामकैः ॥ ८४ ॥
भूताद्युपद्रवे क्वापि वर्म नारायणात्मकं ।
जप्यं च हनुमन्मन्त्रो जप्यो न क्षुद्रदैवतः ॥ ८५ ॥
रवेरिन्दोश्चोपरागे जायमानेऽपराः क्रियाः ।
हित्वाऽऽशु शुचिभिः सर्वैः कार्यः कृष्णमनोर्जपः ॥ ८६ ॥
जातायामथ तन्मुक्तौ कृत्वा स्नानं सचैलकं ।
देयं दानं गृहिजनैः शक्त्यान्यैस्त्वर्च्य ईश्वरः ॥ ८७ ॥
जन्माशौचं मृताशौचं स्वसम्बन्धानुसारतः ।
पालनीयं यथाशास्त्रं चातुर्वर्ण्यजनैर्मम ॥ ८८ ॥
भाव्यं शमदमक्षान्तिसन्तोषादिगुणान्वितैः ।
ब्राह्मणैः शौर्यधैर्यादिगुणोपेतैश्च बाहुजैः ॥ ८९ ॥
वैश्यैश्च कृषिवाणिज्यकुसीदमुखवृत्तिभिः ।
भवितव्यं तथा शूद्रैर्द्विजसेवादिवृत्तिभिः ॥ ९० ॥
संस्काराश्चान्हिकं श्राद्धं यथाकालं यथाधनम् ।
स्वस्वगृह्यानुसारेण कर्त्तव्यं च द्विजन्मभिः ॥ ९१ ॥
अज्ञानाज्ज्ञानतो वापि गुरु वा लघुपातकं ।
क्वापि स्यात्तर्हि तत्प्रायश्चित्तं कार्यं स्वशक्तितः ॥ ९२ ॥
वेदाश्च व्याससूत्राणि श्रीमद्भागवताभिधम् ।
पुराणं भारते तु श्रीविष्णोर्नामसहस्रकम् ॥ ९३ ॥
तथा श्रीभगवद्गीता नीतिश्च विदुरोदिता ।
श्रीवासुदेवमाहात्म्यं स्कान्दवैष्णवखण्डगम् ॥ ९४ ॥
धर्मशास्त्रान्तर्गता च याज्ञवल्क्यऋषेः स्मृतिः ।
एतान्यष्ट ममेष्टानि सच्छास्त्राणि भवन्ति हि ॥ ९५ ॥
स्वहितेच्छुभिरेतानि मच्छिष्यैः सकलैरपि ।
श्रोतव्यान्यथ पाठ्यानि कथनीयानि च द्विजैः ॥ ९६ ॥

तत्राचारव्यवहृतिनिष्कृतानां च निर्णये।
ग्राह्या मिताक्षरोपेता याज्ञवल्क्यस्य तु स्मृतिः ॥ ९७ ॥
श्रीमद्भागवतस्यैषु स्कन्धौ द्दशमपञ्चमौ।
सर्वाधिकतया ज्ञेयौ कृष्णमाहात्म्यबुद्धये ॥ ९८ ॥
द्दशमः पञ्चमः स्कन्धो याज्ञवल्क्यस्य च स्मृतिः।
भक्तिशास्त्रं योगशास्त्रं धर्मशास्त्रं क्रमेण मे ॥ ९९ ॥
शारीरकाणां भगवद्गीतायास्चावगम्यताम्।
रामानुजाचार्यकृतं भाष्यमाध्यात्मिकं मम ॥ १०० ॥
एतेषु यानि वाक्यानि श्रीकृष्णस्य वृषस्य च।
अत्युत्कर्षपराणि स्युस्तथा भक्तिविरागयोः ॥ १०१ ॥
मन्तव्यानि प्रधानानि तान्येवेतरवाक्यतः।
धर्मेण सहिता कृष्णभक्तिः कार्येति तद्ग्रहः ॥ १०२ ॥
धर्मो ज्ञेयः सदाचारः श्रुतिस्मृत्युपपादितः।
माहात्म्यज्ञानयुग्भूरिस्नेहो भक्तिश्च माधवे ॥ १०३ ॥
वैराग्यं ज्ञेयमप्रीतिः श्रीकृष्णेतरवस्तुषु।
ज्ञानं च जीवमायेशरूपाणां सुष्ठुवेदनम् ॥ १०४ ॥
हृत्स्थोऽणुसूक्ष्मश्चिद्रूपो ज्ञाता व्याप्याखिलां तनुं।
ज्ञानशक्त्या स्थितो जीवो ज्ञेयोऽच्छेद्यादिलक्षणः ॥ १०५ ॥
त्रिगुणात्मा तमः कृष्णशक्तिर्देहतदीययोः।
जीवस्य चाहम्ममताहेतुर्मायाऽवगम्यताम् ॥ १०६ ॥
हृद्ये जीववज्जीवे योऽन्तर्यामितया स्थितः।
ज्ञेयः स्वतन्त्र ईशोऽसौ सर्वकर्मफलप्रदः ॥ १०७ ॥
स श्रीकृष्णः परं ब्रह्म भगवान् पुरुषोत्तमः।
उपास्य इष्टदेवो नः सर्वाविर्भावकारणम् ॥ १०८ ॥
स राधया युतो ज्ञेयो राधाकृष्ण इति प्रभुः।
रुक्मिण्या रमयोपेतो लक्ष्मीनारायणः स हि ॥ १०९ ॥

श्रेयोऽर्जुनेन युक्तोऽसौ नरनारायणाभिधः।
बलभद्रादियोगेन तत्तन्नामोच्यते स च ॥ ११० ॥
एते राधादयो भक्तास्तस्य स्युः पार्श्वतः क्वचित्।
क्वचित्तदङ्गेऽतिस्नेहात्स तु श्रेयस्तदैकलः ॥ १११ ॥
अतश्चास्य स्वरूपेषु भेदो ज्ञेयो न सर्वथा।
चतुरादिभुजत्वं तु द्विबाहोस्तस्य चैच्छिकं ॥ ११२ ॥
तस्यैव सर्वथा भक्तिः कर्त्तव्या मनुजैर्भुवि।
निःश्रेयसकरं किञ्चित्ततोऽन्यन्नेति दृश्यताम् ॥ ११३ ॥
गुणिनां गुणवत्ताया ज्ञेयं ह्येतत्परं फलम्।
कृष्णे भक्तिश्च सत्सङ्गोऽन्यथा यान्ति विदोऽप्यधः ॥ ११४ ॥
कृष्णस्तदवताराश्च ध्येयास्तत्प्रतिमापि च।
न तु जीवा नृदेवाद्या भक्ता ब्रह्मविदोऽपि च ॥ ११५ ॥
निजात्मानं ब्रह्मरूपं देहत्रयविलक्षणं।
विभाव्य तेन कर्त्तव्या भक्तिः कृष्णस्य सर्वदा ॥ ११६ ॥
श्रव्यः श्रीमद्भागवतदशमस्कन्ध आदरात्।
प्रत्यहं वा सकृद्वर्षे वर्षे वाचोऽथ पण्डितैः ॥ ११७ ॥
कारणीया पुरश्चर्या पुण्यस्थानेऽस्य शक्तितः।
विष्णुनामसहस्रादेश्चापि कार्येप्सितप्रदा ॥ ११८ ॥
दैव्यामापदि कष्टायां मानुष्यां वाऽगदादिषु।
यथा स्वपररक्षा स्यात्तथा वृत्तं न चान्यथा ॥ ११९ ॥
देशकालवयोवित्तजातिशक्त्यनुसारतः।
आचारो व्यवहारश्च निष्कृतं चावधार्यतां ॥ १२० ॥
मतं विशिष्टाद्वैतं मे गोलोको धाम चेप्सितम्।
तत्र ब्रह्मात्मना कृष्णसेवा मुक्तिश्च गम्यताम् ॥ १२१ ॥
एते साधारणा धर्माः पुंसां स्त्रीणां च सर्वतः।
मदाश्रितानां कथिता विशेषानथ कीर्त्तये ॥ १२२ ॥

मज्ज्येष्ठावरजभ्रातृसुताभ्यां तु कदाचन ।
स्वासन्नसम्बन्धहीना नोपदेश्या हि योषितः ॥ १२३ ॥
न स्प्रष्टव्याश्च ताः क्वापि भाषणीयाश्च ता न हि ।
क्रौर्यं कार्यं न कस्मिंश्चिन् न्यासो रक्ष्यो न कस्यचित् ॥ १२४ ॥
प्रतिभूत्वं न कस्यापि कार्यं च व्यावहारिके ।
भिक्षयापदतिक्रम्या न तु कार्यमृणं क्वचित् ॥ १२५ ॥
स्वशिष्यार्पितधान्यस्य कर्त्तव्यो विक्रयो न च ।
जीर्णं दत्त्वा नवीनं तु ग्राह्यं तन्नैष विक्रयः ॥ १२६ ॥
भाद्रशुक्लचतुर्थ्यां च कार्यं विघ्नेशपूजनम् ।
ईषत्कृष्णचतुर्दश्यां कार्याऽर्चा च हनूमतः ॥ १२७ ॥
मदाश्रितानां सर्वेषां धर्मरक्षणहेतवे ।
गुरुत्वे स्थापिताभ्यां च ताभ्यां दीक्षा मुमुक्षवः ॥ १२८ ॥
यथाधिकारं संस्थाप्याः स्वे स्वे धर्मे निजाः श्रिताः ।
मान्याः सन्तश्च कर्त्तव्याः सच्छास्त्राभ्यास आदरात् ॥ १२९ ॥
मया प्रतिष्ठापितानां मन्दिरेषु महत्सु च ।
लक्ष्मीनारायणादीनां सेवा कार्या यथाविधि ॥ १३० ॥
भगवन्मन्दिरं प्राप्तोऽन्नार्थी कोपि मानवः
आदरात्स तु सम्भाव्यो दानेनान्नस्य शक्तितः ॥ १३१ ॥
संस्थाप्य विप्रं विद्वांसं पाठशालां विधाप्य च ।
प्रवर्त्तनीया सद्विद्या भुवि यत्सुकृतं महत् ॥ १३२ ॥
अधीतयोस्तु भार्याभ्यामाज्ञया पत्युरात्मनः ।
कृष्णमन्त्रोपदेशश्च कर्त्तव्यः स्त्रीभ्य एव हि ॥ १३३ ॥
स्वासन्नसम्बन्धहीना नरास्ताभ्यां तु कर्हिचित् ।
न स्प्रष्टव्या न भाष्याश्च तेभ्यो दर्श्यं मुखं न च ॥ १३४ ॥
गृहाख्याश्रमिणो ये स्युः पुरुषा मदुपाश्रिताः ।
स्वासन्नसम्बन्धहीना न स्पृश्या विधवाश्च तैः ॥ १३५ ॥

मात्रा स्वस्रा दुहित्रा वा विजने तु वयःस्थया।
अनापदि न तैः स्थेयं कार्यं दानं न योषितः॥ १३६॥
प्रसङ्गो व्यवहारेण यस्याः केनापि भूपतेः।
भवेत्तस्याः स्त्रियाः कार्यः प्रसङ्गो नैव सर्वथा॥ १३७॥
अन्नाद्यैः शक्तितोऽभ्यर्च्यो ह्यतिथिस्त्रीर्गृहागतः।
दैवं पित्र्यं यथाशक्ति कर्त्तव्यं च यथोचितं॥ १३८॥
यावज्जीवं च शुश्रूषा कार्या मातुः पितुर्गुरोः।
रोगार्त्तस्य मनुष्यस्य यथाशक्ति च मामकैः॥ १३९॥
यथाशक्त्युद्यमः कार्यो निजवर्णाश्रमोचितः।
मुष्कच्छेदो न कर्त्तव्यो वृषस्य कृषिवृत्तिभिः॥ १४०॥
यथाशक्ति यथाकालं सङ्ग्रहोऽन्नधनस्य तैः॥
यावद्व्ययं च कर्त्तव्यः पशुमङ्गिस्तृणस्य च॥ १४१॥
गवादीनां पशूनां च तृणतोयादिभिर्यदि।
सम्भावनं भवेत्स्वेन रक्ष्यास्ते तर्हि नान्यथा॥ १४२॥
ससाक्ष्यमन्तरा लेखं पुत्रमित्रादिनापि च।
भूवित्तदानादानाभ्यां व्यवहार्यं न कर्हिचित्॥ १४३॥
कार्ये वैवाहिके स्वस्यान्यस्य वाऽर्थ्यधनस्य तु।
भाषाबन्धो न कर्त्तव्यः ससाक्ष्यलेखमन्तरा॥ १४४॥
आयद्रव्यानुसारेण व्ययः कार्यो हि सर्वदा।
अन्यथा तु महद्दुःखं भवेदित्यवधार्यताम्॥ १४५॥
द्रव्यस्यायो भवेद्यावान् व्ययो वा व्यावहारिके।
तौ संस्मृत्य स्वयं लेख्यौ स्वकरैः प्रतिवासरम्॥ १४६॥
निजवृत्त्युद्यमप्राप्तधनधान्यादितश्च तैः।
अर्थो दशांशः कृष्णाय विंशोंऽशस्त्विह दुर्बलैः॥ १४७॥
एकादशीमुखानां च व्रतानां निजशक्तितः।
उद्यापनं यथाशास्त्रं कर्त्तव्यं चिन्तितार्थदम्॥ १४८॥

कर्त्तव्यं कारणीयं वा श्रावणे मासि सर्वथा ।
बिल्वपत्रादिभिः प्रीत्या श्रीमहादेवपूजनम् ॥ १४९ ॥
स्वाचार्यान्न ऋणं ग्राह्यं श्रीकृष्णस्य मन्दिरात् ।
ताभ्यां स्वव्यवहारार्थं पाचभूषांशुकादि च ॥ १५० ॥
श्रीकृष्णगुरुसाधूनां दर्शनार्थं गतौ पथि ।
तत्स्थानेषु च न ग्राह्यं परान्नं निजपुण्यहृत् ॥ १५१ ॥
प्रतिज्ञातं धनं देयं यत्स्यात्तत्कर्मकारिणे ।
न गोप्यमृणशुद्ध्यादि व्यवहार्यं न दुर्जनैः ॥ १५२ ॥
दुष्कालस्य रिपूणां वा नृपस्योपद्रवेण वा ।
लज्जाधनप्राणनाशः प्राप्तः स्याद्यत्र सर्वथा ॥ १५३ ॥
मूलदेशोऽपि स स्वेषां सद्य एव विचक्षणैः ।
त्याज्यो मदाश्रितैः स्वेयं गत्वा देशान्तरं सुखम् ॥ १५४ ॥
आढ्यैस्तु गृहिभिः कार्या अहिंसा वैष्णवा मखाः ।
तीर्थेषु पर्वसु तथा भोज्या विप्राश्च साधवः ॥ १५५ ॥
महोत्सवा भगवतः कर्त्तव्या मन्दिरेषु तैः ।
देयानि पाचविप्रेभ्यो दानानि विविधानि च ॥ १५६ ॥
मदाश्रितैर्नृपैर्धर्मशास्त्रमाश्रित्य चाखिलाः ।
प्रजाः स्वाः पुत्रवत्पाल्या धर्मः स्याप्यो धरातले ॥ १५७ ॥
राज्याङ्गोपायषड्वर्गो ज्ञेयास्तीर्थानि चाञ्जसा ।
व्यवहारविदः सभ्या दण्ड्यादण्ड्याश्च लक्षणैः ॥ १५८ ॥
सभर्तृकाभिर्नारीभिः सेव्यः स्वपतिरीश्वरवत् ।
अन्धो रोगी दरिद्रो वा शण्ढो वाच्यं न दुर्वचः ॥ १५९ ॥
रूपयौवनयुक्तस्य गुणिनोऽन्यनरस्य तु ।
प्रसङ्गो नैव कर्त्तव्यस्ताभिः साहजिको पि च ॥ १६० ॥
नैरेख्यनाभ्यूरुकुचानुत्तरीया च नो भवेत् ।
साध्वी स्त्री न च भण्डेचा न निर्लज्जादिसङ्गिनी ॥ १६१ ॥

भूषा सदंशुकधृतिः परगेहोपवेशनम्।
त्याज्यं हास्यादि च स्त्रीभिः पत्यौ देशान्तरं गते ॥ १६२ ॥
विधवाभिस्तु योषाभिः सेव्यः पतिधिया हरिः।
आज्ञायां पितृपुत्राद्यैर्वृत्तं स्वातन्त्र्यतो न तु ॥ १६३ ॥
स्वासन्नसम्बन्धहीना नराः स्पृश्या न कर्हिचित्।
तरुणैस्तैश्च तारुण्ये भाष्यं नावश्यकं विना ॥ १६४ ॥
स्वनन्धयस्य नुः स्पर्शे न दोषोऽस्ति पशोरिव।
आवश्यके च वृद्धस्य स्पर्शे तेन च भाषणे ॥ १६५ ॥
विद्याऽनासन्नसम्बधात्ताभिः पाठ्या न कापि नुः।
व्रतोपवासैः कर्त्तव्यो मुग्धैर्देहदमस्तथा ॥ १६६ ॥
धनं च धर्मकार्ये पि स्वनिर्वाहोपयोगि यत्।
देयं ताभिर्न तत् क्वापि देयं चेद्धिकं तदा ॥ १६७ ॥
कार्यश्च सकृदाहारस्ताभिः स्वापस्तु भूतले।
मैथुनासक्तयोर्वीक्षा क्वापि कार्या न देहिनोः ॥ १६८ ॥
वेषो न धार्यस्ताभिश्च सुवासिन्याः स्त्रियास्तथा।
न्यासिन्या वीतरागाया विक्षतश्च न कर्हिचित् ॥ १६९ ॥
सङ्गो न गर्भपातिन्याः स्पर्शः कार्यश्च योषितः।
शृङ्गारवार्त्ता न नृणां कार्याः अन्या न वै क्वचित् ॥ १७० ॥
निजसम्बन्धिभिरपि तारुण्ये तरुणैर्नरैः।
साकं रहसि न स्थेयं ताभिरापद्मन्तरा ॥ १७१ ॥
न होलाखेलनं कार्यं न भूषादेश्च धारणम्।
नधातुसूत्रयुक्सूक्ष्मवस्त्रादेरपि कर्हिचित् ॥ १७२ ॥
सधवाविधवाभिश्च न स्नातव्यं निरम्बरम्।
स्वरजोदर्शनं स्त्रीभिर्गोपनीयं न सर्वथा ॥ १७३ ॥
मनुष्यं चांशुकादीनि नारी क्वापि रजस्वला।
दिनत्रयं स्पृशेन्नैव स्नात्वा तुर्येऽह्नि सा स्पृशेत् ॥ १७४ ॥

नैष्ठिकव्रतवन्तो ये वर्णिनो मदुपाश्रयाः
तैः स्पृश्या न स्त्रियो भाष्या न न वीक्ष्याश्च ता धिया ॥ १७५ ॥
तासां वार्त्ता न कर्त्तव्या न श्रव्याश्च कदाचन ।
तत्पादचारस्थानेषु न च स्नानादिकाः क्रियाः ॥ १७६ ॥
देवताप्रतिमां हित्वा लेख्याकाष्ठाद्विजापि वा ।
न योषित्प्रतिमा स्पृश्या न वीक्ष्या बुद्धिपूर्वकम् ॥ १७७ ॥
न स्त्रीप्रतिकृतिः कार्या न स्पृश्यं योषितोऽशुकम् ।
न वीक्ष्यं मैथुनपरं प्राणिमात्रं च तैर्धिया ॥ १७८ ॥
न स्पृश्यो नेक्षणीयश्च नारीवेषधरः पुमान् ।
न कार्यं स्त्रीः समुद्दिश्य भगवद्गुणकीर्त्तनम् ॥ १७९ ॥
ब्रह्मचर्यव्रतत्यागपरं वाक्यं गुरोरपि ।
तैर्न मान्यं सदा स्थेयं धीरैस्तुष्टैरमानिभिः ॥ १८० ॥
स्वातिनैकव्यमायान्ती प्रसभं वनिता तु या ।
निवारणीया साऽऽभाष्य तिरस्कृत्यापि वा द्रुतम् ॥ १८१ ॥
प्राणापद्युपपन्नायां स्त्रीणां स्वेषां च वा क्वचित् ।
तदा स्पृष्ट्वापि तद्रक्षा कार्या सम्भाष्य ताश्च वा ॥ १८२ ॥
तैलाभ्यङ्गो न कर्त्तव्यो न धार्यं चायुधं तथा ।
वेषो न विद्वतो धार्यो जेतव्या रसना च तैः ॥ १८३ ॥
परिवेषणकर्त्री स्याद्यत्र स्त्री विप्रवेश्मनि ।
न गम्यं तत्र भिक्षार्थं गन्तव्यमितरत्र तु ॥ १८४ ॥
अभ्यासो वेदशास्त्राणां कार्यश्च गुरुसेवनम् ।
वर्ज्यः स्त्रीणामिव स्त्रैणपुंसां सङ्गश्च तैः सदा ॥ १८५ ॥
चर्मवारि न वै पेयं ज्ञात्वा विप्रेण केनचित् ।
पलाण्डुलशुनाद्यं च तेन भक्ष्यं न सर्वथा ॥ १८६ ॥
स्नानं सन्ध्यां च गायत्रीजपं श्रीविष्णुपूजनम् ।
अकृत्वा वैश्वदेवं च कर्त्तव्यं नैव भोजनम् ॥ १८७ ॥

साधवो येऽथ तैः सर्वैर्नैष्ठिकब्रह्मचारिवत्।
स्त्रीस्त्रैणसङ्गादि वर्ज्यं जेतव्यास्त्वान्तरारयः॥ १८८॥
सर्वेन्द्रियाणि जेयानि रसना तु विशेषतः।
न द्रव्यसङ्ग्रहः कार्यः कारणीयो न केनचित्॥ १८९॥
न्यासो रक्ष्यो न कस्यापि धैर्यं त्याज्यं न कर्हिचित्।
न प्रवेशयितव्या च स्वावासे स्त्री कदाचन॥ १९०॥
न च सङ्घं विना रात्रौ चलितव्यमनापदि।
एकाकिभिर्न गन्तव्यं तथा क्वापि विनापदम्॥ १९१॥
अनर्घ्यं चित्रितं वासः कुसुम्भाद्यैश्च रञ्जितम्।
न धार्यं च महावस्त्रं प्राप्तमन्येच्छयापि तत्॥ १९२॥
भित्तां सभां विना नैव गन्तव्यं गृहिणो गृहम्।
व्यर्थः कालो न नेतव्यो भक्तिं भगवतो विना॥ १९३॥
पुमानेव भवेद्यत्र पक्वान्नपरिवेषणः।
ईक्षणादि भवेन्नैव यत्र स्त्रीणां च सर्वथा॥ १९४॥
तत्र गृहिगृहे भोक्तुं गन्तव्यं साधुभिर्मम।
अन्यथाऽऽमान्नमर्थित्वा पाकः कार्यः स्वयं च तैः॥ १९५॥
आर्षभो भरतः पूर्वं जडविप्रो यथा भुवि।
अवर्त्तताच परमहंसैर्वृत्यं तथैव तैः॥ १९६॥
वर्णिभिः साधुभिश्चैतैर्वर्जनीयं प्रयत्नतः।
ताम्बूलस्याहिफेनस्य तमालादेश्च भक्षणम्॥ १९७॥
संस्कारेषु न भोक्तव्यं गर्भाधानमुखेषु तैः।
प्रेताश्राद्धेषु सर्वेषु श्राद्धे च द्वादशाहिके॥ १९८॥
दिवास्वापो न कर्त्तव्यो रोगाद्यापदमन्तरा।
ग्राम्यवार्त्ता न कार्या च न श्रव्या बुद्धिपूर्वकं॥ १९९॥
स्वयं न तैश्च खट्वायां विना रोगादिमापदम्।
निष्कृत्य वर्त्तितव्यं च साधूनामग्रतः सदा॥ २००॥

गालिदानं ताडनं च कृतं कुमतिभिर्जनैः ।
क्षन्तव्यमेव सर्वेषां चिन्तनीयं हितं च तैः ॥ २०१ ॥
द्यूतकर्म न कर्त्तव्यं पैशुनं चारकर्म च ।
देहेऽहन्ता च ममता न कार्या स्वजनादिषु ॥ २०२ ॥
इति सङ्क्षेपतो धर्माः सर्वेषां लिखिता मया ।
साम्प्रदायिकग्रन्थेभ्यो ज्ञेय एषां तु विस्तरः ॥ २०३ ॥
सच्छास्त्राणां समुद्धृत्य सर्वेषां सारमात्मना ।
पत्रीयं लिखिता नृणामभीष्टफलदायिनी ॥ २०४ ॥
इमामेव ततो नित्यमनुसृत्य ममाश्रितैः ।
यतात्मभिर्वर्त्तितव्यं न तु स्वैरं कदाचन ॥ २०५ ॥
वर्त्तिष्यन्ते य इत्थं हि पुरुषा योषितस्तथा ।
ते धर्मादिचतुर्वर्गसिद्धिं प्राप्स्यन्ति निश्चितम् ॥ २०६ ॥
नेत्थं य आचरिष्यन्ति ते त्वस्मत्सम्प्रदायतः ।
बहिर्भूता इति ज्ञेयं स्त्रीपुंसैः साम्प्रदायिकैः ॥ २०७ ॥
शिक्षापत्र्याः प्रतिदिनं पाठोऽस्या मदुपाश्रितैः ।
कर्त्तव्योऽनक्षरज्ञैस्तु श्रवणं कार्यमादरात् ॥ २०८ ॥
वक्तृभावे तु पूजैव कार्याऽस्याः प्रतिवासरम् ।
मद्रूपमिति मद्वाणी मान्येयं परमादरात् ॥ २०९ ॥
युक्ताय सम्पदा दैव्या दातव्येयं तु पत्रिका ।
आसुर्या सम्पदाढ्याय पुंसे देया न कर्हिचित् ॥ २१० ॥
विक्रमार्कशकस्याऽब्दे नेत्राष्टवसुभूमिते ।
वसन्ताद्यदिने शिक्षापत्रीयं लिखिता शुभा ॥ २११ ॥

निजाश्रितानां सकलार्त्तिहन्ता
सधर्मभक्तेरवनं विधाता ।
दाता सुखानां मनसेप्सितानां
तनोतु कृष्णोऽखिलमङ्गलं नः ॥ २१२ ॥

॥ इतिश्रीसहजानन्दस्वामिलिखिता शिक्षापत्री समाप्ता ॥

Translation of the foregoing Śikshā-Patrī.
By Professor Monier Williams.

[In making the following translation I have been careful to study the Sanskṛit commentary called Artha-dīpikā, written for me in clear beautiful characters by Paṇḍit Śatānanda-muni (one of the disciples of Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa), by order of the Wartāl Mahārāja, after one of the formal visits to the Wartāl Temple, which were kindly arranged for me by Mr. Frederick Sheppard, C.S., late Collector of Kaira, and now Commissioner. The translation is the first ever made by any European scholar, though it is right I should mention that I have consulted a fairly accurate version (not always perfect either in its renderings or its English) written by Sheṭh Bhogilāl Prānjīvandās, of the Bombay Education Society's Institution, Ahmedabad, and given in Mr. H. C. Briggs' work, "The Cities of Gujarāshṭra." I have also received assistance from my friend Paṇḍit Shyāmajī Kṛishṇa-varmā, of Balliol College, Oxford.]

1. I meditate in my heart on that Kṛishṇa on whose left side is seated Rādhā, on whose breast reclines Śrī (Lakshmī), and who enjoyed sport (with them) in Vṛindāvana.

2. I, Sahajānandaḥ Svāmī (afterwards called Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa), living at Vṛittālaya, write this Letter of instructions (or Book of directions) to all my followers scattered throughout various countries.

3. Let the two youths named Ayodhyā-prasāda and Raghu-vīra, the sons of my two brothers, Rāma-pratāpa and Icćhā-rāma, who were the children of Dharma (or Hari-prasāda);

4. And let those Naishṭhika Brahmaćārīs (that is to say, those Brahmans who continue Brahma-ćārīs or celibates all

their lives), the chief among whom is Mukundānanda, and those Gṛihasthas (householders), such as Mayārāma-Bhaṭṭa, and other of my followers;

5. And let those women, whether wives or widows, who have become my disciples, and the whole number of holy men (Sādhus), such as Muktānanda and others;

6. Let all these (persons) constantly give heed to my prayers for their perpetual continuance in their own proper duties—(my prayers) offered up with repetition of the name Kṛishṇa (Nārāyaṇa), and in accordance with the sacred scriptures. (Literally—Let my benedictory words which keep them in their own duties be always read by all these persons accompanied by repetition of the name of Kṛishṇa, and approved by the Śāstras.)

7. Let this Letter of directions, which has important objects (to be hereafter enumerated), and which promotes the welfare of all living beings, be studied with perfect concentration of mind by all these (persons).

8. Those (virtuous) persons who conform to the good usages enjoined by the sacred Śāstras will always enjoy great happiness both in this world and in that which is to come.

9. But those evil-minded persons who wilfully transgress such (good usages) will certainly suffer great misery in this world as well as in the next.

10. Therefore let all of you who are my disciples always remain careful and well-contented in the observance of this (Book of directions).

11. Let no followers of mine ever intentionally kill any living thing whatever—not even a louse, flea, or the most minute insect.

12. The killing of any animal such as a goat, etc., for the purpose of sacrificing to the Gods and Pitṛis, must not be practised; because it is declared, that abstinence from injury to others is the highest of all duties.

13. The killing of any human being in any way, at any place, for any object, (even) for the sake of acquiring a wife, wealth, or political supremacy, is wholly prohibited.

14. Suicide at a sacred place of pilgrimage, or from passion, either by hanging, or by poison in consequence of the commission of a criminal act,[1] is prohibited.

15. Flesh meat should never be eaten, not even that which remains of a sacrifice. Spirituous liquor of any kind should never be drunk, not even that presented to the Gods.

16. If an unlawful act has been committed anywhere by one's self or any other person, no member either of one's own or any other person's body should be on that account mutilated with a weapon of any kind through anger.

17. All theft is prohibited, even that which is committed under pretence of contributing to religious purposes; nor must such things as wood and flowers that have an owner ever be abstracted without his permission.

18. Let no male or female followers of mine ever commit adultery. Let them shun gaming and similar vices, and abstain from all intoxicating liquors and substances such as hemp, etc.

19. Nowhere—except in Jagannātha-purī—let a man accept water or food which has been cooked by one from whom food is not to be taken (*i.e.* from a person of low caste), even though that food may have formed the Prasāda[2] of Kṛishṇa (that is, the remains of what has been presented as an offering to Kṛishṇa).

20. No calumnious language must be used against any one for the sake of promoting one's own interests. No abusive words must ever be spoken.

21. Never use nor listen to profane language against the Gods, sacred places, Brāhmans, holy women, Sādhus and the Vedas.

22. The remains of the offering to that Goddess to whom flesh and liquor are offered and in whose presence the killing of goats, etc., takes place, are not to be eaten.

[1] A father sometimes kills himself because a criminal act has been committed by a member of his family.

[2] By Prasāda is meant the remains of food presented as an offering to a god. Here the word must be either prasādī or prasādi, from prasādin.

23. If you happen on the road to see before you a temple of Śiva or any other God, having first made a salutation, respectfully enter inside to view the image.

24. Let no one abandon the duties of the class and order to which he belongs, nor practise the religious duties of others; nor have anything to do with those propounded by heretical teachers.

25. The narrative of the exploits of the Lord Kṛishṇa should not be heard from the mouth of any person whose words lead one to fall from his worship or from duty.

26. Never tell a truth which is likely to cause serious injury to yourself or to any one else. Avoid associating with ungrateful persons. Never accept a bribe from any person whatever.

27. Never associate with thieves, wicked or vicious persons, heretics, people who are in love, and people who are engaged in dishonest occupations.

28. Never associate with those who, through eager desire to obtain a wife, wealth or some sensual gratification, practise sinful acts under pretext of devotion to religion or to sacred knowledge.

29. Never pay attention to those books in which Kṛishṇa and his incarnations are impugned by controversial arguments.

30. No unstrained water or milk should be drunk, nor should water containing minute insects be used for such purposes as bathing, etc.

31. Never take medicine which is mixed with spirituous liquor or flesh meat; or which has been prescribed by a physician whose character is unknown.

32. Never allow bodily excretions or evacuations or saliva to fall in places prohibited by the Śāstras or by public custom.

33. Never enter or leave (a house) by a side entrance (or private door); never take up your residence at a place belonging to another person, without asking the owner's permission.

34. Males ought not to listen to (discourses on) religious

knowledge, or to tales (about the exploits of heroes) from the mouths of women,[1] nor ought they to carry on controversial discussions with females; nor with a king or his officials.

35. Never speak disrespectfully of religious preceptors, of superiors, of those who have gained renown in the world, of learned men, and of those that carry arms.

36. Never do any act rashly; nor be slow in a religious duty. Impart to others the knowledge you may receive, and daily associate with holy men.

37. Do not go empty-handed to pay a visit to a religious preceptor, a god or a king. Never betray a trust or violate confidence. Never praise yourself with your own lips.

38. The clothing of my followers should not be of such an improper kind that, when put on, the limbs are exposed to view.

39. The worship of Kṛishṇa must not be performed without attending to religious duties. Adoration of Kṛishṇa should not be abandoned through fear of the reproaches of ignorant people.

40. On religious festivals and on ordinary days, the males and females that go to Kṛishṇa's temple should keep separate and not touch each other.

41. Those twice-born persons who have received initiation into the worship of Kṛishṇa from a duly qualified religious teacher should always wear on their necks two rosaries made of Tulsī wood (one for Rādhā and another for Kṛishṇa), and should make an upright mark on their foreheads.

42. This mark should be made with Gopī-ćandana (*i.e.* white earth from Dvārikā), or with sandal which is left from that employed in the worship of Hari (Kṛishṇa), and mixed with saffron.

43. Within this (erect mark) there ought to be made a round (vṛitta) mark with the materials (or earth) used for the Puṇḍra, or with saffron which has served for the

[1] This is in strict unison with the present Hindū practice of keeping women ignorant. That women in ancient times were not only educated, but sometimes erudite and celebrated as religious teachers, is proved by the example of Maitreyī, Gārgī and others.

Prasāda of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa (that is, with a portion left from that employed in their worship).

44. Those pure Śūdras who are worshippers of Kṛishṇa, while practising their own peculiar duties, should, like the twice-born, use a rosary and a vertical mark on the forehead.

45. By those (Śūdra) worshippers who are different from the pure Śūdras two rosaries made of sandal wood, etc., are to be worn on the throat, and only a round mark is to be made on the forehead.

46. Those twice-born of my followers, who have inherited from their forefathers the custom of using a rosary of Rudrāksha berries (sacred to Śiva), and the three horizontal (Śaiva) marks, should not discontinue that practice.

47. Nārāyaṇa and Śiva should be equally regarded as manifestations of one and the same Universal Spirit, since both have been declared in the Vedas to be forms of Brahmă.[1]

48. In times of slight distress my adherents shall not chiefly (or by preference) follow the laws which are laid down by the Śāstras for times of (excessive) distress.

49. Every day let every man awake before sunrise, and after calling on the name of Kṛishṇa, proceed to the rites of bodily purification.

50. Having seated himself in some place apart, let him cleanse his teeth, and then, having bathed with pure water, put on two well-washed garments (an under and an upper).

51. Then having seated himself on a clean and single (asaṃkīrṇa) seat placed on ground purified (with cow-dung, etc.), let a man sip water with his face either to the east or north.

52. My male followers should then make the vertical mark with the round spot in it on their foreheads, and wives should only make a circular mark with red powder (of saffron).

53. A widow is prohibited from making either a vertical

[1] This precept furnishes an interesting proof of the tolerant character of Vaishṇavism, and of its harmony with the pantheism of the Vedānta.

or round mark on her forehead. In the next place all my followers ought to engage in the mental worship of Kṛishṇa.

54. After engaging in mental worship, let them bow down before the pictures of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, and repeat the eight-syllabled prayer to Kṛishṇa (that is—the formula meaning 'Kṛishṇa is my refuge') as many times as possible. After that they may apply themselves to their secular affairs.

55. All my ordinary disciples should perform the preceding rules; but those who like Ambarīsha have dedicated their whole souls (to the Deity) should be most particular in performing the duties ending with mental worship in the order enumerated (in the preceding six verses as well as the following) :—

56. (Such devoted persons) should also then worship an image made of either stone or metal, and the black stone called Śāla-grāma (representing Vishṇu), with the (sixteen) offerings (of sandal, etc.), such as are procurable, and the eight-syllabled mantra of Kṛishṇa should be repeated (manu =mantra).

57. Next (in order to the performance of brahma-yajña) the hymn celebrating the praises of Kṛishṇa should be recited according to ability, and those that have not studied Sanskṛit should at least repeat his name.

58. All who have devoted themselves (in this way) to the worship of Kṛishṇa, should next present an offering (of cooked food) to him, and then they should eat the remains of the offering (prāsādikam). They should at all times be full of joy.

59. Since they are called the passionless (nirguṇa) worshippers of the passionless Kṛishṇa, therefore, in consequence of that, all their acts are also (called) passionless (nirguṇa).

60. By these devoted (worshippers) indeed no water should be drunk, nor should any leaves, roots or fruits anywhere be eaten which have not been presented to Kṛishṇa.

61. All those who from old age or some grievous calamity are unable (to perform worship) should make over the (image

or Śala-grāma stone) of Kṛishṇa to the charge of some other devotee (able to carry on the proper services), and should themselves act to the best of their ability.

62. An image (or Śāla-grāma) of Kṛishṇa, given by a religious leader (*āćārya*), or consecrated by him, should be worshipped, but to other images it is sufficient to make obeisance.

63. Every day all my followers should go to the temple of God in the evening, and there loudly repeat the names of the lord of Rādhikā.

64. The story of his exploits should be related as well as heard with the greatest reverence, and on festivals hymns in praise of Kṛishṇa should be sung accompanied by musical instruments.

65. In this manner all my followers should every day perform religious duties. Moreover, they should study works both in Sanskṛit and in the popular dialects, according to their mental abilities.

66. Whatever individual is appointed to any office, he should be so appointed with strict regard to his qualifications, after due consideration, and never in any other way.

67. Let every one always provide his own servants with food and clothing in the most suitable manner, and according to his own pecuniary means.

68. In conversation every person should be addressed conformably to his character (or qualities), and suitably to time and place, and not in any other manner.

69. By all well-conducted persons due deference must be shown to a religious guide, a king, an elder, an ascetic, a learned man, and one that practises austerities, by rising from the seat and so forth.

70. No man should sit down on the ground in the presence of a religious preceptor, a god, or king, or in a (solemn) assembly, in such a (disrespectful) attitude as to make one foot rest on the thigh, or with a cloth tied round the (waist and) knees.

71. A controversial discussion should never be carried on with a religious teacher (*āćārya*). He is to be honoured

with gifts of food, money, clothes, and with all other things according to ability.

72. When any of my disciples hear of his arrival, they should immediately show their respect by advancing to meet him, and when he departs, they should accompany him as far as the confines of the village.

73. If an act, attended with large recompense, be opposed to religious duty, that act ought not to be committed; for religious duty (when performed) confers all desired objects.

74. An unrighteous act that may have been committed by great persons in former times must never be held (worthy of imitation); but their virtuous conduct only is to be imitated.

75. Let not the secrets of any one be ever anywhere divulged, the neglect (vyatikrama) of proper respect (for those deserving of reverence) should never be made, (as if all were to be looked at) with an equal eye (of esteem).

76. All my disciples should practise special religious observances during the four special months (beginning with Āshāḍha). But those who are sickly need only practise the same in the one month of Śrāvaṇa only.

77. Reading and listening to the exploits of Vishṇu, singing his praises, solemn worship, repetition of his mantra ("Great Kṛishṇa is my refuge"), recitation of the hymn of praise (*i.e.* of the thousand names of Vishṇu), reverential circumambulations (from left to right with the right side towards the object adored),

78. Prostration with the eight members (of the body)—these are considered the best religious observances; any one of these ought to be performed with special devotion.

79. The fasts of all the eleventh days (of the waxing and waning moon) should be carefully observed; also of the birthdays of Kṛishṇa; and of the night of Śiva (*Śiva-rātri*) with rejoicings during the day.

80. On a fast-day sleeping by day should most carefully be avoided, since by such sleep the merit of fasting is lost to men, quite as much as by sexual intercourse.

81. Whatever appointed order of religious fasts and festivals (vrata and utsava) was enjoined by Śrī Viṭhṭhaleśa

(Viṭhṭhala-nātha), who was the son of Śrī Vallabhāćārya, the most eminent of Vaishṇavas.

82. Having conformed to that order, all religious fasts and festivals should be observed accordingly; and the form of worshipping Kṛishṇa directed by him (Viṭhṭhaleśa) should be adopted.

83. A pilgrimage to the Tīrthas, or holy places, of which Dvārikā (Kṛishṇa's city in Gujarāt) is the chief, should be performed according to rule. Love and Charity should be shown towards the poor by all, according to ability.

84. Vishṇu, Śiva, Gaṇa-pati (Gaṇeśa), Pārvatī, and the Sun, these five deities should be honoured with worship by my followers.[1]

85. When at any place a calamity is caused by a demon or by any similar cause, the charm called Nārāyaṇa should be recited or the mantra of Hanumān should be muttered, but not the mantra of any inferior god less esteemed.

86. On the occurrence of eclipses of the sun and moon, all my followers should immediately suspend their other business, and, having purified themselves, should make repetition of the (eight-syllabled) mantra of Kṛishṇa.

87. When the eclipse has passed off, they should bathe with their clothes on, and those who are householders should distribute gifts according to their ability. Other persons (who have no worldly means) should engage in the worship of the supreme Lord (Vishṇu).

88. Those followers of mine who belong to the four classes should observe, in conformity with the Śāstras, the rules in regard to the contraction of impurity through births and deaths, according to the degree of kinship.

89. Brāhmans should possess tranquillity of mind, self-restraint, forbearance, contentment and similar virtues. Kshatriyas (or the soldier caste) should be remarkable for bravery, fortitude, and the like qualities.

[1] It is evident from this verse, as from verse 47, that although Vaishṇavas give preferential worship to Vishṇu, they are really Pantheists in the sense of honouring other deities, as manifestations of the Supreme Being. It may be observed that although five deities are here mentioned, Gaṇapati and Pārvatī are connected with Siva, as the Sun is with Vishṇu.

90. Vaiśyas (or the agricultural and commercial caste) should occupy themselves in mercantile pursuits, money-lending, and the like. Śūdras (or the servile class) should be employed in serving the twice-born, etc.

91. The twice-born should perform at the proper seasons, and according to their means—each according to his own domestic rules—the twelve purificatory rites[1] (*sanskāra*), the (six) daily duties,[2] and the Śrāddha offerings to the spirits of departed ancestors.

92. If intentionally or unintentionally any sin, great or small, be committed, the proper penance must be performed according to ability.

93. The Vedas, the Vedānta-sūtras of Vyāsa, the Bhāgavata-purāṇa and the thousand names of Vishṇu in the Mahābhārata,

94. The Bhagavad-gītā and the precepts of Vidura, the Vāsudeva-māhātmya from the Vaishṇava-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-Purāṇa,

95. And the Smṛiti of Yājñavalkya, which is one of the Dharma-Śāstras, these eight sacred books are approved by me as authorities.[3]

96. All my twice-born disciples who wish good to themselves should recite these sacred books and hear them recited.

97. In deciding questions of ancient usage (āćāra), or practice, or penance, the code of Yājñavalkya, with its commentary the Mitāksharā, should be taken (as the best authority).

98. The tenth and fifth books of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa are to be regarded as having the preeminence over all the

[1] Of these only six are now generally performed, viz. :—1, the birth-ceremony, or touching the tongue of a new-born infant with clarified butter, etc. ; 2, the name-giving ceremony on the tenth day ; 3, tonsure ; 4, induction into the privileges of the twice-born, by investiture with the sacred thread ; 5, solemn return home from the house of a preceptor after completing the prescribed course of study ; 6, marriage. See *Indian Wisdom*, p. 246.

[2] The six daily duties (called Nitya-karman), according to Parāśara, are :—1, bathing ; 2, morning and evening prayer (sandhyā) ; 3, repetition of sacred texts ; 4, offerings to fire (homa) ; 5, worship of ancestors ; 6, worship of the gods. The six daily acts enjoined by Manu are different. See *Indian Wisdom*, p. 244.

[3] I commend this list to the attention of those European scholars who wish to be guided by Indian authorities in determining the real "sacred books" of India.

other sacred books for the understanding of the glory of Kṛishṇa.

99. The tenth and fifth books of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the code of Yājñavalkya are respectively my Bhakti-śāstra (manual of faith), Yoga-śāstra (manual of devotion), and Dharma-śāstra (manual of law).

100. As a treatise on the soul, the commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā as well as that on the Śārīraka-Sūtras of Vyāsa, made by Rāmānujāćārya, commends itself to my approval.

101. Whatever precepts in these sacred books have for their subject the excessive exaltation of Kṛishṇa and of Justice (Vṛisha), of faith and of indifference to the world—

102. Such precepts should be regarded as taking precedence over all others. Their essential doctrine is that devotion to Kṛishṇa should be joined with the performance of duty.

103. Duty (*dharma*) is that good practice which is enjoined both by the Veda (Śruti) and by the law (Smṛiti) founded on the Veda. Devotion (*bhakti*) is intense love for Kṛishṇa, accompanied with a due sense of his glory.

104. Indifference to worldly objects means absence of satisfaction in any object except Kṛishṇa. True knowledge consists in discriminating rightly between the nature of the personal soul (jīva), of the external world (Māyā), and of the Supreme Being (Īsa).

105. The personal soul dwells in the heart. It is as subtle as an atom; it is all thought; it has the faculty of knowledge; it is ascertained to be constantly pervading the whole body (*i.e.* the three corporeal envelopes kāraṇa, sūkshma, and sthūla) by its power of perception; it is characterized by indivisibility and the like.

106. The external world (Māyā) is identical with the energizing power of Kṛishṇa. It is composed of the three Guṇas; it is darkness; it is to be understood as the cause of the soul's having such ideas in regard to the body, and the things relating to the body, as are conveyed by the expressions I, mine, and the like.

107. He who abides in the living personal soul in the

character of an internal monitor, as the personal soul dwells in the heart, he is to be considered as the Self-existent Supreme Being, the Rewarder of all actions.

108. That Being, known by various names—such as the glorious Kṛishṇa, Param Brahma, Bhagavān, Purushottamaḥ —the cause of all manifestations, is to be adored by us as our one chosen deity.

109. He, together with Rādhā, should be regarded as the Supreme Lord, under the name of Rādhā-Kṛishṇa. With Rukmiṇī and Ramā he is known as Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa.

110. When joined with Arjuna, he is known by the name of Nara-Nārāyaṇa; when associated with Bala-bhadra (=Balarāma), or any other divine personage, he is called Rāma-Kṛishṇa and so on.

111. Those devoted (female companions of the god) Rādhā and his other (consorts) are in some places represented at his side. In other places (their images do not appear, because) they are supposed to be one with his body and he with theirs.

112. On no account let it be supposed that difference in forms makes any difference in the identity of the deity. For the two-armed Kṛishṇa may exhibit himself with four arms (or eight, or a thousand, or any number of arms).

113. Towards him alone ought all faith and worship (bhakti) to be directed by every human being on earth in every possible manner. Nothing else, except such (faith), is able to procure salvation.

114. The best result of the virtues of those who possess good qualities is faith in Kṛishṇa and association with holy men; without these, even persons who know (the Śāstras) go downwards (towards a lower state).

115. Meditation should be directed towards Kṛishṇa, his incarnations and their images, but not towards living men, nor (inferior) gods, etc., nor devotees, nor (even) those who (merely) have knowledge of Brahmă.

116. Having perceived, by abstract meditation, that the Spirit or Self is distinct from its three bodies (viz. the gross, subtle and causal bodies), and that it is a portion of the one

Spirit of the Universe (Brahmă), every man ought to worship Kṛishṇa by means of that (self) at all times.

117. The tenth book of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa should be listened to reverentially, and learned men should read it daily or (if frequent reading is impossible, at least) once a year.

118. The repetition (of the Bhāgavata), as well as of the thousand names of Vishṇu, etc., should be performed as far as possible in a pure place (such as the precincts of a temple); for (such repetition) causes the accomplishment of desired objects.

119. On the occurrence of any disaster caused by the elements (such as a flood or fire), or when any human calamity or sickness takes place, a man should be wholly occupied in striving to preserve himself and other people and in nothing else.

120. Religious usages, business transactions and penances, should be adapted to country, time, age, property, rank and ability.

121. The (philosophical) doctrine approved by me is the Viśishṭādvaita (of Rāmānuja),[1] and the desired heavenly abode is Goloka. There to worship Kṛishṇa, and be united with him as the Supreme Soul of the Universe, is to be considered salvation (Mukti).

122. These that have been specified are the general duties, applicable to all my followers, whether male or female. Now I am about to enumerate the special duties.

123. The two sons of my elder and younger brothers (viz. Ayodhyā-prasāda and Raghu-vīra) ought never to impart instruction to any women except their nearest relations.

124. They ought never to touch or converse with any women in any place whatever. Cruelty should never be shown towards any person. A deposit belonging to another should never be taken charge of.

125. In business matters no one should stand security for

[1] This verse proves that in their philosophical ideas the Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa sect are followers of the Rāmānuja sect. Compare verse 100.

any other person. In passing through a time of distress it is right to ask for alms, but debts should not be contracted.

126. One should not sell corn bestowed by one's own disciples; having given away old corn, new corn is to be bought. That is not called a sale.

127. On the fourth day of the light-half of the month Bhādra, the worship of Gaṇeśa should be performed, and on the fourteenth of the dark-half of Āśvina, Hanumān should be worshipped.

128. Those two sons (of my brothers, viz. Ayodhyā-prasāda and Raghu-vīra), who have been appointed as spiritual guides to guard the religious interests of my followers, should initiate all desirous of obtaining salvation (in the use of the mantra of Kṛishṇa).

129. They should cause each of their disciples to continue steadfast in his own appointed duty. Honour should be paid to holy men, and the sacred Śāstras should be reverently repeated.

130. Worship of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, and other forms of Kṛishṇa that have been set up and consecrated by me in the great temples, should be performed with the proper ceremonies.

131. Any one who may come to the temple of Kṛishṇa to ask for a gift of food (cooked or uncooked) should be received with respect, and food given to him according to ability.

132. Having established a school for giving instruction, some learned Brāhman should be appointed over it. True knowledge should be promoted throughout the world, for that is an act of great merit.

133. The two wives of these (sons of my brothers), with the permission of their respective husbands, should initiate females only (eva) in the Mantra of Kṛishṇa.

134. They should never touch or speak to other males than their nearest relations; nor should they ever show their faces to them.

135. My male followers who are householders should never touch widows unless they are their own near relatives.

136. They should not remain alone in any private place with a youthful mother, sister or daughter, except in a time of distress. Nor should a wife be given away (to another man).

137. No attachment should on any account be formed with a woman who in any transactions has been brought into connexion with the king of the country.

138. When a guest has arrived at a house, he should be honoured by those (who live in it) with food and other things according to ability. Offerings to the Gods and the Pitṛis (at the Devatā-tarpaṇa and Pitṛi-tarpaṇa and Śrāddha ceremonies) should be made according to right usage and according to one's means.

139. It is the duty of my disciples, as long as they live and according to their ability, to honour with faithful attention their father, mother, spiritual preceptor, and any one afflicted with sickness.

140. Every person should, according to his ability, carry on some occupation suitable to his caste and religious order. Those that live by agriculture should not allow a bull to be gelded.

141. Provisions and money should be laid by according to circumstances and time; and those that keep cattle should store up as much hay as these animals may need for their consumption.

142. If a man can himself attend to the proper feeding of cows and other animals with hay and water, then only he may keep them, otherwise he must not do so.

143. No business in regard to giving or receiving land or property should ever be transacted even with a son or friend, without a written deed attested by witnesses.

144. When any pecuniary transactions connected with giving away a girl in marriage have to be transacted for one's self or another person, the money to be delivered over should not be settled by verbal agreement, but only by a written contract attested by witnesses.

145. A man's expenditure ought always to be in proportion to his income. Otherwise it is certain that great misery will arise.

146. Every day one should take note of one's income and expenditure in the regular business of life, and write them down with one's own hand.

147. My followers should assign a tithe of the grain, money, etc., acquired by their own occupation or exertions to Kṛishṇa, and the poor should give a twentieth part.

148. The due performance of fasts, of which the eleventh-day fasts are the principal, should be effected according to the Śāstras and one's ability; for this will lead to the attainment of desired objects.

149. Every year in the month Śrāvaṇa one should perform, or cause others to perform, cheerfully the worship of Śiva with the leaves of the Bilva-tree, etc.

150. Neither money, nor utensils, nor ornaments, nor clothes should be borrowed for use (on festive occasions) from one's own spiritual preceptor, or from the temple of Kṛishṇa.

151. While going to do homage to great Kṛishṇa, to a spiritual preceptor, or to a holy man, food should not be accepted from others on the road, or at the places of pilgrimage; for such food takes away religious merit.

152. The full amount of promised wages should be paid to a workman. Payment of a debt is never to be kept secret. Let no one have any dealings with wicked men.

153. If through great distress caused by a famine, by enemies, or by (the oppression of) a king, any danger of destruction arises anywhere to character, wealth or life,

154. The wise among my followers should at once quit even their own native country, and having gone to another, let them reside there happily.

155. Wealthy householders should perform those sacrifices in honour of Vishṇu which entail no killing of animals. Brāhmans and holy men (Sādhus) should be fed on festival days at sacred places of pilgrimage.

156. They should observe the great festivals in honour of the Deity in the temples, and should distribute various gifts among Brāhmans who are deserving objects (of generosity).

157. Kings who are my followers should govern all their

subjects in accordance with the law (laid down in the Dharma-śāstras), and should protect them as if they were their children, and should establish the observance of proper duties throughout the whole land.

158. They should be well acquainted with the circumstances of their kingdom; as, for example, with the seven Angas (viz. the duties of the sovereign, minister, ally, treasury, territory, fortresses and army); the four Upāyas (viz. conciliation, sowing dissension, bribing, and punishing); the six Guṇas (viz. peace, war, marching, sitting encamped, dividing the forces, having recourse to an ally for protection); and the places of resort to which spies should be sent. They should also make themselves acquainted with the men who are skilled in legal procedure, and with all the court functionaries, observing by the right signs whether any ought to be punished or not.[1]

159. Wives should honour their husbands as if they were gods, and never offend them with improper language, though they be diseased, indigent, or imbecile.[2]

160. No communication, even though arising naturally (sāhajika), should be held with any other man who may be possessed of beauty, youth and good qualities.

161. A chaste woman should not allow her navel, thighs, or breasts to be seen by males; nor should she remain without an upper garment (anuttarīyā), nor should she look at (the antics of) buffoons, nor associate with an immodest woman.

162. A wife while her husband is absent in a foreign country should wear neither ornaments nor fine clothes; she ought not to frequent other people's houses, and should abstain from laughing and talking with other women.

163. Widows should serve the God Kṛishṇa with minds intent on him as their only husband; they should live under the control of their father, or other male members of the family, and never in independence.

[1] With reference to this verse compare Manu's directions to Kings (Books vii. and viii.), and the precepts in the Vigraha chapter of the Hitopadeśa.

[2] Compare Manu, v. 154.

164. They must never at any time touch any men except their nearest relations, and when young they should never without necessity engage in conversation with youthful men.

165. If an infant male-child touch them, no blame attaches to them, any more than from contact with a dumb animal; nor if they are compelled from necessity to talk with or touch an old man.

166. Instruction in any science should not be received by them from any man except from their nearest relations. They should frequently emaciate their bodies by vows and fasts.

167. They should never give away to others the money which is required for their own support. That only must be given away which they have in excess.

168. They should eat only one meal a day, and should sleep on the ground; they should never look at (animals) engaged in sexual acts.

169. They must never wear the dress of a married woman, nor of a female ascetic, nor of a mendicant, nor any unbecoming attire.

170. They should neither associate with nor touch a woman who has been guilty of procuring abortion; nor should they either converse about, or hear stories of the loves of the male sex.

171. Except in times of distress widows who are young should never remain alone in secret places along with men, even with their own relatives, if youthful.

172. They should never join in the frolics practised at the Holī festival, nor should they put on ornaments or finely woven clothes composed of cotton or metal threads.

173. Neither wives nor widows ought ever to bathe without wearing clothes. No woman should ever conceal the first appearance of her monthly periods.

174. A woman at that season should not for an interval of three days touch any human being, clothes, etc.; nor ought she to do so till she has bathed on the fourth day.

175. Those of my followers who have taken the vow of

of Naishṭhika Brahmaćārīs (that is, of perpetual celibacy and chastity) must not knowingly either touch or converse with, or look at women.

176. They should never talk or listen to conversations about women, and they should not perform their ablutions or other religious rites at places where women pass backwards and forwards.

177. They should never knowingly touch or look at even the pictures or wooden images of women, unless they be the representations of goddesses.

178. They should neither draw any likeness of a woman, nor touch her clothes. They must never knowingly look even at animals engaged in sexual acts.

179. They should neither touch nor look at a male dressed up as a woman; nor should they sing the praises of the Deity with a view to being heard by women.

180. They should pay no attention to the command of even their spiritual preceptor if likely to lead them to a breach of their vow of chastity. They should continue steadfast, contented, and humble-minded.

181. When a woman insists on forcing herself near them, they should immediately try to keep her off by expostulating with her, and (if she still approaches) by reproaching her.

182. In cases where their own lives, or those of women, are in jeopardy, they may be allowed contact or conversation with women, such contact being necessary for the saving of life.

183. They should not anoint their lips with oil. They should not carry weapons. They should not dress themselves in unbecoming costume. They should subdue the sense of taste.

184. If in the house of any Brāhman the meals are cooked and served up by a woman, they should not go there to ask for food, but should ask for it at some other house.

185. They should constantly repeat the Vedas and Śāstras, and serve their spiritual preceptor. They must shun the society of women, and of men who are fond of women.

186. He who is by birth a Brāhman should on no account

drink water from a leathern vessel; nor should he ever eat garlic, onions, etc.

187. Nor must he eat food without having first performed his ablutions, the Sandhyā service, repetition of the Gāyatrī, the worship of Vishṇu, and the Vaiśvadeva ceremony.[1]

188. All who are Sādhus are bound, just like those who have made a vow of perpetual celibacy, to avoid associating with women, or with men who are fond of women, and should subdue their (six) internal enemies (lust, anger, avarice, infatuation, pride, and envy).

189. They should subjugate all the senses, more especially the sense of taste; they should neither lay by a store of property themselves, nor make others do so for them.

190. They must not take charge of any one's deposit, they should never relax their firmness, nor allow a woman to enter their abodes at any time.[2]

191. Except at a time of distress, they should never go anywhere by night without a companion, nor should they travel to any place singly.

192. They should not use a costly variegated cloth, or one dyed with kusumbha, or dyed in any other way; or any expensive cloth, though freely presented to them by another.

193. They should not go to the houses of householders unless for the purpose of asking alms, or for being present at an assembly. They should not spend time uselessly without devoting any of it to the worship of the Deity.

194. To the abode of a householder in which only males are employed for serving up the cooked food, and where no woman is to be seen—

195. To the house of such a householder only should my Sādhus resort for participation in a meal, otherwise they should ask for uncooked food, and prepare it themselves.

196. All my holiest sages should conduct themselves in

[1] This ceremony, which partly consists in throwing portions of food into the fire, before dinner, as an offering to all the deities, will be fully described in my new work on "Religious Thought and Life in India," to be published by Mr. Murray.

[2] We may notice that there is no little repetition in this Book of instructions, especially in enforcing the duty of keeping clear of all feminine seductions.

the same manner as Bharata, son of Ṛishabha, the idiot Brāhman (Jaḍa-vipra), did in ancient times.[1]

197. Those holy men (Sādhus) who are Brahmaćārīs should diligently abstain from eating or using betel-leaves, opium, tobacco (tamāla), etc.

198. They should never accept a meal given on the performance of the Saṁskāra ceremonies, beginning with that of conception;[2] nor on performing the Śrāddha ceremony at death, nor at that performed on the 12th day after decease.

199. They should never sleep during the day, unless afflicted with sickness, etc. They should never gossip about local matters, nor intentionally listen to such gossip.

200. They should not lie down on a bedstead except when suffering from illness or other affliction, and should be guileless and straightforward in their behaviour towards other Sādhus.

201. They should patiently bear abusive language, or even blows from evil-minded persons, and wish good to (them in return).

202. They should not undertake the work of a go-between or informer, or spy; they should never show selfishness or partiality towards their relations.

203. Thus I have specified in a summary manner the general duties of all. Those who desire more particular instructions must refer to the sacred books handed down by tradition.

204. Having myself extracted the essence of all the sacred Śāstrās, I have written this Directory, which leads men to the attainment of desired objects.

205. Hence it is incumbent on my followers, having their minds well controlled, to conduct themselves in conformity with its precepts, and not according to their own wills.

206. Those males and females of my disciples who will

[1] The story is told in Vishṇu-purāṇa, ii. 13. He feigned idiocy, that he might not be troubled with worldly society and might so give his undivided attention to devotional exercises.

[2] See note to verse 91.

act according to these directions shall certainly obtain the four great objects of human desires (viz. *Dharma*, religious merit; *Artha*, wealth; *Kāma*, pleasure; and *Moksha*, final beatitude).

207. Those who will not act according to these (directions) shall be considered by my male and female followers as excluded from communion with my sect.

208. My followers should daily read this Book of directions, and those who do not know how to read should listen to others reading it.

209. But in the absence of a reader (vaktrabhāve), worship should be paid to it every day, and it should be honoured with the greatest reverence as my word and my representative.

210. This Directory should only be given to those persons who are endowed with a nature of the divine type; never to a man possessing a nature of the demoniacal type.[1]

211. This Book of directions, bringing welfare (to all who study it), was completed on the first day of the season of spring in the year 1882 of the era of Vikramāditya (=A.D. 1826).

212. May Kṛishṇa, the remover of the sufferings of his worshippers, the maintainer of devotion, accompanied with the performance of proper duties, the bestower of the desires of the heart, grant us blessings of all kinds!

[1] The Purāṇas divide all men into two classes: those whose nature is divine, and those whose nature is demoniacal.

Art. XXV.—*The Successors of the Seljuks in Asia Minor.*

By Stanley Lane-Poole.

In preparing the eighth volume of the Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, which will describe the coins of the Turks, I found myself confronted at the outset with a serious obstacle in the shape of twenty-five coins of various Turkish Amírs of Asia Minor, of whose history and chronology almost nothing appeared to be known, and of whose coinage the only examples hitherto published were five specimens (three varieties) described by Dr. E. von Bergmann and by Prof. J. Karabacek respectively, in the "Berichte" of the Vienna Academy, and in the "Numismatische Zeitschrift." The twenty-five examples in the British Museum had long remained unnoticed. Some I found in the 'Othmánly series; but most of them were discovered and partly identified by my uncle, the Keeper of Coins. The inscriptions were for the most part clear enough; and the difficulty consisted simply in the fact that the history of the princes who issued them was not generally known or easily accessible. The trouble and research that were necessary before I could arrange and attribute the coins and draw up approximately complete chronological lists of these dynasties and princes, are, I think, a sufficient excuse for the following pages, in which I shall try to smooth the way for my successors.

It is well known that on the breaking-up of the Seljúḳy kingdom of Er-Rúm, or Anatolia, ten separate dynasties divided its territories among themselves. The *Karásy* dynasty sprang up in Mysia; the lines of *Ṣárú-khán* and *Aydín* in Lydia; of *Menteshá* in Caria; of *Tekkeh* in Lycia and Pamphylia; of *Ḥamíd* in Pisidia and Isauria; of *Ḳaramán* in

Lycaonia; of *Kermiyán* in Phrygia; of *'Othmán* in Phrygia Epictetus; and of *Ḳizil-Ahmadly* in Paphlagonia.

All these dynasties were gradually absorbed by the rising power of the 'Othmánlis, once the least among them. At the end of the eighth century of the Hijreh, not a hundred years after the assumption of independence by 'Othmán I., the arms of Báyezíd I. made a clean sweep of the nine rival dynasties. After the battle of Angora, when Báyezíd was defeated and taken prisoner by Tímúr, and the Tatar horde almost annihilated for the moment the power of the 'Othmánlis in Asia, seven of these dynasties were restored, and enjoyed a new lease of life for some twenty-five years; but in 829-32, five of them were re-absorbed by Murád II., and in 877 the 'Othmánly rule was supreme over all the provinces which once owned the sway of the Decarchy, or *Zehnfürsten*.

Between A.H. 700, when these dynasties sprang up, and A.H. 877, when the last of them succumbed to the 'Othmánlis, there is space for a good many princes, and, in the due settlement of their places and dates, there is ample room for confusion and doubt. Von Hammer's details are very insufficient; but much allowance must be made for this industrious historian, inasmuch as the originals he relied on are frequently to blame for his obscurity. The Turkish annalists are not only mutually contradictory, but they have a habit of speaking of any of these dynasts as *Karásy Oglu*, *Kermiyán Oglu*, *i.e.* son of Karásy, of Kermiyán, etc., without mentioning the name of the descendant in question. Prof. Karabacek has had the advantage of consulting a MS. of Munejjim Bashy for his account of the history of the Aydín princes,[1] and Dr. Bergmann has used the same authority, as well as the Byzantine historians, in his remarks on the family of Ṣárúkhán;[2] and to the data drawn from these papers a certain degree of finality may be granted, though an element of uncertainty still remains in several details.

[1] Gigliato des jonischen Turkomanen Fürsten Omar-beg: Numismatische Zeitschrift, vol. ii. pp. pp. 524-538, and vol. ix. pp. 207-214.

[2] Beiträge zur muham. Münzkunde: Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. lxxiii. p. 129 ff.

	BITHYNIA.	*PHRYGIA EPICTETUS.*	MYSIA.	PHRYGIA.	PISIDIA.	LYCIA, ETC.	LYDIA.		CARIA.	PAPHLAGONIA.	LYCAONIA.	
A.H.	BYZANTINE EMPIRE.	'OTHMÁNLY.	KARÁSY.	KERMIYÁN.	ḤAMÍD.	TEKKEH.	ṢÁRÚ-KHÁN.	AYDÍN.	MENTESHÁ.	ḲIZIL AḤMADLY.	ḲARAMÁN.	A.H.
	Baldwin II.	630 Ertughrul.									620 *c.* ḲARAMÁN.	
	660 Michael VIII. Palaeologus.				666 KAY KHUSRU III.						643 *c.* MOḤAMMAD I.	
					SELJÚKS							
	682 Andronicus II.				682 MES'UD II. †708.						678 MAḤMÚD.	
700										690 SHEMS ED-DÍN TIMUR.		700
		699 'OTHMAN I.	'AṬLÁN BEG. †737.	KERMIYÁN BEG.	FALAḲ ED-DÍN ḤAMÍD.	TEKKEH BEG.	713 ṢÁRÚ-KHÁN.	700 AYDÍN BEG.	700 MENTESHÁ BEG.		719 YAKHSHY.	
	717 Brusa.											
		726 ORKHÁN.		'ALISHÍR BEG.				733 MOḤAMMAD.	YA'ḲÚB.	SHUJA'ED-DÍN.		
	731 Nicaea.							740 'OMAR.				
			Annexed 737.				746 ILYÁS.					
50				'ÁLIM SHÁH.				749 'ÍSÁ I.			750 'ALÁ-ED-DÍN 'ALY †794.	50
										'ÁDIL BEG.		
		761 MURÁD I.		ÁTY BEG.	ḤOSEYN BEG.							
							776 ISḤÁḲ.		MAḤMÚD.			
		YA'ḲÚB BEG.	Purchased by Murad 783.									
	792 BÁYEZÍD I.								791 ILYÁS.	BÁYEZÍD KÖTÜRUM.		
		792		792	792	792		792	792	795	794	
800		SEVEN STATES ANNEXED BY BÁYEZÍD I.-792-5.										800
		LOCAL DYNASTIES RESTORED BY TIMUR-805.										
	[804 Invasion of Timur.]											
	805 MOḤAMMAD I.	805 YA'ḲÚB BEG *restored.* †832		805 'OTHMÁN. †830	804 ? KHIDR. 809 ? 'OMAR †813.	805 JUNEYD. †829.	805 'ÍSÁ II. 806 'OMAR II. †806.	805 ILYÁS *restored.* †824		805 ISFENDIYÁR.	805 MOḤAMMAD II	
	824 MURÁD II.						824 MUSTAFA to 826.	824 UWEYS and AḤMAD (LEYTH).				
		832		830	829	829		829		833 IBRÁHÍM.	829 IBRÁHÍM. †868	
50	(Isḥák Páshá Governor of Anatolia.)	FINAL ANNEXATION BY MURÁD II.-829-832.										50
	855 MOḤAMMAD II. †886.									ISMÁ'ÍL †864.		
										ḲIZIL AḤMAD. 864	869 FÍR AḤMAD and ISḤÁḲ. 877	
		'OTHMÁNLÍS										

I have been able to supplement these authorities by the statements of a highly-esteemed Turkish historian, Sa'd-ed-dín, whose work Mr. E. J. W. Gibb (whose translations of Ottoman poetry have served to introduce an almost unknown literature to English readers) has most kindly consulted for me. I have also drawn some valuable notes from Charmoy's translation of the Sharaf-Nameh (St. Petersburg, four vols., 1868–1875), and from Rasmussen's Annales Islamismi (Hauniae, 1825), a useful little volume founded on good authorities.

The results of my investigations appear in the accompanying table of the Ten Dynasties, in which their rise on the ruins of the Seljúḳy kingdom, and their absorption in the 'Othmánly empire, originally one of their number, is shown, together with the break of a dozen years, created by the temporary annexation of the majority of these dynasties by the 'Othmánlis in 792–5.

It will be seen that the first dynasty to succumb to the rising power of the 'Othmánlis was that of Karásy, which was annexed in A.H. 737. Next, Ḥamíd was purchased in 783; and in 792 Báyezíd I. annexed Kermiyán, Tekkeh, Ṣárú-khán, Aydín and Menteshá in a single campaign, and finished his work in 794 and 795 by the conquest of Ḳaramán and Ḳizil-Aḥmadly. These last seven were restored by Tímúr in 805, only to be again reduced by Murád II. and Moḥammad II.

With regard to individual dates, it is to be regretted that those of the earlier princes are not recorded by the historians, and as the coins are none of them earlier than the middle of the eighth century, they cannot supply this deficiency. Those dates which are underlined in my table are given on the authority of Sa'd-ed-dín. Those of Ṣárú-Khán and Aydín are based upon the authority of Munejjim Bashy, etc. (*apud* Bergmann and Karabacek); the date 746 for Ilyás is founded upon the last mention of Ṣárú-Khán himself; but Rasmussen gives 740 for his accession. Rasmussen's date 791 for Isḥáḳ of the same line is rejected on the evidence of a

coin of 776;[1] whilst the 'Omar who closes the dynasty is inserted on the strength of another coin, which is, however, unhappily dateless. Von Hammer mentions an "Umurbeg (Mortassen)" lord of Ṣárú-khán in 810 (vol. i. p. 348). In Aydín, Rasmussen gives 740 for Moḥammad's accession, confusing him, I fancy, with 'Omar. The latter ("Oumoûr Beg"), according to the Sharaf Nameh, was reigning in 759. If this is correct, Karabacek's date of 749 for the accession of 'Ysá may be a mistake. On the restoration under Tímúr, Juneyd obtained Ephesus, a portion of the Aydín territory, and on the death of 'Omar in 806 he succeeded to the whole province, apparently, however, only for a short time;[2] subsequently he also acquired Ṣárú-khán; but in 814 (Sa'd-ed-dín) or 816 (Von Hammer) he was reduced to vassalage by Moḥammad I., and ordered to issue his coins in his suzerain's name. That he did not do so always is shown by a very valuable coin of 825 in the British Museum, which I have had the happiness of identifying, on which Juneyd's name appears without that of the 'Othmánly Sultán. Juneyd was finally defeated and killed in 829, and his dominions were annexed to the Sultán's.

The Menteshá dates are very uncertain. The first I am able to give is 791 for Ilyás, according to Rasmussen. His restoration in 805 is established by a coin in the British Museum; and another coin definitely places his son Leyth as his successor in 824. This coin is the only authority, I believe, for the existence of Leyth. Von Hammer makes Ilyás the last prince of this line, and in an account of the fall of the Menteshá dynasty, which Mr. Gibb has kindly translated for me from Sa'd-ed-dín, there is no mention of him.

This account relates that "when Menteshá Oglu Ya'ḳúb Beg, the hereditary possessor of the kingdom and throne,

[1] The question whether it was Isḥâḳ or Khiḍr who was reigning at the time of Báyezíd's conquest of Sárú-khán is discussed by Dr. Bergmann, who decides in favour of the former. The Turkish authorities are divided on this point. Some place Isḥak's death in 790.

[2] In 805 to 806 Moḥammad I. retook Sárú-khán and Aydín, and reduced Kermiyán to vassalage. Apparently he left Juneyd in possession of at least part of his dominions.

had laid aside the borrowed garment of life, two sons of his, namely, Ilyás and Maḥmúd, remained. . . . But when Ilyás, who succeeded Mahmúd (cast off the garment of life),[1] his sons, Uweys and Aḥmad, not content with the favours of the Heaven-supported monarch [the 'Othmánly Sultán, at whose court they were staying], felt a longing for the recovery of their hereditary kingdom, and planned and prepared for flight. On this being reported at the foot of the throne, they were imprisoned by the Imperial order in Bedevy Chár-ṭáḳ; and the Sultán's servant Bálábán Pasha was named governor of Menteshá. . . . This event occurred about the beginning of the year 829. For two years Uweys and Aḥmad endured the pains of imprisonment; as they were, 'like the bird in the cage,' forbidden to go forth, their woes were excessive, and their griefs extreme.". At last they managed to escape in sacks of hay. "It was the season when Ḳara 'Othmán Báyendery, ruler of Diyár Bekr, had returned from his summer encampments, and Aḥmad sought refuge with him. But he could not stay there, and went to Egypt, after which he went to Persia, where his name is lost. Uweys Bey had no strength to flee; but, dazed and giddy in the wilderness of bewilderment, he fell into the hands of the officers of the castle. When this was announced at the Sultán's court, the decree went forth that Uweys Bey and the castellain should be concealed from sight in the dungeon of non-existence."

Although he is not mentioned in this account, the Leyth of the coin of 824 could hardly have been the son of any other Ilyás; and the style of his coin exactly corresponds to that of his father of the year 805. He must have ruled some time between his father's death in 824 and the appointment of Bálábán in 829.

The British Museum coins also enable me to fix the date of 'Alá-ed-dín of Ḳaramán at 756 at the latest, thus nearly confirming Rasmussen's figures 750; and a coin of Ibráhím in 829 proves that Sa'd-ed-dín and the Sharaf Nameh are both wrong in placing this prince's accession at 830. Dr. Berg-

[1] In another place Sa'd-ed-dín says Ilyás died in 824.

mann gives 826 as the date of Moḥammad's death. Of the accession of 'Aly (a brother of Moḥammad of Ḳaramán, set up by the contemporary Memlúk Sulṭán in 815, until Moḥammad was restored in 824, all according to Rasmussen), neither Sa'd-ed-dín nor any other authority that I know of makes any mention. As to the end of the Ḳaramán dynasty, Von Hammer states that Pír Aḥmad succeeded Ibráhím in 1463 (868); but his brother Isḥáḳ ruled in Cilicia; whence he retreated to Uzun Ḥasan, the Turkuman. Pír Aḥmad and another brother, Ḳásim, held out till 1473 (877); the Sharaf Nameh says till 873.

According to Prof. Karabacek, Yakhshy and others of the Ten Princes first began to strike coins in 1327 (728).

Besides coins of 'Alá-ed-dín, Moḥammad, and Ibráhím, of Ḳaramán; Isḥáḳ and 'Omar of Ṣárú-khán (and Latin issues); 'Ísá of Aydín; Juneyd; Ilyás and Leyth of Menteshá; the British Museum possesses examples of a certain Mufettiḥ-ed-dín, a vassal of the Ḳaramanians, apparently unknown to history; of Moḥammad Artín; of a Beglerbeg (probably an early 'Othmánly governor), and of Isḥáḳ Páshá, who was governor of Anatolia under Murád II. and Moḥammad II. (*e.g.* in 1432, according to Von Hammer). It is unnecessary to do more than refer to them here, as full descriptions are given in the forthcoming eighth volume of my Catalogue.

These coins add some important facts to what the historians relate. But a great deal remains to be ascertained, and private and public collections must be searched for further specimens, which may probably be hidden among the early Turkish issues. Dates are required to fill up many lacunae; and mints are no less needed. As a guide to those who may find mint-names on these coins I may mention that the chief towns of the various dynasties, according to Von Hammer, were as follows:—Of Ḳaramán—Larenda, Ermenak, Aḳseráï, Aḳshehr, and Ḳóniyeh; of Ḳizil Ahmadly—Kastemúny, Janik, Sámsún, and Amásiyeh; of Kermiyán—Kutáhiyeh; of Hamíd—Aḳshehr, Begshehr, Sídishehr, Isparta, Karagháj; of Aydín—Ismír (Smyrna) and Ayásuluk (Ephesus); of Ṣárú-khán—Magnesia.

The following are the dynastic lists so far as I have been able to arrange them :—

KARÁSY.

		A.H.	A.D.
I. 'Ajlán Beg	circ.	700	1300
Annexed		737	1336

KERMIYÁN.

I. Kermiyán Beg	circ.	700	1300
II. Alishír Beg.			
III. 'Álim Sháh.			
IV. Áty Beg.			
V. Ya'ḳúb Beg.			
Conquered by Báyezíd ...		792	1390

Dynasty restored by Tímúr.

Ya'ḳúb Beg restored		805	1402
Annexed		832	1429

ḤAMÍD.

I. Falaḳ ed-dín Ḥamíd	circ.	700	1300
II. Ḥoseyn Beg.			
Purchased		783	1381

TEKKEH.

I. Tekkeh Beg		700	1300
II. ?			
Conquered by Báyezíd ...		792	1390

Dynasty restored by Tímúr.

III. 'Othmán		805	1402
Annexed		830	1427

ṢÁRÚ-KHAN.

I. Ṣárú-khán		713	1313
II. Ílyás		746	1345
III. Isḥáḳ		776	1374
Conquered by Báyezíd ...		792	1390

Dynasty restored by Tímúr.

IV. Khiḍr Sháh		804	1401
To		805	1402
V. 'Omar	circ.	809	1406
To		813	1410
Juneyd succeeds		813	1410
Annexed		829	1426

AYDÍN.

I. Aydín Beg		700	1300
II. Moḥammad		733	1332
III. 'Omar		740	1339
IV. 'Isá		749	1348
Conquered by Báyezíd ...		792	1390

Dynasty restored by Timúr.

V. 'Ísá II.	805	1402
VI. 'Omar II.	806	1403
Juneyd succeeds	806	1403
VII. Muṣṭafá	824	1421
Annexed	829	1426

MENTESHÁ.

I. Menteshá Beg	circ. 700	1300
II. Ya'ḳúb		
III. Maḥmúd		
IV. Ilyás	791	1389
Conquered by Báyezíd ...	792	1390

Dynasty restored by Timúr.

Ilyás restored	805	1402
V. Leyth [Uweys and Aḥmad]	824	1421
Annexed	829	1426

ḲIZIL-AḤMADLY.

I. Shems-ed-dín Timúr	690	1289
II. Shuja'-ed-dín.		
III. 'Ádil Beg.		
IV. Báyezíd Kötürüm.		
Conquered by Báyezíd I. ...	795	1393

Dynasty restored by Timúr.

V. Isfendiyár	805	1402
VI. Ibráhím	833	1430
VII. Ismá'íl †864		
VIII. Ḳizil Aḥmad	864	1459
Annexed	864	1459

ḲARAMÁN.

I. Ḳaramán	circ. 620	1223
II. Moḥammad I.	circ. 643	1245
III. Maḥmúd	678	1279
IV. Yakhshy	719	1319
V. 'Alá-ed-dín 'Aly	circ. 750	1349
Conquered by Báyezíd ...	794	1392

Dynasty restored by Timúr.

VI. Moḥammad II.	805	1402
VII. Ibráhím	829	1426
VIII. Pír Aḥmad and Isḥák	869	1464
Annexed	877	1472

Sept. 1, 1882.

Art. XXVI.—*The Oldest Book of the Chinese (the* Yh-King*) and its Authors.* By Terrien de LaCouperie, M.R.A.S.

More than two years ago, the 10th of May, 1880, at a special meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, I presented a paper on *L'Histoire de la Langue Chinoise*, in which I communicated my discoveries on the old phonetic laws of the orthography of the Ancient Chinese writing,—the derivation of this writing from the pre-cuneiform characters of South-Western Asia,—and also the nature and contents of the long-disputed book, the *Yh-King*. I have delayed the printing of that paper in order to make it more precise and complete, but parts of its contents, as well as several results of my researches, have been published, by my friend Prof. R. K. Douglas and by myself.[1]

Since that time these results have gained in accuracy and certainty,[2] and in a recent letter[3] I have been able to make

[1] See Prof. Douglas, *The Progress of Chinese Linguistic Discovery*, "The Times," April 20, 1880; reprinted in Trübner's *American, European, and Oriental Literary Record*, new series, vol. i. pp. 125-127, and my *China and the Chinese: their early history and future prospects*, in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, July 16, 1880. *Early History of the Chinese Civilization* (with plate of old Chinese characters borrowed from the pre-cuneiform writing), London, 1880 (Trübner).

[2] Vid. an anonymous paper on *Chinese and Babylonian Literature* in *Quarterly Review* of July, 1882; and Prof. Douglas's charming volume on *China* (London, 1882, 8vo.). Vid. also the valuable report to the *Philological Society*, 1882, on *The Progress of Assyriology*, by Mr. T. G. Pinches.

[3] Published in *The Athenæum*, Jan. 21, 1882, as follows: "In company with the general body of Sinologists, I read with pleasure in your issue of the 7th your announcement that Dr. Legge's translation of the 'Yh King,' for the 'Sacred Books of the East' series, will be out about Easter. But the paragraph adds: 'Curiously enough, some Chinese scholars pretend that the book is written in the Accadian language.' As I was the first Sinologist to point out, two years ago, that the early Chinese civilization had been borrowed by the so-called Hundred families from the south of the Caspian Sea, I fear that the rather wild statement that the 'Yh King' was written in the Akkadian language may be confused with my own views, and I am, therefore, bound to protest against it. As the Chinese scholars, both English and Chinese, to whom I had occasion to

some important statements about the *Yh-King*, which bear in no inconsiderable manner on the origin and early history of Chinese culture.

submit my translation, attach, as I do myself, great importance to my discovery about the 'Yh King,' and as this discovery has caused so eminent a Sinologist as Prof. Douglas, of the British Museum, to join me in the preparation of a translation of the 'Yh King,' which we shall publish in English, and also in Chinese in China, it is important to state on what ground it stands.

It deals only with the oldest part of the book, the short lists of characters which follow each of the sixty-four headings of the chapters, and it leaves entirely aside the explanations and commentaries attributed to Wen Wang, Chöu Kung, Confucius, and others, from 1200 B.C. downwards, which are commonly embodied as an integral part of the classic. The proportion of the primitive text to these additions is about one-sixth of the whole. The contents of this primitive part of the book are not homogeneous, and belong to different periods of the early history of the Chinese. It has been made up to the number of sixty-four parts, to correspond with the speculations of numbers on the Kwa, at which time these old fragments and the mystical strokes have been joined together. To reach the sacred number of sixty-four it has been found advisable by the compiler to add texts much more recent than the older ones, of which the real meaning had been lost through the lapse of time and changes in the language. So different in subject are the various chapters that we find, for example, in several of them, curious ballads on historical or legendary events. In others we have descriptions of aboriginal tribes of China, their customs, the meanings of some of their words homonymous to the Chinese ones, instructions to the officials about them, and descriptions of the animals, which descriptions in the greatest number of cases are given in relation to their meanings of the character which is the subject of the chapter. Besides all this—and it is the most curious part of the book as well as the most special result of my discovery—we have a good number of chapters which are nothing else than mere lists of the meanings of the character placed at the head of the chapter. These lists are extraordinarily like the so-called syllabaries preserved in the Cuneiform characters, which were copied, as we know, by order of the Assyrian monarchs from older ones of Babylonia. The system of having such phonetic dictionaries with others of different kinds is a peculiar feature of the old Akkadian culture, on the mixed origin of which there is nothing here to say excepting this, that it was not carried bodily into Babylonia, but sprang up in that region from the intrusion of Northern peoples amongst the highly cultured Cushite populations, who had settled there and possessed that writing of hieroglyphic origin which became the Akkadian and later on the Cuneiform characters. Now there are many most serious facts which prove that writing and the elements of sciences, arts, and government were acquired in South-Western Asia by the future Chinese colonists from a centre of activity where the Babylonian or Akkadian culture had more or less directly been spread. It seems only natural, therefore, that the early Chinese leaders should have been induced, not only to keep some of the lists of values of the written characters which they had learned, but also to continue the same practice of making lists in relation to the peoples, customs, etc., of their new country. And though extraordinary, it is not astonishing that some of the oldest lists resemble the lists kept in the Cuneiform characters, and that I was able to exhibit two years ago at the Royal Asiatic Society four of those lists which run parallel in the 'Yh King' and in the Cuneiform texts. And no doubt the impossibility of reading, as current phrases and texts, simple lists of meanings accounts for the absolute obscurity of these parts of the book, and the astounding number of interpretations which have been proposed by native Chinese scholars. European scholars are engaged on the same path. We have already the Latin translation by P. Regis and others, made with the help of the Manchu version, which is quite unintelligible; the English translation of Canon McClatchie in the sense of a cosmogony; and the Latin translation in the 'Cursus Linguæ Sinicæ,' in course of publication at Shanghai, where is to be

Pending the publication of the version of this book I am preparing with the valuable help of Mr. Douglas, I have been advised, as it is a matter of much interest and importance, to put together some notes on the authorship[1] and history of the *Yh-King*, as well as on the scientific method of dealing with this, the oldest book of Chinese literature. Consequently I have classified my notes in the following order :

1. Description of the book.
2. Ancient texts on its authorship.
3. Influence of the evolution of writing.
4. Vestiges of the old text anterior to Wen Wang.
5. Native interpretations.
6. European interpretations.
7. Comparison of the interpretations.
8. Methods of interpretation.
9. Contents and origin of the *Yh-King*.

found one of the best translations of the Chinese classics which have ever been made. Besides these three, another translation in French is announced as being about to be published in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, by M. E. Philastre, who for some years was a high official in Cochin China; this translation will exhibit a system of philosophy if we may judge from what the author has already written.

Dr. Legge's translation will certainly be an improvement upon the others already published. The many years of work which this Sinologist has spent upon it and his study of the commentaries will undoubtedly result in a great amount of information, as in his edition of some of the other Chinese classics.

So in a short time European scholars will have five translations of the 'Yh King' to compare, and when our translation, the sixth, appears, they will be able to decide which is the most faithful."

[1] Several misleading statements about the authorship and contents of this mysterious book, and the manner of translating it, have been lately published in an important place, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvi., the *Yi-King*, translated by J. Legge. The author has answered in his *Preface*, p. xix, rather sharply to the above letter of mine, and though he has made a *Yh-King* of his own fashion, having formulated the scheme supposed by some commentators more concisely than they have done (*Vid. ibid.* p. xiv), he dismisses the possibility of understanding the text of the book in a manner different from his own, for the reason that, according to his views and in his own words, "if you discard the explanations and commentaries attributed to King Wan, the Duke of Kaü, and Confucius, we take away the whole Yî. There remain only the linear figures attributed to Fû-hsi, without any lists of characters, long or short, without a single written character of any kind whatever." The proofs of the inaccuracy of these statements of Dr. Legge will be found throughout the following pages. His version has been thoroughly refuted by Prof. Douglas, in the *Academy* of July 12th, 1882, pp. 121-122, where is given a comparative version, according to our views, of the 30th chapter of the *Yh*. *Vid.* also my letters in the *Athenæum*, Sept. 9 and 30, 1882.

I. Description of the Book.

1. The *Yh-King* is the oldest of the Chinese books, and is the "*mysterious classic*," which requires "*a prolonged attention to make it reveal its secrets*"; it has "*peculiarities of style*, making *it the most difficult of all the Chinese classics to present in an intelligible version.*"[1]

And the 1450 selected works on the *Yh-King* which are enumerated in the catalogue[2] of the great Library of the Emperor Kien-Lung, compiled in 1772–1790, point to anything but unanimity in the interpretation of the book by the Chinese themselves.[3]

"The 易 經 *Yih King* 'Book of Changes,'" says the best of living Sinologists, Mr. A. Wylie, in his excellent *Notes on Chinese Literature*,[4] "is regarded with almost universal reverence, both on account of its antiquity, and also the unfathomable wisdom which is supposed to lie under its mysterious symbols. The authorship of these symbols 卦, which form the nucleus of the work, is with great confidence attributed to the ancient sage 伏 犧 Fŭh he. These consisted originally of eight trigrams, but they were subsequently, by combining them in pairs, augmented to the number of sixty-four hexagrams."[5]

2. The figures or *Kwa* consist of six horizontal lines, divided or undivided,[6] placed one under the other. There is applied a special character to each hexagram, forming its name, at the beginning of each of the sixty-four chapters

[1] The italicised words are borrowed from Dr. Legge's *Preface*, in which we read also: "There is hardly another work in the ancient literature of China that presents the same difficulties to translate." See pp. xiii, xiv, xv.

[2] 欽 定 四 庫 全 書 總 目. Cf. E. C. Bridgman, *Chinese Chrestomathy* (Macao, 1841, 4to.), p. xvii.

[3] The K'ang Hi's Imperial edition of the *Yh-King*, which appeared in 1715, contains quotations from the commentaries of 218 scholars, and these are (we take the words of Dr. Legge, *Introd.* p. 3) hardly a tenth of the men who have tried to interpret this remarkable book.

[4] The book opens with the *Yh-King*, the first of the classics, as do all the bibliographies, from the catalogue of the Han period downwards.

[5] See *Notes on Chinese Literature* (Shanghae, 1867, 4to.), p. 1.

[6] In the ordinary phraseology of the Yh, the lower one is called 貞; and the upper one 悔. The lines are: the 陽 *yang*, 剛 strong, 九 = 9, entire, undivided, and the 陰 *yn*, 柔 weak, 六 = 6, broken, divided.

composing the book. Each of these leading characters is followed by a certain number of others, and the entire chapter is arranged in seven lines under special headings, the first being the heading character, the other six an ordinal series, supposed to apply to each of the six lines of the hexagram individually, because their numbers are accompanied by the characters 九 or 六, indicating, in the opinion of the commentators, the undivided and divided lines. This set of characters, in seven divisions, the entire text in each chapter, is intermingled with fore-telling words—*lucky, unlucky, correct, no error*, etc.; but these divisions do not make as many phrases. The characters are disposed in little *sentences*, often of one character only, or of two or more. The meanings of these sentences are disconnected; they are quite independent one of the other, and do not bear openly on one same subject. A literal version of them is utterly unintelligible.[1] These peculiarities would place the *Yh-King* in an unexampled position if it were a book of continuous texts, as it has been hitherto wrongly thought to be by many discordant commentators and interpreters, as well Chinese as European.

3. The following commentaries are commonly printed with the text, as follows: The first (in 2 sections), with the heading 彖 *Twan*, disposed in two or more lines, is placed immediately after the first of the seven lines of the text. The second (in 2 sections), with the heading 象 *Siang*, is placed after the *Twan*, and after each of the following six lines of the text. Another one, the 文言 *Wen yen*, is annexed to the first two diagrams. All these compose the first and

[1] In a day of wisdom, a known Sinologist, Dr. Legge, in his version of the *Tso-chuen* (*Chin. Class.* vol. v. p. 169*a*), has made upon a quotation of the *Yh-King* this comment: "But it seems to me of no use trying to make out any principle of reason in passages like the present." *This view is the true one*, but we are sorry that the learned missionary, to whom we are indebted for a valuable though unequal version of several of the Chinese classics, has not stuck to it and refrained from publishing his paraphrase of the *Yh-King*. Speaking (The *Yi-King*, Pref. p. xv) of the literal Latin version done by PP. Regis, De Mailla, and Du Tartre, and also of his own first version, Dr. Legge writes: "But their version is all but unintelligible, and mine was not less so." However, Prof. Regis and his coadjutors had at their disposal all the help that Chinese lore could throw upon the *Yh*.

second Kiuen or books of the ordinary editions of the work.[1] A third Kiuen is composed of the following appendices: the 繫辭傳 *Hi-Tze Chuen* "Memoir on the Philosophy of the Text," in two sections; 說卦傳 *Shwoh Kwa chuen* "Discussion of the Diagrams"; 序卦傳 *Sü Kwa chuen* "The Order of the Diagrams"; and, finally, the 雜卦傳 *Tsa Kwa chuen* "Promiscuous Discourses on the Diagrams."

The *Twan*, the *Siang*, and the *Hi-tze*, being each divided into two sections,[2] all the appendices have received the name of "the Ten Wings" 十翼 of the *Yh-King*.

Such is, roughly described, this famous book as it has been handed down to the present time.

4. The *Twan* is commonly attributed to Wen Wang,[3] and the *Siang* to his son, Chöu Kung, in the twelfth century B.C., and there is no reason for throwing suspicion on this received tradition. The other "wings" are of different periods. In two of them, the *Hi-Tze* and the *Wen-yen*, is found repeatedly the same formula, 子曰 "The master said," as in the Confucian books, when the words of the great Sage are quoted; but this cannot be taken as a proof of date, even for these particular appendices, for, in one case at least, words and explanations from the *Wen-yen* are quoted[4] in history as early as 564 B.C., fourteen years before Confucius was born. Additions from the Sage's teachings have most likely been made afterwards to these appendices, apparently by one of

[1] Such as the 易經讀本 or 監本易經全文.

[2] In each, the first line of every chapter attributed to the entire diagram is considered as one part, called *Twan* or *Siang*, and the after lines as another part, called *Twan chuen* or *Siang chuen* respectively. The text is sometimes called 畧.

[3] Wen Wang 文王 "King Wen," or more properly the Elegant King, a posthumous title conferred by his son 丹 *Tan* 周公 *Chöu Kung*, the Duke of Chöu, to 昌 *Ch'ang*, the Chief of the West 西伯, father of 發 *Fa*, posthumously called *Wu Wang* 武王, the founder (1169-1116) of the Chöu dynasty. Wen Wang (1231-1135), for a state offence, was imprisoned at *Yu Li* 羑里, during two years (1144-1143), which he spent on the Yh-King. The 竹書紀年, of which the chronology down to 826 B.C. is different from the one commonly received, states that he remained six years in confinement.

[4] Cf. *Wen Yen*, 1st Kwa, §§ 1-3, and *Tso chuen*, Duke *Siang*, IXth year, § 3, in Legge's edition, p. 440.

his disciples, Shang Kiu, who is reputed to have handed down the *Yh* from his Master.

5. The wings and the text do not make a homogeneous work pervaded by the same ideas or produced by one mind. Their discrepancies and wide differences are not of the kind found between different pens dealing with and commenting on a plain text or a book of a known doctrine. They are not within the range of that mere variety of interpretation which occurs when several commentators have been treating of a recognized system commonly accepted. They lack that kind of unity of thought or of dealing with ideas which is the back-bone of commentaries, whatsoever they may be, and however wide may be their divergences of opinion; in fact, it seems that they are to be considered as attempts to understand the meaning of the book without knowing what it is. And this we see by the fact, that they introduce incongruous ideas, views, and systems of interpretation of their own. Certainly they have not been written at the same time as the text, nor at about the same period all together. Certain discrepancies of views can only have arisen by a not inconsiderable decay of the language during their respective compositions. Other discrepancies may be accounted for by a difference of dialectical spoken language, not of writing, between their authors. Some passages, for example, are but a mere enumeration of the different meanings of the temporary homonymous words with the sound of the heading character of each chapter. This process is followed in different ways. The author of the Wing called *Shwoh Kwa* 說卦, in his last section, has been very near finding the clue to the *Yh*. He has tried to explain the sound attached to the head-character of eight chapters (under the eight primitive *Kwas*). He gives lists of meanings for each of these sounds in homophonous words, according to his own pronunciation, which was no longer the same as that of the time when the early lists were compiled, and therefore, consequently, gives meanings which are not in the chapters.

6. The first two wings stand apart from the others, and exhibit more unity; at least more of that unity due to the repe-

tition of the same rows of characters, even when by an addition of some kind there is a sufficient clue to indicate that the text was differently understood. They have all the appearance of having been made to justify the arrangement of the text as they interpreted it, since they very often consist of a mere repetition of the text, frequently with slight modifications and differentiating additions. Their main characteristic is their obvious attempt to interpret the text in a symbolic sense, and to connect it with the linear composition of the hexagram at the head of each chapter, and with its lines individually. This is done plainly with more or less success by the *Siang*, which is divided accordingly. The *Twan* in a more general manner deals with the text as related to the hexagram as a whole, and to its strong and weak lines.

7. So much for the general contents of the ten wings. It is not my intention in any way to deal with them, but to leave them entirely aside, as far as my translation of the book goes. I was the first among Sinologists to disconnect openly the text from the appendices. For a scientific study of the contents of the text, and how it has been made, it is of absolute necessity to separate the commentaries from the text, and to treat of the latter alone. The whole book, text and wings, contains 24,107 characters; the text alone, in its 450 lines (from 2 to 30 characters), has 4134 characters only, or about one-sixth of the whole.

II. The Authorship of the Book.

8. Though Chinese literature is not without several indications as to some authors of the *Yh-King*, and echoes of old traditions collected by independent scholars, there is not, in the modern statements, that unity of views which would afford a satisfactory basis for investigation. The reason of this is obvious. The names of Fuh-hi, Wen Wang, and Confucius, form so sacred a Trinity, that the mere fact of their having been each more or less connected with the making of the book as it now stands, has prevented many writers from quoting any tradition which would have detracted from the

glory of either of the three as a sharer in the authorship of the work; hence, they were contented to say, in a general way, that the book was the work of the three saints, attributing the *Kwas* to Fuh-hi, the text to Wen Wang, and the appendices to Confucius, a statement the slightest criticism would have easily exploded and shown to be ridiculous and against evidence.

9. We find for example only in popular or unscholarly books, as the 歷代帝王年表,[1] such statements as these:

"Tai Hao Fuh hi begins to delineate the eight Kwas 太皞伏羲始畫八卦."[2]

"Chöu Sin 11th year 紂辛十一祀 (*i.e.* 1144 B.C.) confines Si Pöh at Yu-Li 囚西伯於羑里. Si Pöh practises the Yh 西伯演易." And at the end of this very last reign of the Yn dynasty, we find another entry: "*The* Yh has text to the sixty-four Kwas 易有六十四卦辭."

And at the end of the entries relating to the events of the reign of Ching Wang 成王, we read:

"The Yh has text to the three hundred and eighty-four lines 易有三百八十四爻辭."

And, finally, in King Wang, 36th year: "敬王三十六年, Kung tze makes *the* ten wings of the Yh 孔子作易十翼."

10. But if we turn to more scholarly and ancient texts, we find different, in some cases very precise, statements. They, however, almost all agree in their attribution of the invention of the Kwas to the first name which appears at the dawn of their traditions with an appearance of personality, Fuh-hi.

Here are a few extracts about this first point:

(*a*) "In accordance with the Tortoise writings 應之龜書, Fuh-hi imitating their figures 伏犧乃則象, made the Kwas of the Yh 作易卦."[3]

[1] *Li Tai Wang nien piao*, p. 5.

[2] *Tai Hao* = 'great whitish,' also the 'western region':—*Fuh-hi*, also written in different manners 庖犧, 密犧, 宓戲, 虙戲.

[3] 禮含文嘉, in *Tai Ping yü lan*, K. 78, f. 3.

(*b*) "Fuh-hi imitated the Tortoise writing 伏羲則龜書, and made the eight Kwas 乃作八卦."[1]

(*c*) "Pao-hi made the eight Kwas 庖犧氏作而八卦, and arranged their lines 列其畫. Hien Yuen arose 軒轅氏興, and the Tortoise and the Divining stalks exhibited their varieties 而龜策彰其彩."[2]

(*d*) "Pao-hi drew the Kwas 庖犧畫卦, in order to establish their symbolism 以立象. Hien Yuen began the characters 軒轅氏造字, in order to set up their instructions 以設教."[3]

It is useless to continue these quotations repeating the same thing over and over again, inasmuch as one of the commentaries of the Yh, the *Hi-tze*, second part, first section, gives the same statement:

(*e*) "Pao-hi first made the eight Kwas 庖犧...始作八卦."

11. So much for the first delineation of the eight Kwas. As to their multiplication, the unanimity of the traditions ceases, though the larger number of them attribute the operation to Shen-nung.

In the *San Hwang pön Ki* 三皇本紀, compiled by Se-ma Cheng 司馬貞 during the eighth century, the famous commentator of Se-ma Tsien's 司馬遷 *She Ke* 史記, and generally printed at the beginning of this celebrated history, we find[4] the same statement about Fuh-hi, and about Shen-nung[5] we read:

(*f*) "He blended the *Yh*, and returned each to its place, 交易而退各得其所. Afterwards he multiplied the eight Kwas into 64 diagrams 遂重八卦爲六十四爻."

And in the *Ti Wang She Ki*,[6] quoted again at *h*, we read:

(*g*) "Shen-nung multiplied the numbers of the eight Kwas 重八卦之數, carried them to the square of eight 究八八之體, and formed the 64 Kwas 爲六十四卦."

[1] 字學典, f. 34, in the great Cyclopedia in 10,000 Kiuen, *Kin ting Ku Kin t'u shu tsih cheng*.

[2] 魏書江式傳.

[3] 張懷瓘書斷.

[4] *Vid.* f. 1 v. and f. 3.

[5] Shen-nung, 2737-2697 B.C.? *Vid.* n. 3, following page.

[6] *Vid. Tai Ping Yü Lan*, K. 78, f. 5 v.

In the above quoted wing of the *Yh*,[1] progress of arts and inventions are attributed to the contemplation of several hexagrams (thirteen in number), which in nine cases at least[2] cannot be confused with the trigrams, and as these inventions are, several of them, connected with Shen-nung, etc., we see that, in the opinion of the time of the writer, most likely anterior to Confucius for that part, at least, the multiplication of the Kwas was *un fait accompli* at the earliest period.

12. In a most valuable Cyclopedia in 1000 kiuen, compiled in 977–983, the *Tai Ping yü Lan*,[3] we read:—

(*h*) "The *Chronicle of Emperors and Kings* (by Hwang P'u Mih, a celebrated scholar of the third century, A.D. 215–282) says: 帝王世紀曰 The Pao-hi made the eight Kwas; 庖羲氏作八卦. Shen-nung multiplied them into sixty-four Kwas; 神農重之爲六十四卦 Hwang-Ti Yao and Shun 黃帝堯舜 developed the hint 引而伸之, and divided it into two Yhs 分爲二易; down to the men of the Hia *dynasty* 至夏人, who called *one* on account of Yen-Ti[4] *Lien Shan* 因炎帝曰連山, and the men of the Yn dynasty who called *the other* on account of Hwang-Ti *Kwei-Tsang*[5] 殷人因黃帝曰歸藏. Wen Wang enlarged the sixty-four Kwas 文王廣六十四卦, made clear the lines 9 and 6 著九六之爻, and denominated it the Yh of Chöu 謂之周易."

13. In one of the best critical parts of the *Lu she* 路史,[6] by Lo Pi 羅泌, of the Sung Period, we read:

[1] 繫辭, 2nd part, ch. ii.

[2] 16, 17, 21, 34, 38, 42, 43, 59, 62.

[3] 太平御覽 K. 609, f. 2. A very interesting notice of this Cyclopedia, and its adventures since its compilation, is given by Mr. A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, pp. 146, 147. On Hwang P'u Mih, vid. Dr. Legge's *Prolegomena* to the *Shu-King*, p. 26; and also Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, n. 216.

[4] *Yen-Ti* = *Shen-nung*.

[5] The *Lien-shan* is said to have included eight myriads of words, and the *Kwei-tsang* 4300. I shall discuss this tradition and its bearing when tracing the history of the written text of the *Yh*, and shall quote a traditional list of the headings of chapters which have been modified by Wen Wang. *Vid.* § 31.

[6] 路史餘論, Kiuen 2, f. 1. In Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 24, is the following appreciation of the work:—"The historical portion is considered of little value, and the author seems to have been led astray by an undue attachment to Taouist legends, but there is a good deal of learning shown in the geographical and critical parts" (here quoted).

(*i*) "In his time Fuh-hi 伏羲之時 himself multiplied the eight Kwas 八卦自重, and himself discoursed upon them and distributed for use 亦自詳于施用; but this text has no place in literature 特未見之文字. Arriving at the *Lien-Shan* and *Kwei-Tsang* 至連山與歸藏, the upper and lower divisions of the *Yh* 反易上下 and the illustrations of the hexagrams were all completed 則爻象已大備, but in that age they were not deeply studied 而世弗深究. Coming down to the time of Wen Wang 降及文王, while imprisoned at Yu-Li 拘四羑里 he used them for divination 用以卜筮. He added and surreptitiously introduced the foretelling words 加竄繇辭, and he altered the inferring numbers 更改衍數, in order to regulate the divining stalks of the Great Inference 以立大衍之策, that those using them could draw the inference 吏之可衍. And afterwards the arguments began to be discoursed upon 而後文辭始詳. In consequence it was called the Yh of Chöu 遂名之以周易."

This disquisition on the early history of the *Yh* is most important, and seems to have been done with great care; it throws light on some passages of ancient authors I shall have to quote, which otherwise would not seem to require so precise a translation as it is necessary to make, in order to understand them without contradictions. It displays an amount of critical research most praiseworthy. The translation of the passage just given can be entirely trusted, as it is not only the joint work of Prof. Douglas and myself, but has also been revised by an eminent native Chinese scholar. I shall, later, have to deal with what is said about the text previous to the Chöu dynasty, as well as with other information given later in the same work, but with this I have nothing to do in the present stage of my investigations.

14. I will now turn to some older texts bearing upon part of the work done by Wen Wang.

And here I find two allusions to it almost in the same terms in the longest wing of the *Yh*,[1] from which we have already

[1] *Hi-tze*, part ii. ch. 7 and 11.

twice borrowed some information. There we read, in Dr. Legge's translation:

(*j*) "Was it not in the middle period of antiquity[1] that the Yh began to flourish? Was not he who made it (or were not they who made it) familiar with anxiety and calamity?" And in another passage:

(*k*) "Was it not in the last age of the Yn (dynasty), when the virtue of Chöu reached its highest point, and during the troubles between Wen Wang and (the tyrant) Chöu, that (the study of) the Yh began to flourish?"

This *does not* say that Wen Wang wrote the text of the book, but only that its study began to flourish in his time. We know by other traditions that its study was neglected before, and all this agrees perfectly well. However, as Wen Wang had a great deal to do with this study, we can only take the tradition about his pretended authorship of the text as a summary statement, avoiding complicated explanations, the more so that this is in complete agreement with the nature of the Chinese, whose veneration for the ancestors of their statutes concentrates everything on the star-men of their night-like historical traditions.

15. From the third commentary of the *Yh*, I have now to come down to the second century B.C., and must consult the celebrated *Historical Records* 史紀 of the Herodotus of China, Se-ma Tsien 司馬遷. In his *Chöu Pön Ki* 周本紀, a certain passage added to the life of *Si Pöh*=Wen Wang (which has all the appearance of an interpolation), I read:[2]

(*l*) "When he was imprisoned at *Yu-Li* 其囚羑里, he (Wen Wang) extended 蓋 the profitable changes 益易 proper to the eight Kwas 之八卦[3] in favour of the sixty-four Kwas 爲六十卦."

[1] The period of middle antiquity, according to Chinese commentators, begins with the rise of the Chöu in the twelfth century B.C., and it finishes at the Confucian Era. But we are not sure that this explanation has not been made up for the occasion of this passage.

[2] See *Kiuen* 4, f. 5 v.

[3] It seems to me that we cannot translate here, otherwise than considering 之 as having its meaning = 於; else the phrase would be in contradiction with the facts certainly known to Se-ma Tsien and his father, of the multiplication of the

It is here plainly indicated, as in the quotations above (*h*, *i*), the very work of Wen Wang, who, distinguishing the weak and strong lines, has extended their eight changes so as to correspond with the text.

16. In the *Former Han Records*, compiled by Pan Ku, some one hundred and fifty years after the *Historical Records* of Se-ma Tsien, I read in the section on *Literature*:[1]

(*m*) "Wen Wang then multiplied the six lines (of transformation) of the Yh 文王於是重易六爻, and made the first and second book 作上下篇. Kung She formed with the Yh's 孔氏爲之 *Twan*, *Siang*, *Hi tze*, *Wen yen*, *Sü Kwa*, the ten supplementary books 彖象繫辭文言序卦之屬十篇."

This is in perfect agreement, excepting the substitution of the *Sü Kwa* for the *Shwoh Kwa*, with what had been said before by Se-ma Tsien, who, in his "Life of Confucius,"[2] had written:

(*n*) "Kung tze, when old, also enjoyed the Yh 孔子晚而喜易. He arranged (or put in order[3]) 序 the *Twan*, the *Hi*, the *Siang*, the *Shwoh Kwa*, and the *Wen yen* 彖繫象說卦文言.[4] During his study, the leather thong of (his copy of) the Yh was thrice worn out 讀易韋編三絕."

17. This is all that is said by Se-ma Tsien, and nothing more, and it is this passage which has been quoted[5] as the proof that, according to Se-ma Tsien, Confucius wrote several appendixes to the Yh. As a matter of fact, the great Historian says nothing of the kind, and to what extent the pencil of Confucius has been at work in the Appendices is entirely left in the dark by the historical quotations which have been found about it.

Kwas before the time of Wen Wang. For this manner of translating 之 see Julien, *Syntaxe nouvelle*, vol. i. p. 159, and Legge's *Chinese Classics*, passim. If my translation of this phrase were not the right one, how is it that Pan Ku has not repeated the same thing, but gives a statement which is much more in accordance with my translation? However, it is rather unsatisfactory.

[1] *Vid.* 前漢書, Kiuen 30, f. 2.

[2] *Vid. She Ki*, K. 47, *Kung tze She Kia*, f. 24 v.

[3] For the use of the same word with the same meaning in the same chapter, see *ibid*, f. 23 v.

[4] These, with the 序卦 and 雜卦, are all the appendixes of the *Yh*.

[5] Dr. Legge, *Yi King*, Introd. p. 26.

The absolute silence about the work of Chöu Kung, if the *Siang* 象 comes from his pen, would be worth considering, if there was not elsewhere (in the *Tso chuen*) a recognition of his authorship. The text is speaking of an envoy of the Marquess of Tsin to the State of Lu.[1]

(*o*) "Looking at the books in charge of the great historiographer 觀書於大史氏, he saw the Siang of the Yh and the Chun Tsiu of Lu 見易象與魯春秋, and said: 曰 the uttermost of the Institutes of Chöu are in Lu 周禮盡在魯矣. Now, indeed I know the virtues of the Duke of Chöu, 吾乃今知周公之德, and how the Chöu attained to Royalty, 與周之所以王也."

This happened in 540 B.C., when Confucius was yet a child of eleven years, and so, some sixty years before he enjoyed the *Yh King*.

18. Besides the indications to be found in the historical texts and traditions set forth in the preceding pages, there is much valuable information as to the earlier *Yh*, and the progress of the *Yh* of Chöu from 672 to 486 B.C. in this same *Tso-chuen*, supplement by Tso k'iu Ming to the *Ch'un Tsiu* of Lu, compiled by Confucius.

The Kwas and their appended meanings and list of characters are quoted some twenty times in the *Tso-chuen*. Studying these with care they give the most suggestive information as to the history and composition of the book.

19. I resume these quotations as follows: 22nd year of Duke Chwang (672): The Yh of Chöu brought and consulted in the state of Ch'in by an officer of Chöu. The same thing happens in the 7th year of Duke Süen (602).

The milfoil consulted in Tsin, Tsi, Ts'in, Lu States in 1st and 2nd years of Duke Min (661–660); three times in 15th year of Duke Hi (645); 25th year of Duke Hi (635); 16th year of Duke Ch'ing (575); 9th year of Duke Siang (564); 25th year same duke (548).

[1] *Tso Chuen*, Duke *Ch'ao*, 2nd year. Legge edit. p. 583, translates:—"When he looked at the (*various*) documents in the charge of the great historiographer, and the Ch'un Ts'iew of Loo, he said, 'The institutes of Chow are all in Loo. Now, indeed, I know the virtue of the Duke of Chow, and how it was that (the House of) Chow attained to the Royal dignity.'"

The Yh of Chöu consulted in Tsin, Lu, Ts'in, Wei States: 12th year of Duke Süen (597); 9th year of Duke Siang (564); 28th year of same Duke (545); 1st, 5th, 7th, 12th, 29th, 32nd years of Duke Chao (541, 537, 535, 530, 513, 509); 9th year of Duke Ngai (486 B.C.).

The Yh of Chöu does not appear in the Tsin state before 597, in Lu before 564, in Tsi before 548, etc., and before these dates, in 672 and 602, only in the hands of officers of Chöu. The milfoil, however, was often consulted in the same states before these dates, and some texts more or less alike to Chöu's Yh text are quoted.

20. The result appears to be that the *Yh* of Chöu was more especially used in the state of Chöu than elsewhere, but was not in common use in the other states so early as 672, though the book existed at the time. In this year the great Historiographer of Chöu uses himself the Yh of Chöu, of which he had brought a copy with him, in the state of 陳 Ch'in, and quotes the exact characters of Kwa xx. 6–4, of the present text of the book. Afterwards we do not find the Yh of Chöu quoted till 70 years after this first date, and once again, in the state of Ch'in, by an officer of Chöu, who quotes a meaning. In the mean time, not less than six times, the divining milfoil is consulted in the states of Tsi, Tsin and Ts'in; hexagrams are quoted, meanings and text are reproduced, exhibiting discrepancies with the present text, and in any case never extracted from the *Siang*.

21. After the occurrence in 602 above quoted, the *Yh* of Chow is again consulted in 597 in the state of Tsin, and, excepting two occasions in 575 in Tsin, and 548 in Tsi, when "divining by the milfoil" is the expression used, there occur in the records of the years 564, 545, 541, 537, 535, 512, 509, and 486 extracts which are all exact quotations of the *Yh* of Chöu, being meanings and characters from the text or the *Siang*, though not always in accord with Dr. Legge's translation. In 564, the foretelling words of the *Yh* of Chöu are distinctly quoted *in addition to the meaning of the Kwa quoted from the older Yh*, and in 540, when Confucius was a child of eleven years, the Archives of the state of Lu are congratulated for containing

the Siang of the *Yh* by the Duke of Chöu, as we have seen above.

All this points unmistakably to the existence of the text of the *Yh* as independent and anterior to the *Yh* of Chöu.[1] When this last is not *eo nomine* quoted, and when they only say that they divine by the milfoil, they never quote any passage from the Siang, but only characters and meanings of the text.

22. I do not find in any ancient authority, the assertion so simple in itself, that Wen Wang did or wrote the *text of the Yh*. It has crept out as the expression of a natural Chinese feeling, and is to be found only in rather recent time. Even as late as the twelfth century, the *Chöu yh pön ngi* 周易本義, by the famous Chu Hi 朱熹, does not express it.[2] It is a mistake to believe in a common consensus or general and unique tradition attributing the authorship of the *text of the Yh* to this king and his son, and all those who may follow what has been stated lately with great emphasis by a well-known Sinologist will only repeat a serious error. And the mistake will be the more amusing if, as has been done, they appeal to the traditions and beliefs of foreigners; it is difficult to know what may be the traditions and beliefs of foreigners about the *Yh*, as they cannot have any others than those they have picked up in some Chinese books. At any rate they may be dismissed at once by inquirers as second-hand information,[3] as until now the matter has never been seriously investigated.

[1] One of the most striking passages from the *Tso-chuen*, justifying all that we have stated, is the quotation said to be from the 18th Kwa 蠱, and in which are quoted meanings borrowed from the 40th Kwa 解, in different order and with serious discrepancies of characters. This occurs during the fifteenth year of Duke Hi, and is not quoted as from the *Yh* of Chöu. It comes obviously from the older text, previously to its arrangement by Wen Wang.

[2] He says (according to the 南海縣志藝文, k. xxv. f. 2 v.): "Fuh-hi made the 64 Kwas 伏羲作六十四卦; Chöu Kung connected the words of the lines 周公係爻辭 with the main emblems 與夫彖, the prognostics 占, the Kwas 卦, and the series of their mutations and explanations 變之說之類是也."

[3] However, we shall be contented to quote one of the best European Sinologists who mentions the primitive text of the Yh. "According to the Chinese belief,

The comparison of all these authorities of different periods makes it clear, without possible doubt, to any unprejudiced mind, *that the text of the Yh existed long before Wen Wang*,[1] though not exactly as it now stands; that he studied it, modified it, and commented upon it.[2]

III.—Influence of the Evolution of Writing.

23. The remarkable evolution of speech and of writing in China, their early association and close connexion, their subsequent dissociation and respective disintegration,[3] are of prime importance for any scientific investigation of the oldest texts of Chinese literature. We have multifarious proofs that the writing, first known in China, was already an old one,[4] partially decayed, but also much improved since

these eight figures (the eight Kwas), together with the sixty-four combinations to which they are extended, accompanied by certain presumptive explanations attributed to Fuh-hi, were the basis of an ancient system of philosophy and divination during the centuries preceding the era of Wen Wang . . ." See Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, vol. ii. p. 241, who quotes (p. 336) his native authorities, none of which have been quoted above, and consequently are to be added to them.

[1] In a dictionary of the Han period, the 釋名 by 劉熙 (2nd cent. A.D. ?) we read that "At the time of the Canon of Yao 唯堯典 (2356-2255 B.C. ? or 2145-2042 B.C. ?) *they* kept the *Yh* 存易.

[2] There are several passages in the text of the Yh which have been interpreted as allusions to places or facts connected with the rising of the Chöu, etc., but this is not the place to deal with them. It will be seen in my translation or scientific analysis of the text, that they have nothing to do with the meanings which have been forced upon them afterwards.

[3] For want of space, I have to summarize in this section a score of pages in which I had summed up from my large work in preparation on the subject the leading facts and proofs of this double evolution.

[4] We have convincing proofs (vid. my *Early History*, pp. 21-23, and the last section of the present paper) that it had been borrowed, by the early leaders of the Chinese Bak families (Pöh Sing) in Western Asia, from an horizontal writing traced from left to right, the pre-cuneiform character, which previously had itself undergone several important modifications. Following their old habit of notched sticks and knotted cords, the Chinese disposed in perpendicular lines, and consequently had to put up the characters too wide for the regularity of the columns. This was done according to the objects represented by the characters. Vid. for example the Ku-wan shapes of the following characters: turned up: 口, the two lips and tip of the tongue = mouth; 曰, the two lips open and breath = speak; 甘, the two lips and something in the mouth = taste; 目, = the eye, etc., etc. Turned up from the left: 言, the two lips open and voice = speech; 阜, two heights = colline; 龜 = a tortoise; 馬, an animal, afterwards a horse; etc., etc. Turned up from the right: 舟 = a boat; 臣, the upper part

its primitive hieroglyphic stage. Although many of them had kept their early pictographic and ideographic values, the characters, selected according to their sense were used phonetically,[1] isolated and in groups, to represent the monosyllabic and polysyllabic words, as well as the compounds[2] of the spoken

of the face = minister; 臣, the lower part of the face, the chin; 良, a seated man, good; etc., etc.

[1] The phonetic combinations in early Chinese have been singularly disturbed by the putting up spoken of in the last note. In the borrowed compounds, when unchanged in direction, the reading goes from left to right; when put up from the left, it reads from top to bottom; when put up from the right, the most frequent, it reads from bottom to top. These various directions, according to the shape, size, and sense of the characters, were imitated afterwards in the new compounds, as long as and where the old principles of phonetic orthography were not forgotten. Here are a few examples of this orthography in the oldest Chinese characters transcribed in modern style of writing: 南 = *Nam* (mod. *Nan*) was written with 羊 = *Nen* (mod. *Jen*) under 木 = *Muh*; 去 = *Kop* (mod. *Kü*) was written 凵 = *Kam* (mod. *K'an*) under 𠂇 = *Ping*; 先 = *Din* (mod. *Sien*) was written 之 = *Dik* (mod. *Chi*) over 人 = *Nen* (mod. *Jen*); 仙 = *Sen* (mod. *Sien*) was written 山 = *San* (mod. *Shan*) followed on the right by 人 = *Nen*; 耿 = *Keng* was written 火 = *Kwo* followed on the right by 耳 = *Nip* (mod. *Œl*); 仁 = *Jen* was written 尸 *Shi* followed on the right by 二 = *Ni* (mod. *Œl*); etc., etc.

[2] The orthography of the bisyllabic or polysyllabic words presents the same phenomena of reading as the two-consonanted words, and for the same reasons. The only disturbing fact which may prevent their recognition is that, the final of the second syllable having been often dropped by phonetic decay, the compound has the appearance of a biconsonanted word. The reading most frequently found for these compounds is generally from left to right, but the other directions also occur. The great interest in this discovery is that the old groups did express not only the monoconsonant- or biconsonant-syllables, but also the polysyllables and compound words of the colloquial, many of which can still be recognized, though more or less decayed since that time. In the comparison with the spoken words, it is important not to forget that the characters used to express the compound words in colloquial are not to be pressed by themselves as a help to restore the older sound of the expression, as they have been used only afterwards to express the spoken word, and they are not etymologically connected to it. The book-language of the dialects is more fallacious than useful for this purpose. A few examples of various kinds are necessary to illustrate these explanations. Ex. 摶 *tw'an* = to roll up, to beat, was written in Ku-wen 𠂤干矛 and 𠂤干每 which both read *TKM*, as the three characters were *Tih* (mod. *chi*), *Kan*, and *Meu* or *Muh*. Now the colloquial has kept an expression 打 滾 = *ta kwan* = 'to roll about on the ground,' which is obviously the same with a slight differentiation of meaning, whilst the phonetic decay in the older official dialect has contracted the whole together into *tw'an*. Ex. 咸 = *hien* = 'all, the whole of,' was written in the Ku-wen 甘 = *Kam* under 戊 = *Thu*, or *Kam-thu*, for which we find the colloquial *hien-tsih* (咸 集) and the contracted form *kat* (皆 mod. *kiai*). Ex. 斕 = *Lan* in Ku-wen 爛 = *Ban-Lan* (mod. *Wen-lan*), and in colloquial *Pan-lan* 文扁 斕 = 'variegated colours.' 禱 = *Tao* = 'to pray,' in Ku-wen same orthography: 示 = *Ki* + 壽 = *Tho*, in colloquial 祈 禱 = *K'i-tao* or

language.[1] At that time the writing of the *Ku-wen* was really the phonetic expression of speech.[2] (By an analysis of the old inscriptions and fragments, and by the help of the

告 禱 *Kao-tao*, the contracted form is *Kit* 祈 mod. *K'i*, etc. etc. *Vid.* other examples below, § 31, and the following note.

To understand, with this true history of the Chinese characters, the rough hieroglyphic signs which (more or less exactly reproduced in every European book treating of the writing) are wrongly quoted as primitive, and present a striking contrast to the really advanced state of the oldest written words, we must not forget, besides the hieroglyphical revival of 820 B.C. (which has produced no inconsiderable influence on the pictography of the characters), that these rough signs are found only on made-up antiquities, or misunderstood imitations, and also in rude inscriptions written by men unacquainted with the science of writing, which was the privilege only of a small number of the learned. We have in the *Tso-chuen* many proofs of this last assertion, as the 'Book of Odes' could be read or sung intelligibly only by specialists.

[1] The Chinese languages are phonetically decayed in the extreme; however, in their present stage they are not monosyllabic, but agglutinative. The theory of their monosyllabism, and in fact its sad influence on linguistic progress, arose from a misunderstanding of the syllabism of the present writing supposed to be spoken, and the wrong assimilation of the old writing to it; and also from the confusion between the monosyllabisms of elocution and of decay, with a supposed logical monosyllabism; the whole combined with the false hypothesis of a primeval monosyllabism.

[2] Here is an interesting proof of this remarkable fact, from the *Shu-king*, *The great announcement*, 大誥, § 2. The *Ku-wen* phrase is from the text engraved on stone (245 A.D.) in three styles, *Ku-wen*, *Siao-chuen*, and *Li-shu* (Vid. 三字石經, f. 6). The phrase we take as an example is in modern style: 越茲蠢, translated by Medhurst, 'And now we see their stupid commotions,' and by Dr. Legge, 'Accordingly we have the present senseless movements.' This supposed despising expression is intended to quality a military rising, which had been prognosticated in the West according to the preceding phrase. But as the troubles arose in the East, there is a disagreement which the commentators childishly solve by saying that the troubles arose indeed in the East, but they necessarily went on to trouble the West. The Ku-wen text gives the solution of the difficulty, which came from an inaccuracy of the transcribers. It reads as follows: 粵茲蠢 = *Yueh tze chun*, which in spoken language cannot be understood, but which disintegrated as we must do for the Ku-wen, give: 于敜茲春戈 = *yü-shen tze chun-ko*, are more audible and completely intelligible to the ear in the colloquial *yu-shen tze tung-ko* 尤甚茲動戈 = *moreover (is) this rising-in-arms*. The above quoted translation must be amended according to the latter, which is the true meaning of the genuine text; it does not imply any contradiction, as the modern text does; the king alludes here obviously to the actual outbreak in the East, and not at all to the predicted troubles in the West. As to the necessary philological apparatus of this reading, which I shall give in my *Outlines of the Evolution of Speech and Script in China*, it will be sufficient to say that: 春 *ch'un* was formerly *tün*; 粵 = *vu-than* (mod. *yu-shen*) contracted in the compounds in *viet* (Sin-Ann.) *yueh* (Mand.), is still found under the false written etymology 粵 省 (*Viet-tinh*) *yüeh-sheng*, a name for the Canton province. I hope that direct proofs, as this example from the Shu-king, will convince the Sinologists of the truth of my discovery of the reading of the old Chinese texts, and consequently, how important it is to gather all that remains still to be found in China of texts in ancient or Ku-wen characters.

native works on palæography (some most valuable), I have compiled a dictionary of this period.) But such a writing could not last long, as gradually and inequally the old principles of orthography were lost, while this orthography was not modified to follow the evolution of the spoken language, and the segregation of dialects parallel with the territorial expansion of Chinese culture and power. In fact, the groups were gradually considered as mere ideograms, and the discrepancies which arose in the various states of the Chinese agglomeration rendered necessary some kind of unification.

24. This task was attempted, at a moment of temporary revival of power of the Chöu dynasty, under Süen Wang, by his great historiographer She Chöu. This great minister undertook, about 820 B.C., to modify the writing in such a manner that it could be understood whatever might be the dialectical differences between the states. For this purpose he drew up his *Ta-chuen* style; rectifying the characters pictographically, restoring many hieroglyphic shapes according to his views, and adding ideographic characters to many existing and known groups in order to give the necessary precision and to avoid any misunderstanding.[1] He tried to speak to the eye and no longer to the ear.[2] In

[1] I have also compiled a vocabulary of this writing, of which the principles afterwards imitated have been so powerful a factor in the mental and political history of Chinese culture.

[2] The survival of pictography and hieroglyphism, which She-chöu gave to the writing by his modifications of the characters, can be fully illustrated by the two following examples. The phonetic group for 'wild country,' 'desert,' 野, was written in Ku-wen 埜＝土 *Tu* 'earth,' under 林 *Lam*, mod. *lin*, 'forest,' *i.e.* *T* initial under *L* final, to be read *T—L*, which we find still in the Corean *tel* and in the decayed Sinico-Annamite *da*. This was all right so long as the reading was not forgotten and the colloquial remained unaltered. But when and where this agreement break up, the ideographical value of the combination, deprived of its phonetic reading, in the regions where had begun the phonetic decay which has turned gradually the primitive *tel* into the modern *ye*, was no more suggestive enough of the intended solitude. *She-chöu* for the purpose of suggesting this savageness added the ideograph for *isolate* (not *spear*) into the group, and wrote it 墅 (not 埜). The proof of the early bisyllabism *T-L* of this word is very likely to be seen in the colloquial *ye-lu* (野 路), *ye* decayed of *te*. Again, the group 葬 'to bury,' 'to conceal,' was not sufficiently expressive to the eyes; the historiographer of Chöu in framing anew the character substituted 蛦 to its central part 死 in order to suggest 'hidden in the ground as reptiles do,' and did not consider the phonetic expression, which was entirely thrown over by him.

the states where his very characters were not used, his principles of ideographism at least were extensively followed, though not accepted everywhere.[1] The decline of the Middle-Kingdom let the matter drift again.

25. When Ts'in She Hwang Ti brought all the states under his sway, one of his first cares was to have an uniform writing in the empire. He had, about 227 B.C., the *Siao Chuen* framed by a simplification of the *Ta Chuen* of Se-Chöu on the same principles, according to a previously fixed standard of various strokes,[2] and, a few years afterwards, the *Li Shu*, more square, and fitted to the use of the pencil, newly improved. From the time of She-Chöu, the system of ideographic *aphones* had facilitated the use of added characters as phonetics to express new sounds and new meanings;[3] this process of ideo-phonetic groups was largely used in the new writings, and became the principal factor in the writing of new words from that time downwards. In their otherwise rather childish explanation of the old formula of the *Luh Shu*, the Han scholars had recognized the importance of this process. Finally, about 350 A.D., the celebrated caligrapher Wang Hi Che, without modifying the principles, gave to the writing the modern pattern the *Kiai Shu*, which, excepting a slight improvement during the Sung period, is still in general use.[4]

[1] And so was established officially, for political reasons, the wide gap which separates the written style from the spoken language; a difficulty of which the solution gives the link of the respective evolution of speech and writing in China.

[2] The deformation undergone by the old characters (in the cases of no substitution) when transcribed with the small canons of fixedly shaped strokes of the *Li-shu*, *Siao-chuen*, and finally modern style *Kiai-shu*, is the great difficulty which the palæographer has to overcome. It complicates singularly the graphical etymologies by apparent, but in reality false, similarities, too often accepted as genuine by many uncritical Chinese historians of their writing. The same complication presents itself to those who study the history of the Cuneiform characters.

[3] The ideographic determinatives *aphone* began since that time to be more and more extensively used; before She-Chöu the process had only been initiated in a few places. At first, at least in some quarters, in order to show their non-phonetic value, they were written smaller and rather under the character or group which they were intended to determinate. Cf. for the determinatives 又, 口, 攵, 彳, 禾, 貝, 辵, in the inscriptions of which the facsimile are published in the palæographical collection of Yuen Yuen, 積古齋鐘鼎彝器款譜, K. iv. ff. 36-39.

[4] The influence of the advanced civilization and the mixture of the Ougro-Altaïc early Chinese immigrants with the native populations of China of several states (of which the primitive Taï or Shan was not the least important) were not

26. The evolution of the Chinese writing being not only a matter of form and shape, but a matter of principles, it would be childish to suppose that the character of the old texts could be found in the modern characters, allowing even for the necessary modification in the shape of the strokes. It does not require any explanation to understand that any text to be transcribed from the early *Ku-wen* into *Ta-chuen*, next into *Siao-chuen* or *Li-shu*, afterwards in *Kiai-shu* styles, ought to have been thoroughly clear to the scribes, even supposing that the latter had always been earnest and unprejudiced writers. But what in the case of unintelligible texts? Exactly what has happened to the *Yh-King*. The purpose of the transcribers being only the ideographical

confined to the area of their political power. This deep mixture which has produced the Chinese physical type and peculiar speech, and accounts for several phonetic features common to the Chinese and many Indo-Chinese languages, as well as for the reciprocal loan of words, which amounts between the Chinese and Taï vocabularies to more than 30 per cent, had begun outside long before the extension of the Chinese political supremacy. And as to this extension, I may remark that the publication by Prof. Douglas in my *Orientalia Antiqua*, part I. of *The Calendar of the Hia dynasty*, which bear astronomical evidences of its genuineness 2000 B.C., points to a settlement more southern than afterwards under the Chöu dynasty. The Chinese culture spread very early and extensively in the south, and more on the western than on the eastern side. The phonetic writing, propagated by the Chinese immigrants, was eagerly adopted by the active and intelligent population of the South-West. We see them at different periods of Chinese history carrying books to the Chinese court. In 1109 B.C. the Annamites had a phonetic writing, and in several instances we have tidings bearing on the existence of such writings, composed of a certain number of Chinese simple characters used according to the phonetic principle disused amongst the Chinese, as we largely know. These simple characters, selected by progressive elimination of the less easy to draw and to combine, formed a special script, of which we know several offshoots, and have been, according to my views, and as far as affinities of shape and tradition are to be trusted, the *Grundschrift* with which has been framed that splendid monument of Brahmanic phonetic lore—the South Indian Alphabet or Lat-Pali. The North Indian Alphabet has been framed on a Semitic ground according to the same principles, and this achievement has been most likely done at the same time for the two alphabets, as they bear obvious marks of reciprocal influence and of internal making up. Their artificial assimilation and parallelism is obvious. The vocalic notation, however, seems to me to have originated from the South Alphabet side, as here only are found independent vowel characters, which embodied in the consonants have most likely suggested the external addition of marks for the vocalic notation; these marks were reversed to the left for adaptation to the Northern alphabet. Mention has been lately made of a new writing found at Babylon, which by a too hasty conclusion has been on insufficient examination considered as the ancestor of the South Indian Alphabet. But a keen study of these two lines of writing, on a contract clay-tablet of Babylon, dated in the 23rd year of Artaxerxes, has given me a quite different result; they are the signatures in cursive Aramaic of the witnesses of the contract, excepting two who were not acquainted with writing. The interesting feature is, besides its cursive shape, that of the appended consonants, as was occasionally done in cursive Cuneiform; I cannot find any vocalic notation.

rendering of the meaning, the substitution of ideographical characters to others which were less so, became a necessity to them, in order that the meaning might speak to the eye of the reader. But, at the same time, by an association of the respect due to the old texts, in accordance with the great veneration always felt by the Chinese for anything handed down from their ancestors, they thought themselves bound in each possible case to substitute a character homophonous to the sound they could, by tradition, or otherwise, attribute to the old and unsatisfactory one.

27. As to the *Yh-King*, there was happily in these transcriptions from one style into another, a serious barrier, opposed to too numerous changes, in the great veneration in which the written words of the sages of yore were held, quite special in the case of this mysterious classic, with consequently a certain kind of fear of altering them. Otherwise we may be sure that the substitution of characters, if carried to the same extent as has been done in the case of the Shu-King,[1] where it seems that the alterations reached to a full quarter of the total number of the characters, would have been much more considerable.

But as the addition of ideographic determinatives to old characters or groups, could be done without, in their views, altering the sound or the appearance, the process was much more largely followed than any other.[2] As to the mean-

[1] In comparing the remains of the Ku-wen text of the Classics engraved on Stone (published in the 三字石經) with the modern text, we find that no less than *twenty-five* per cent. of the characters have been substituted or altered through the transcriptions.

[2] The praise and censure system, which is so conspicuously applied by the commentators of the texts of Confucius, seems to have been really put forward by the Great Sage himself. We know that Confucius said, speaking of the *Ch'un Ts'iu*: "Its righteous decisions I ventured to make." And also: "Yes! It is the *Ch'un Ts'iu* which will make men know me; and it is the *Ch'un Ts'iu* which will make men condemn me" (Vid. Legge, *Chin. Class.*, vol. v. prol. 2). This important statement has been repeated by Mencius and enlarged by him. There is no doubt about its genuineness. Turning to the pages of the *Ch'un Ts'iu*, "We experienced, says Dr. Legge (*ibid*), an intense feeling of disappointment. Instead of a history of events woven artistically together, we find a congeries of the briefest possible intimations of matters in which the Court and State of Lu were more or less concerned, extending over 242 years, without the slightest tincture of literary ability in the composition, or the slightest indication of judicial opinion on the part of the writer." It is a bare ephemeris. This is a difficulty which has still to be solved. The attempt by the commentators, of finding in almost

ings of the characters in the case of the addition of ideographical determinatives, two cases have arisen. The transcribers may or may not have added the proper determinative to determine the exact meaning with which the old character was used in the particular case. In difficult instances the context was of great help, as in the Shu-King, or in the wings of the *Yh*, where special phrases are found. But when the sense of the context is of no help, or does not exist, the problem could by them only be solved by an arbitrary or guessed interpretation, which they expressed, however, in their transcription, by the same system of adding ideographical determinatives.

It is necessary for us to remember these facts, as they show how unavoidably large has been the influence of the ideas and prejudiced views of the epochs on the works of the transcribers.[1]

every paragraph some righteous decision, has laid them open to many absurdities (Legge, *ibid*, p. 5). Now if we consider that according to the principles of writing at the time of the Sage, a greater importance was given, since She Chŏu, to the ideographic values of the characters, and that the writer, in order to suggest a complementary idea or fix its meaning, could add an ideographic aphone, we are not far from the explanation. And then if we examine the text, we are sure that here is the solution. So, for instance, whilst recording the deaths of great officers, princes, rulers of states, etc., he made use of 卒 = 'finish,' when he has to record the deaths of the sovereigns of his state (Lu), or of their wives, he used the character 薨 = 'obscure' (to which has been substituted in Siao-chuen style 薨) to show the respect to which those dead were entitled; it did not allow to consider them as 'finished,' as it was more proper to say that they became obscure and could no more be seen. Again in the records of murders, when the murderer is of the same rank or superior to the killed, Confucius used the ordinary character 殺 = 'to kill'; but when it is the murder of a ruler by a subject. or of a father by a son, the Sage uses another character 弑, which he framed himself for the purpose: he substituted for the determinative 殳 'to kill,' the character 式 'rule,' 'pattern,' to show his censure of the fact. I shall study this more largely elsewhere. There is, about the transcriptions made from the old Ku-wen texts into the Si-shu, Siao-chuen, and finally the modern style, a curious remark to make. It is the great influence of this system of praise and censure on the selection of substituted characters, the addition of ideographic determinatives, in fact all the modifications introduced by the transcribers. It produces the same effect as if they had endeavoured to transform every text into a smooth stream of righteous principles and moral conduct. Almost in every case where we can restore the old texts, we find in them much more energy and precision.

[1] These various influences of ideographism, and of interpretations by the transcribers, have also to be taken into account in any complete study of old Chinese grammar. The European scholars who have worked upon the ideology, phonetism, and morphology of the Chinese language in the classics, have not yet been able to appreciate the difference which the ideographic transcription they have in hand has produced upon the old style they have not. They were not

IV. Obvious Vestiges of the Old Text.

28. On the old text of the *Yh-King* very little direct information is at hand, and I shall have to find some that is indirect. As it is certainly embodied in the present text, my task in my translation will be to find it out through a minute study of this text, checked by the history of the language and writing in which it is written.

Of the Kwas I shall not say much, as they are not my immediate purpose. Their original delineation is connected, as we have seen, with the writing of the tortoise. Traditions repeatedly found in literature mention the map of the Ho river and the writing of the Lo river. The great appendix of the Yh says: "The Ho 河 gave forth the map and the Lo 洛 gave forth the writing, which the sages took as pattern."[1] It is further said in the Li-Ki[2] that "the map was borne by a horse 馬" and elsewhere that the writing was on the back of a divine tortoise.[3] This statement has been repeated by Confucius, and it requires an explanation. Throwing off the legendary apparatus of style with which they are traditionally reported, we find in these events two very simple facts. The Tortoise writing given forth by the Loh river is very likely the finding of a large tortoise shell of which the lineaments answered to a certain disposition of numbers.[4] As to the map produced by the Ma 馬 from the Ho river, we have to suggest that it was nothing else than one of these numerical inscriptions, afterwards improved

aware how highly artificial is the written language, and how deep is the abyss which separates it from the colloquial, modern and ancient, which, after all, is the only one interesting for linguistic research. The phonetic decipherment of the old Ku-wen texts when available will enable Sinologists to know something of the old spoken language. The readings, we have found out, make it clear that the use of frequent polysyllabics or compounds did not, in the old time any more than in the present, let so much looseness in the grammatical value and meaning of the words that was supposed to have existed. Besides that, the phonetism more full of the separate words (not decayed as now) did not present in the old spoken language so many homophones leading to confusion, as was premised by the ancient Sinologists.

[1] *Vid. Hi-se*, part i. sect. 79.

[2] *Vid. Li-ki*, ch. viii. trad. Callery, p. 50, Turin, 1853, 4to.

[3] *Vid. Lun-yü*, ix. 8.

[4] Among the 1690 works quoted by the Imperial compilers of the *Tai-Ping-yü-Lan* in 977-983 are twelve works on the *Ho-tu*, two on the *Loh-shu*, and one on them both.

into an arithmetical puzzle, of cup marks as found in India on cliffs and rocks or banks of rivers, and connected somehow with a native tribe of which the name has been frequently expressed phonetically by a character meaning a horse.[1]

At any rate, the two objects, whatever they were, are enumerated in the Shu-King among the treasures kept at the Chinese court as late as 1079 B.C., where we find mentioned, the *Ho tu* 河 圖, the great Tortoise-shell, etc.[2]

29. If the Kwas, which were a survival of the arrows of divination known to the ancestors of Chinese culture before their emigration eastward,[3] have been traced out from the lineaments of the tortoise shell, we should suppose that the plain lines and the broken lines were intended to represent the non-crossed and the crossed lineaments; and if from the thrown divining rods also, from the same fact of their relative positions of crossed or non-crossed over. But now we arrive at speculations void and fruitless, and it is time to stop.

30. In the Shu-King we find an extensive allusion to divination, as done by the Duke of Chöu, who consulted the oracular lines kept in the Royal Treasury, and we know from the *Chöu Li* that "the forms of the regular prognostications were in all 120, the explanations of which amounted to 1200."[4] Are we to take these numbers literally? Could not we suppose that we have here an indication of the two rows of each hexagram, which seems to have been the main division of the Kwei-Tsang, and in six times this number their division according to the lines; this hypothesis would prove satisfactory if we had 128 and 1248, instead of 120 and 1200, given perhaps as round numbers. Or, have we here quite a different system of oracular lines? This might be, as

[1] The extraordinary similarity between the Ho map and the inscriptions found in India by Mr. H. Rivett Carnac is too striking to be neglected. See his *Rough Notes on some Ancient Sculpturings on Rocks in Kamaon*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1877, vol. xlvi. pp. 1-15. I have already pointed out this similarity in my paper on *The Indo-Chinese Origin of the South Indian Writing*.

[2] Vid. *Shu-King*, part v. bk. 22. The great precious tortoise is also mentioned as an heirloom in *The Great Announcement*, about 1115 B.C. See Chinese Classics, ed. Legge, iii. p. 365.

[3] Cf. my *Early History of the Chinese Civilisation*, p. 30.

[4] See Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. iii. p. 356 n.

the Duke of Chöu consulted the tortoise[1] instead of the milfoil usually employed for the divination by the diagram.[2]

31. We have seen above that the two Yhs, earlier than Chöu's Yh, were the *Lien-Shan* under the Hia dynasty (2205-1766) and the *Kwei-Tsang* under the Yn dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.), both including the sixty-four Kwas.[3]

The *Lien-Shan* does not seem to have had the text divided between the sixty-four Kwas, but only under eight divisions or perhaps the eight principal Kwas, as the tradition says that its text was composed of eight myriads of words.[4] This agrees to a certain extent with the meaning of the name *Lien-Shan* = "united mountains," by which we can understand

[1] In the *Tso-Chuen* we find several references to this different system, of which it may be interesting to quote one here: in 635 B.C. *The Marquis Wen* made the master of divination, Yen, consult the tortoise shell about the undertaking. *He did so* and said, "The oracle is auspicious,—that of Hwang-ti's battle in Fan-ts'iun." The marquis said, "that oracle is too great for me." The diviner replied, "The rules of Chöu are not changed. The King of to-day is the Emperor of Antiquity." The marquis *then* said, "Try it by the milfoil." They consulted the reeds and found the diagram, etc., etc. See Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. v. p. 195.

[2] In the same work, fourth part of *The Great Plan*, we read an interesting instruction[a] about the divination to be practised in case of doubts:

"Seventhly, on the examination of doubts 七稽疑. Select and appoint *special* officers to divine 擇建立卜筮人. And as to the orders to divine,[b] 乃命卜筮, *they are* called *rain* 曰雨, called *clearing up* 曰霽, called *cloudiness* 曰蒙, called *disconnected* 曰驛, called *crossing* 曰克, called *correctness* 曰貞, called *repentance* 曰悔. Of these seven 凡七 divine by the tortoise five 卜五, and as prognostics use *the other* two 占用二, to trace out the errors 衍忒.

As we have most probably here a relic of the Hia dynasty, it is interesting to find in it this statement of seven orders, or perhaps sets of slips for divination. I shall examine elsewhere what connexion, if any, may have existed between these seven orders and the meanings attributed to the eight diagrams, two of which agree. It would seem that we have here seven series indicated or divining slips instead of eight, which, one may suppose, was the number of classes of rows of characters used in the consultation for prognostics in the *Lien Shan* system.

NOTES.—[a] I find a rather different translation in 85 words in Dr. Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. iii. p. 335, but with the addition of so many words which are not in the text, that I prefer to give a more literal translation.—[b] 命 translated 'decree of divination.' Cf. Medhurst's *Shoo-King*, The Great Announcement, p. 217.

[3] In fact the period 1766-1122 includes two dynasties, the *Shang* from 1766 to 1401, and the *Yn* afterwards; but this last name is also given to the whole period.

[4] Vid. *Tai Ping Yü lan*, K. 608, f. 5. 八萬 as usual is not to be taken literally 80,000, but as meaning eight indeterminate innumerable quantities.

the lack of the distinctions and distributions afterwards introduced.

The *Kwei-tsang* = "returned treasures," by which meaning we understand the attributions of the meanings to the Kwas and their parts,[1] is a little more known to us, though the very text *eo nomine* no longer exists as an independent and separate work. We have seen that it had a certain division of the text in two parts, probably according to the inner and outer diagram of each hexagram, and it seems likely that these two parts in every chapter were again divided in six. The text was composed of four thousand three hundred words.[2]

32. The documentary evidences on the old text of the *Yh* are of several kinds. Some consist of the quotations in other classics, others are the result of internal indications, and also the palæographical proofs.

We have already (§ 18) spoken of an evidence of prime importance in the score of quotations given in the *Tso-Chuen*. They do not always agree with the text as we have it, and the discrepancies are not in every case those which can be attributed to clerical transcriptions. The discrepancies exhibited by the quotations indicated where they divine by the milfoil and before they indicate the Yh of Chöu, point certainly to an old text which has been wilfully modified in the *Yh* of Chöu. In elucidating my version I hope to show all these discrepancies, and in several cases

[1] It is not unlikely that something of the arrangement by Wen Wang has crept out from the temporary homonymy at his time of these two characters, *Kwei-tsang* with 歸 and 貞. Cf. above, § 2n. This will be discussed in the translation.

[2] Though the text of the *Kwei-Tsang* 歸藏 seems to have been lost of old, quotations from it were found in old literature. The work is not one of the 1690 works of which the titles are given at the beginning of the Great Cyclopædia of 983 A.D., the *Tai Ping Yü lan*. However several quotations from it are given in it, and I think it interesting to reproduce them. In the chapter on *Nu Kwa* 女媧, we read: 歸藏曰昔女媧筮張雲幕枚占之曰吉昭昭九州日月代極平均土地和合四國. In the chapter on *Hwang-Ti* we read: 歸藏曰昔黃神與炎神爭鬬涿鹿之野將戰筮於巫或曰果哉而有咎. Vid. K. 78, f. 4, and K. 79, f. 2. On *Nu Kwa*, vid. Mayer's Manual, p. 162, n. 521.

the causes of their modification, by Wen Wang; but we have no room here for such an investigation.

33. It would be also beyond the scope of these pages to show the serious differences of style between that of the Text, in the case of phrases, and that of the oldest wings, the *Twan* and the *Siang*, works of Wen Wang and of Chöu Kung. They are not all of the same period, the Text exhibiting an older stage of grammar. Many peculiarities of style in the Text are not of those which have been introduced by the western influence of the Chöu, and consequently, as they cannot be more modern, they point to an older period. It is a fact of the evolution of the language, which I have traced up and explained elsewhere, but my present version points out the many materials which the text of the *Yh* offers for that purpose.

34. Another argument, the several cases of which I am able to point out in my version, is in connection with the foretelling words, showing their ulterior addition to the primitive text in accord with what we know by the tradition as has been shown above (§ 13). It is that in the rhymed chapters, they are outside the rhymes! The importance of this fact must not be neglected, as it shows that the text was written before its partition into separate lines to correspond to the weak and strong lines of the Kwas, and before the intermingling of the words of fate.

35. A careful study of the *Ku-wen* text of the *Yh* would be of the greatest importance. It would certainly discriminate the alterations introduced by Wen Wang: I, therefore, await anxiously the good chance which may put in my hands, or in those of any one of more ability, the text *Ku-wen* handed down by *Fei-shi*, a text which was not different from the Imperial copy revised by Liu Hiang about the Christian era, at the time of the Literary Revival under the Han dynasty, as will be seen below (§ 48).

The numerous palæographical works compiled with great care by the Chinese (several of which would do honour to European scholars), and the comparison with many inscriptions, afford a not inconsiderable amount of information

towards the recognition of the old meanings of the characters, besides their values in the Shu-King and the Shi-King. But all this requires a good deal of patient research and comparative criticism for a profitable use of them.

36. In the absence of the continuous text of the *Yh* in old *Ku-wen* characters, we are not altogether deprived of certain tidings, and though they cannot, as the text would do, give us the same amount of information, they are not to be neglected. There are two means for finding them, first, by the palæography, and secondly by the traditions in literature.

Characters of the *Ku-wen* text of the *Yh* are found in Chinese palæographical works,[1] and some have occasionally been quoted by the late M. Pauthier from the text of *Fei-shi* which he possessed in his own library. Though these characters are not numerous, they are not without their utility for our researches. The comparative studies I have made for my history of the Chinese language, on the transformations of the Chinese characters from the most ancient period downwards, allow me to say what we learn from these characters quoted from the old *Yh-King*. They concur in fully strengthening the exactitude of the traditions quoted above on the existence of the old text of the *Yh*, or the greatest part of it, long before the time of Wen Wang, its partial modification, completion and arrangement by that sage, and the authorship of the *Twan* and *Siang* by the same and by his son.

37. These characters are of three kinds. Some, which come from the text, are of the oldest period when the writing was the faithful reproduction of the language. This stage had passed away at the time of Wen Wang and his

[1] Such as the 六書分類 by Fu Lwan Tsiang, 1751, in 14 Kiuen, according to the 214 radicals; the 六書通 by 閔齊伋, 1661, in 10 Kiuen, according to 76 finals. In these two works the old forms are quoted with references to the inscriptions, texts, etc., where they are to be found. The latter, though less complete than the former, is more accurate; it is a wonderful monument of palæographical knowledge and patient research, the work of an entire life devoted to study. Its author published it at the age of 82. It has been reprinted several times, in 1718, 1796, 1865, and these are the different editions I have seen; the 1796 one is the worst.

son. Other characters, from the *Twan* and *Siang*, and occasionally from the text, are also of the old style still in use, with or without additional ideographic determinatives, but no longer understood on the principles of their composition and hence blindly copied. The third category includes characters from the wings, which are obviously written according to the principles laid down by *She Chöu* about 820 B.C. We shall not enter into the details, they would be most interesting, about these categories, as they would require more space than we can afford. We cannot help, however, quoting two or three examples of the oldest written words.

38. So 恆 *heng*, constant, continual, which in the Ku wen text of the *Yh* was written by a group of two characters which transcribed in modern caligraphy would be 亙 卝.[1] Reading the two characters according to the orthographical principles of the old Ku-wen, we expect, by their disposition side by side, a compound word to be read from left to right, and we find 亙 *Keng* 卝 *Kiao*, which is obviously the same as the modern expression *heng kiu* 恆 久, having the same meaning.[2] In the *Twan* and *Siang* we find two forms of the same early group, but of which the component parts were no longer understood, as shown by the blind interpretation given to their strokes.[3]

Again, 頤 *I* 'the chin,' which represents two characters of the older *Yh*, 臣 and 頤; one is the heading of the 27th chapter, the other is in the text.[4] We shall see in our version which spoken expression it represents.

Again 解 substitution in modern writing to the *Siao Chuen*

[1] Cf. Min tsi Ki, *Luh shu t'ung*, K. iv. f. 21 v. Fu Lwan Tsiang, *Luh shu Fön Luy*, s.v.

[2] In cases of single words written phonetically with two characters, these are often superposed; the under one suggesting the initial. These principles and their ulterior modifications, their demonstration and the method which I have used to find them, are explained and summarized in my paper on the Evolution of Language and Writing in China. Vid. also the notes to § 23 of the present paper.

[3] Min Tsi Ki, *Luh shu t'ung*, K. i. f. 29.

[4] This is one of the characters which show that the writing borrowed by the Bak people, *Pöh Sing*, has not always been written in perpendicular lines. As all those which had more width than height, it has been turned up from the right, and originally represented the lower part of the face, mouth, and chin, still discernible through the modern strokes.

荔 which had been substituted for the *Ku-wen* 鄗.[1] Read according to the old principles, the latter gives mod. *Kih tsieh*, and in the oldest dialects *K'ich tiet* (Sinico-Annamite), or *Kwik tsit* (Canton), which are no longer used, but for which we find the modern equivalent 解 說 *Kiai shet*, Pekinese *Chieh-shuo*, to explain, to unloose.

If space could be given to this question, many proofs could be forthcoming to show that Wen Wang has entirely misunderstood the materials he had in hand. For example, he has misunderstood an old group form of 姞 'a girl' (44th Kwa) for 姤 *copulatio;* but, as this subject would have been unfit for discussion, he has been unable to follow this course in his arrangement of the text, so that the whole chapter, which describes the occupations of a girl, presents now in the modern interpretation an amount of nonsense, seldom found to so ludicrous an extent.

39. Tradition has been kept of the modifications (transcribed in modern character), introduced by Wen Wang to twenty-five of the sixty-four headings of the chapters.[2] He has put at the Kwa 5. 需 instead of 濡; 9. 小 畜 instead of 毒 畜; 15. 謙 instead of 兼; 18. 蠱 instead of 蜀; 23. 剝 instead of 僕; 25. 天 妄 instead of 毋 亡; 26. 大 畜 instead of 傘 畜; 29. 坎 instead of 埶; 31. 咸 instead of 諴; 33. 遯 instead of 遂; 37. 家 人 instead of 昔家 人; 40. 解 instead of 荔; 41. 損 instead of 員; 46. 升 instead of 稱; 51. 震 instead of 釐; 52. 艮 instead of 狠; 59. 渙 instead of 奐.

Besides these seventeen, there are five single headings, 有, 鼏, 欽, 規, 夜, and three double 岑 鼎, 林 祸, 馬 徒, of which Wen Wang's substitutes have not been traditionally kept, but which can be detected without great difficulty, by a close study of the book.

As these headings are the objects of the chapters, it is easy to conceive how important it is to know them with precision,

[1] Cf. § 23 n. and Min Tsi Ki, *Luh shu tung*, K. v. f. 33.

[2] Vid. 路 史, 餘 論, K. 2, f. 2 v.

for the understanding of the rows of characters by which they are followed.

40. Remains of the early commentators[1] show unmistakably a period intermediary between the characters as they have been transcribed into the actual style of writing and the oldest one, fully justifying what we have said of the gradual modification of the characters, according to the views of the interpreters at the successive transcriptions from the old *Ku-wen* text into the *Siao Chuen* style, and from this into the modern *Kiai Shu*.

In the ordinary edition we find that thirty-one headings are the object of special remarks; thirteen are indicated as sham representatives and eighteen are to be taken with a special meaning.

It is in this passage and transcription from the *Siao-Chuen* to the modern style, that in the absence of the *Ku-wen* text, we shall be able in numerous cases to check the interpretation supported by the modern characters. Substitution of characters, as 柅 for 鬗, and 無 for 无, or 濟 for 沛 are not unimportant, but such as 惕 'respectful' for 鬄 'pelvis' modifies entirely the possible meaning. And is not the same thing to be said of 豐, 遜, 袖, 絮, 罷, substituted to 豐, 巽, 箾, 絜, 罷, etc., etc.[2]

41. We find in the dictionary of the "Original characters of the thirteen kings," *Shih san King Pön tze* 十三經本字 sect. of *Yh King*, some changes of characters, as these: 幹 instead of 榦; 確 instead of 碻; 簪 instead of 无; 頤 instead of 臣; 肺 instead of 坺; 樽 instead of 尊.[3]

Or characters as these: 磐, 邅, 漣, 晢, 裒, 顓, 趾, 腊, 嗟, which are but the sham representatives of the older ones.

According to the notes of the ordinary editions of the *Yh*, we find no less than 77 in the text and 102 in the Twan,

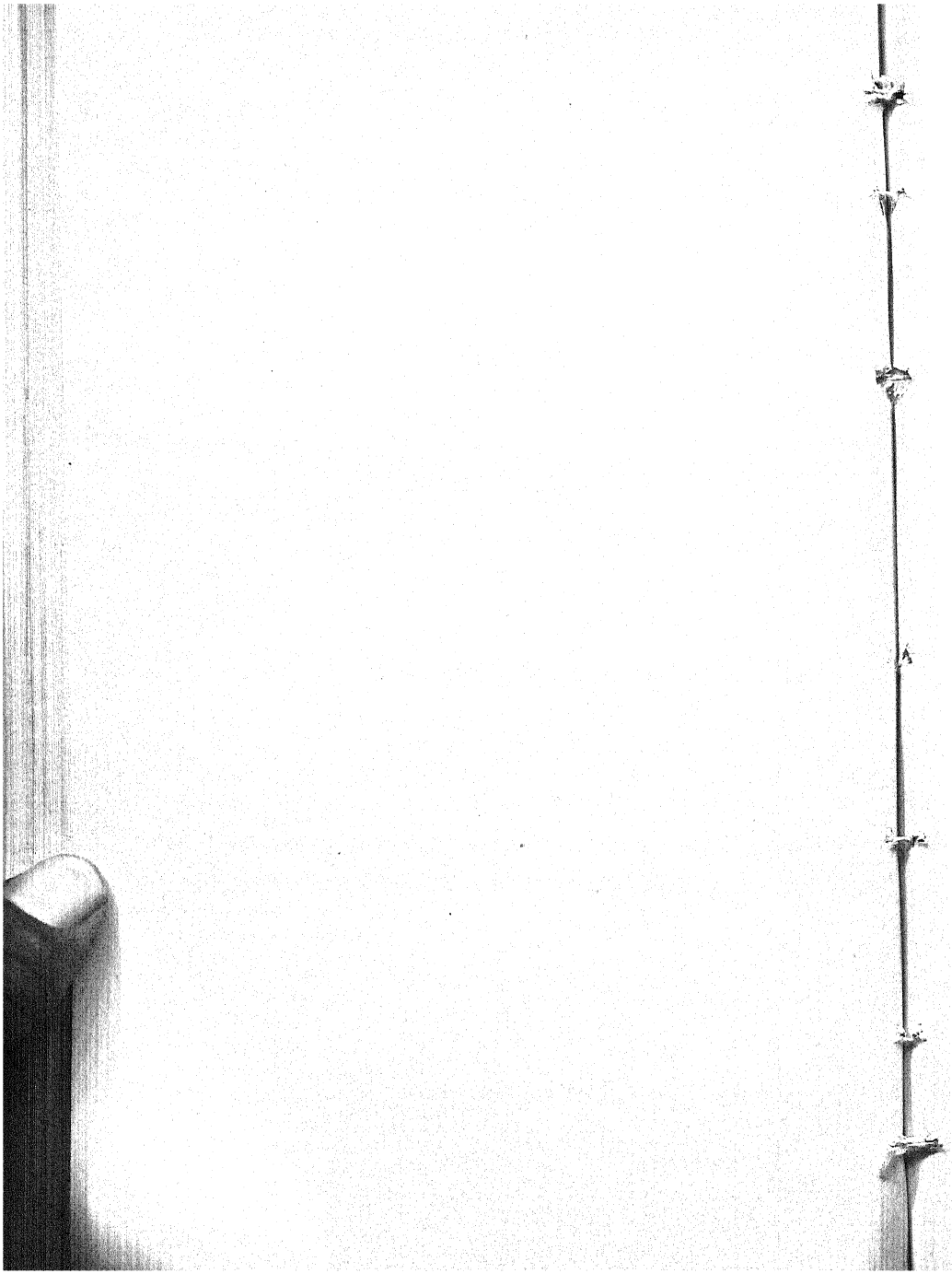
[1] Cf. the 周易, annotated by 黃顯 of the Tsin period. Vid. 南海縣志, K. 25.

[2] Vid. *Luh-shu-fön-luy*, svv.

[3] So 裒 is for 捊. Cf. Min tsi Ki, *Luh shu t'ung*, K. iv., f. 51.

Siang and Wen Yen embodied with the text, of characters which stand for others, and over 300 which are translated with unusual meanings. Many of the latter show only how forced were the interpretations supposed by the editors. It is instructive to point out these facts as a warning for those who should be inclined to accept any version, which has not been prepared by the necessary palæographical and linguistic researches on the text; a scientific preparation of which the Chinese interpreters in their attempts, and the European as well, though less excusable, do not seem to have had the slightest idea.

(To be continued in the next volume.)



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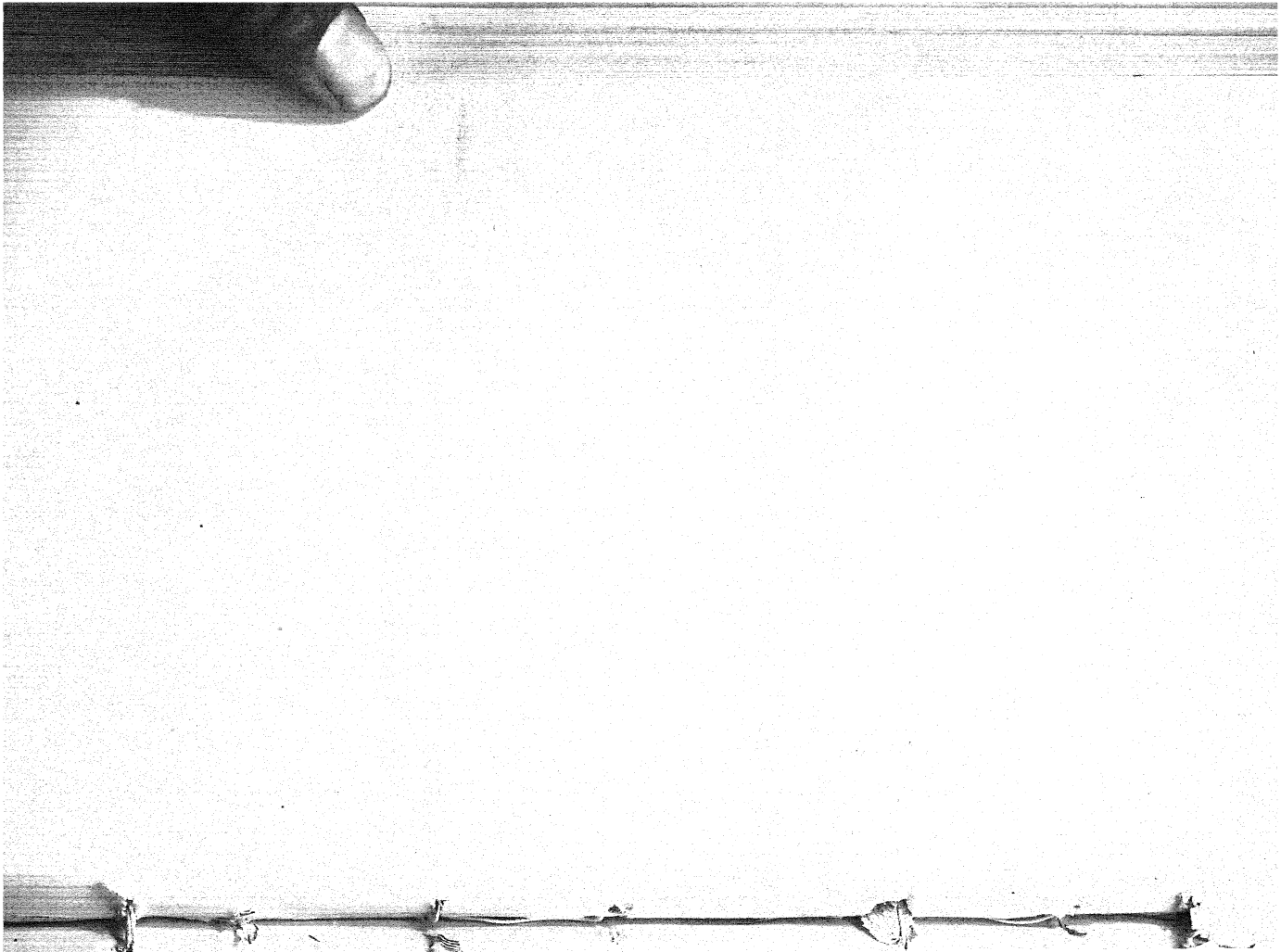

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE FIFTY-NINTH

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 15th of May, 1882,

SIR T. EDWARD COLEBROOKE, BART., M.P.,

PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

Members.—The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report to the Members of the Society that, since the last Anniversary Meeting, held in the Society's House on Monday, May 30, 1881, there has been the following change in, and addition to, the Members of the Society.

They have to announce with regret the loss by *Death*, of their *Resident* Members—

Sir Erskine Perry, K.C.B.
J. Muir, Esq., C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D.
Professor Dowson.
Professor Ameuney.
S. E. Rolland, Esq.
W. Bramsen, Esq.
Mrs. Chambers.
Alexander Faulkner, Esq.

of their *Non-Resident* Members,

The Count de Nöer.
D. T. Edwards, Esq.

of their *Honorary* Members,

Professor Wassili Grigorieff.
Professor Benfey.

and of their Honorary Foreign Member,

Professor Bernhard Dorn.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in announcing that they have elected as *Resident* Members,

The Rev. H. Bentinck Hawkins.
G. Bertin, Esq.
W. Trevor Roper, Esq.
The Rev. Isaac Taylor, M.A.
Hyde Clarke, Esq.
St. Clair Baddeley, Esq.
Joseph Seel, Esq.
C. J. Tarring, Esq.
Bunyiu Nanjio, Esq.
Alexander Grant, Esq.
Thomas Seel, Esq.
B. V. Head, Esq.
Joseph Haynes, Esq.
T. G. Pinches, Esq.
Arthur Lillie, Esq.
H. C. Kay, Esq.
F. F. Arbuthnot, Esq.
Arthur H. MacDonnell, Esq.
J. W. Macarthy, Esq.
The Duke of Buckingham (late Governor of Madras).
The Marquess of Hartington, M.P. (Secretary of State for India).
The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.
W. S. Blunt, Esq.
The Lady Anne Isabella Blunt.
Thomas Wise, M.D.

and as *Non-Resident* Members,

The Rev. W. Turnbull Pilter.
General Palma di Cesnola.
J. S. Tremlett, Esq.
W. Theobald, Esq.
Sir Harry Parkes, K.C.B., H.B.M. Min. Plen. Japan.
M. Joseph Halévy.
Christopher Gardner, Esq., H.B.M. Consul, China.
Alexander Finn, Esq., H.B.M. Vice-Consul, Teherân.
E. Tyrrell Leith, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Bombay.
Rev. C. King, Ahmednagar.
W. Hoey, Esq.
J. Farques, Esq., Teherân.
Major Thompson, Bombay Staff Corps.
Rev. J. Drew Bate, Ahmednagar.
Mackenzie Wallace, Esq.
The Right Hon. Sir Austen H. Layard, G.C.B., LL.D.
Gilmour McCorkell, Esq.
K. T. Best, Esq.

The Rev. R. Bruce.
Hormuzd Rassam, Esq.
Lieut.-Colonel Prideaux.
Colonel Cadell, V.C.
Charles Pownall, Esq.
George Hughes, Esq.
W. Dupuis, Esq., H.B.M. Consul, Teneriffe.
C. J. Connell, Esq., Bengal C.S.
Colonel W. Gwynne Hughes, Arrakan.
Capt. Edmund Talbot.
P. Mukerji, Esq.
R. P. Sinha, Esq.

The Society has, also, elected as *Honorary* Members,

Professor Trumpp.
Professor Dillmann.

The Society has, therefore, elected twenty-five Resident Members, against a loss of eight Resident Members, and thirty Non-Resident Members, against a loss of two Non-Resident Members; in other words, the gain to the Society, since the last Anniversary Meeting, has been seventeen Residents, and twenty-eight Non-Residents, in all, forty-five.

Of the personal history of some of those whom we have lost, a few words will now be said.

Prince Frederic Christian Charles Augustus Count Nöer was the son of Frederic, brother of Christian, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sönderburg-Augustenburg, by Henrietta, daughter of Conrad Count of Danneskjold Samsoe, and sister of Louise Duchess of Augustenburg. He was, therefore, first cousin, on both father's and mother's side, to Prince Christian, husband of the Princess Helena. The title of "Count Nöer," by which Prince Frederic was known latterly, was conferred on him by the King of Prussia in 1870.

The family of Sönderburg-Augustenburg, to which the Prince belonged, is the senior of three Ducal Families, descended from John, Duke of Holstein, brother of Frederic II., who was King of Denmark from A.D. 1534 to A.D. 1538, and, on failure of direct descendants from that Sovereign, the Crown would, under ordinary circumstances, have passed

to its representative. But the part taken by the late Duke of Augustenburg, and by his brother, in the Schleswig-Holstein rising of 1848, led to the exclusion of the family from succession.

By the London Treaty of 1852, it was provided that, on the extinction of the male line of the Royal House, Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sönderburg-Glücksburg should succeed, and the arrangement took effect on the death of Frederic VII. in 1863.

Prince Frederic was born at Schleswig on November 16, 1830. The first eighteen years were passed, uneventfully, on his father's domain at Nöer, a village pleasantly situated on the bay of Eckenfürde, twenty miles west of Kiel. His father was a nobleman of sporting rather than of literary tastes, who lived *au grand seigneur*, entertained lavishly, patronized the turf, and burdened his estate with debt, while the education of his son and heir was more or less neglected, a circumstance bitterly regretted by the Prince in after-life. Meanwhile, among the German populations of Schleswig-Holstein an agitation was in progress, for separating the Duchies from the rule of Denmark and joining them, as a new State, to Germany, the outcome partly of the "German Unity" sentiment, and partly of dissatisfaction with the rule of foreigners. In an evil moment for his own interests, the Duke of Augustenburg espoused the cause of the secessionists, rejected the overtures of the Danish Government for a peaceful solution of the difficulty, and, in April, 1848, declared for war. The Duke was joined by his brother, the Prince of Nöer; and the latter's young son—the subject of this memoir—cast in his lot with his father and served in the ranks of the Holsteiners. The secessionists were repeatedly worsted by the Danish troops, but the interference of Prussia and of other German States caused the contest to be protracted. Ultimately, Prussia withdrew her troops,

and the insurgents, left to their own resources, were finally defeated at Idstad on July 26, 1850. The Duke of Augustenburg renounced all claim to succession to the throne of Denmark; Nöer was confiscated, but, ultimately, restored to the family through the intercession of Queen Victoria; and Prince Frederic and his father sentenced to perpetual banishment from Danish territory. Before, however, the insurrection had quite collapsed, Prince Frederic, satisfied of the hopelessness of the Duke's cause, and strongly disapproving of Prussian interference, quitted his home in Schleswig-Holstein, which he was not destined to revisit for fifteen years. Proceeding first to England, he journeyed thence by Cape Horn to Australia and India, visiting Madras and Calcutta, and returning to Europe by Ceylon, Cairo, Smyrna and Constantinople. His visit to the last place was an event in his life of some importance, for it was here that he first formed an acquaintance with Mr. Urquhart, the Secretary of Legation, whose views on Eastern questions greatly influenced the Prince, and quickened in him that warm sympathy with Asiatics, which was a distinguishing feature of his character. From Constantinople he joined his family, who were passing their exile at Grafenburg in Austria, and, after a few months rest, proceeded to the University of Cambridge and, in January, 1852, took up his residence as a Fellow Commoner of Trinity College. Here he devoted himself to the study, not of mathematics, which he disliked, nor of classics in the Academic sense, but literature, philosophy, and languages, especially Arabic and Sanskrit, in which he had already made fair progress, rarely mixing in society, but highly respected and honoured by the few friends who knew him. Among these may be mentioned Sir Arthur Gordon, C.M.G., now Governor of New Zealand, Montague Butler, D.D., Headmaster of Harrow, E. White Benson, D.D., Bishop of Truro, and Cyril Graham, C.M.G., late Lieut.-Governor of Grenada,

who, despite the lapse of thirty years, still vividly recall the genial courtesy, the high principle, and cultivated intellect of their old associate. But much as he valued the friendships he had formed at Cambridge, life, as an undergraduate at that University, was not congenial to him, and, in March, 1853, he proceeded to Heidelberg, and ultimately Paris. Here he lived five years, until his mother's death in 1858, a distinguished member of the best literary society of the Second Empire,—paying yearly visits to England, where he received much kindness from the late Prince Consort, and made the acquaintance of the leading statesmen and savants of the day. It was during this period that he published under the pseudonym of Onomander a book entitled "Altes und Neues aus den Länden des Ostens," in two vols., giving an account of his travels in South India. The year 1859 he spent in Italy, and, in 1860, he made London his headquarters for three years, pursuing his Sanskrit studies with his friend and teacher, Prof. Goldstücker. In 1864, after the second marriage of his father to an American lady, now the wife of Count Waldersee, the recently appointed Adlatus to Count Moltke, he made a second journey to India by St. Helena and the Cape. The year 1865 was spent by the Prince in travelling through the Madras Presidency, when the tidings reached him of his father's death, and he returned to take possession of the estate at Nöer, which he had not visited since 1849. Having placed the domain, which then had little charm for him, in the hands of a faithful steward, he made a third journey to India, wandering on this occasion through the North as well as the South, disputing with Pandits at Benares, with Jain Priests from the Deccan, with Sikh Granthis of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, by the Pool of Immortality, playfully twitting the half-learned Brahmans of Lahore and Sirinagar, and discussing abstruse questions of Muhammedan Law with the Maulavis of Agra, Dehli and Peshawar. From the last-

named town he began to retrace his steps, proceeding leisurely to Calcutta and, on the 30th of March, 1869, bade adieu to India, returning home by Egypt, Tripoli, Damascus, and Smyrna. In 1870 he married the daughter of M. Eisenblatt, of La Guayra in Venezuela, and, from that time forward, settled quietly in his home at Nöer, carrying on an active literary correspondence, dispensing an unpretentious but charming hospitality to many friends, and devoting his leisure to the preparation of the work by which he will be best remembered, the Life of Akbar. Up to the last four months of his life, one thing was wanting to complete his happiness. The sentence of exile from Denmark, the home of his mother's family and the adopted home of his father's sister, the Dowager Queen of Denmark, was still in force. But in the March of last year, through the intercession, as the Prince believed, of Queen Victoria, the sentence was revoked, and, in October last, he had the great pleasure of passing some days among old friends in Copenhagen. "You may fancy my feelings," he wrote, in a letter of the 4th of November, "in again visiting the land of my fathers after an absence of over thirty years. These things can be only felt not described." He returned to Nöer, full of plans of travel and literary work to be undertaken after the completion of his Akbar. But these were destined to be unfulfilled. In the middle of December he caught a severe cold, which ultimately affected the lungs and heart, and after nine days of acute suffering borne with the utmost fortitude and patience he died on the 25th of December, 1881, leaving a widow and two daughters.

Of his work on Akbar, two parts, composing the first volume, were published during his life; the MS. of the remainder, which was almost ready for the printer, has been entrusted to Prof. Hoffmann, of Kiel. Of his excellent Oriental library, the greater portion is, under the provisions of his will, to be presented to the University of Cambridge,

and the remainder to the National Library of Paris. The Prince had further the intention of bestowing some of his literary treasures on this Society, but legal difficulties may prevent the execution of this wish. Of the merits of Prince Frederic's works this is not the place to speak. Suffice it to say that Kaiser Akbar is the result of an elaborate examination of existing authorities, Persian, German, English, and Portuguese, collated and compared with scholarlike and conscientious care, and has already received high praise in Germany. But, apart from his writings, the Prince deserves a place in our records as an enthusiastic Orientalist, and a warm friend of India. His death, in his fifty-second year, is a loss to this Society not readily to be forgotten, and, in the memory of many friends, Christian, Hindu and Muhammedan—"quidquid ex illo amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est."

Sir Erskine Perry, for many years recently a member of the Indian Council, was the son of the late Mr. James Perry, of the *Morning Chronicle*. He was born in 1806, and was educated, first at the Charter House, and then at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1828. Having become a Member of the Inner Temple, he worked hard for two years and a half in the chambers of the late Mr. Justice Patteson, but, taking a dislike to the profession of the Law, he, at that time, declined to be called to the Bar. Proceeding, in the next year, to Munich, he entered the University there, remaining there about two years. On his return to England in 1831, he took an active part in the Reform agitation of the period, and, having purchased a share in the *Examiner*, became Honorary Secretary of the National Political Union of London.

After the passing of the Reform Act, Mr. Perry formed "The Parliamentary Candidate Society," which was instituted to support Reform by promoting the return of fit and proper Members of Parliament. Having unsuccessfully contested

the seat for the newly enfranchised Borough of Chatham, he, in 1834, married Louisa, daughter of Mr. McElhiney, and was called to the Bar in the following year. He, then, became a Law Reporter, and published seven vols. of Reports known as "Neville and Perry," and "Perry and Davison." In 1841 he lost the greater part of his fortune by the failure of a Bank, and was, hence, induced to apply for a Judgeship in the Supreme Court of Bombay, where he ultimately attained the post of Chief Justice, returning, finally, to England in 1852. Before he left India, he had been for ten years President of the Indian Board of Education, a service which was deemed so satisfactory that the native community subscribed £5000 as a testimonial to him on his leaving India. This sum was, at his request, devoted to the establishment of a Perry Professorship of Law.

Some of Sir Erskine Perry's leisure hours were occupied in literary pursuits, of which his translation of Savigny's "Recht des Besitzes," his letter to Lord Campbell on "Law Reform," and his "Oriental Cases" are examples. Unsuccessfully contesting Liverpool in 1853, he was returned for Devonport in the Liberal interest in 1854, a seat he retained till 1859, when he became a member of the Council of India, an office he retained till within the last three months. His first wife having died in 1841, he married in 1855, Elizabeth Margaret, daughter of Sir J. N. B. Johnstone, M.P., and the sister of the first Lord Derwent.

Dr. John Muir, C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., who will long be remembered as one of the prominent Sanskrit scholars of the day, died, at his residence in Edinburgh, on March 7th in the 73rd year of his age. Dr. Muir was born at Glasgow, and received his early education there, attending, subsequently, the College at Haileybury. In 1829, he passed through the College of Fort William, Calcutta, with distinction, and was, shortly afterwards, appointed Assistant Secretary to the Board of Revenue at Allahabad. Thence, he obtained

the appointment of Commissioner for the investigation of the claims for the holding of land rent-free in Meerut. As singularly proficient in his knowledge of the Sanskrit Language, Dr. Muir was, naturally, appointed the first Principal of the Sanskrit College at Benares, when Mr. Thomason, then Lieut.-Governor of the N. W. Provinces, succeeded in amalgamating under one Anglo-Indian College the English and Sanskrit branches of study. This post, however, he held for one year only, yet sufficiently long to get the College into good working order. After this, he returned to the Judicial branch of the Service, and was, for some years, the Civil and Sessions Judge at Futtehpore. In 1854, he retired from the service and, subsequently, resided chiefly in Edinburgh. In the Scottish Metropolis, Dr. Muir gave much time and exhibited great zeal in the improvement of the Universities of his northern and Native land, during the same period, founding the Chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Edinburgh, of which Prof. Aufrecht was the first and Prof. Eggeling is the present Professor. He was, also, mainly instrumental in establishing the Shaw Fellowship for Moral Philosophy, in memory of his relation, Sir James Shaw, while he, also, instituted the Muir Lectures on Comparative Religion, which have been, up to this time, delivered by Professor Fairbairn of Bradford. Dr. Muir was also a member of the last Scotch Universities Commission.

It is, however, as a Sanskrit scholar, that he will, no doubt, be best remembered. While yet employed on active service in India, between 1829 and 1853, he found time to publish, at Calcutta in 1850, "A short life of the Apostle Paul, with a Summary of Christian Doctrine," in Sanskrit verse, an admirable following up of Dr. W. H. Mill's "Christa-Sangitâ or History of Christ": while, in 1852 and 1854, he published the first and second parts of the "Mata-Pariksha or Examination of Religions" (also, in Sanskrit verse), the first

portion containing an examination of the Hindu Shastras, while the second forms an exposition of the Evidences of Christianity for Hindus. A part of this work was printed at Calcutta in 1840.

Other and somewhat shorter works by Dr. John Muir are "The Fountain of the Water of Intelligence, a Description of England," in Sanskrit. Calcutta, 1839.

"A Sketch of the History of India, in Sanskrit Verse. Calcutta, 1840.

"Brief Lectures on Mental Philosophy, etc., delivered in Sanskrit to the Students of Sanskrit at Benares." Allahabad, 1843.

While engaged in these studies, Dr. Muir was one of the first to perceive and to point out the necessity of a knowledge of the Vedas for the right understanding of the development of Religion in India, in proof of which belief it is worthy of record that, while in India, he offered a prize for the first Edition of the Text of Sâyanâcharya.

On his return to England, he became an active supporter and contributor to Sanskrit scholarship, beginning by the offer of prizes for Essays on Indian Philosophy and Religion, with the view of helping the conversion of Hindus to Christianity. His own special studies were chiefly concentrated on the Vedas—on which great subject he published four *parts* between 1858 and 1863, with a second edition in five *vols.* between 1868 and 1870—the two bearing the general title of "Original Sanskrit Texts on the origin and history of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions"—a work alike excellent and useful, consisting, as it does, of a collection, classification, and translation of the most important passages from the published texts of the ancient Literature of India. It is, indeed, greatly due to him that Scholars, Missionaries, and the public, generally, have gained a far more correct idea of Ancient India than could be found in any works, published before the great Edition of the

Vedas, on which Prof. Max Müller spent twenty-seven years.

The value of this labour can hardly be over-rated, especially when it is considered how wide a field of research it really covers. Thus the first volume discusses the legendary accounts of the origin of Caste; the second, the primitive home of the Hindus; the third, the opinions of Hindu writers on the Vedas; the fourth, the contrast between the Vedic and the later Hindu Theology; while the fifth, published in 1870, deals with the Cosmological and Mythological conceptions of the Indians of the Vedic age.

To the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society he contributed two papers, the first in vol. xiv. pt. 2, 1845, on the genuine character of the Horâ Sastra, as regards the use of Greek terms; and the second, a translation of Dr. Rudolph Roth's papers "Zur litteratur und geschichte des Weda" (printed at Stuttgard in 1846), the latter being a paper of more especial interest in that it shows the commencement of works by such scholars as Drs. Rieu and Trithen, which have, subsequently, borne exceedingly good fruit.

To the Journal of this Society Dr. Muir has contributed many valuable papers, of which the following is a complete list:—

1. Verses from the Parva-Darsana-Sangraha-Vishnu-Purana and Ramayana, to illustrate the freedom of thought in ancient India, vol. xix. o.s.

2. Legends from the Satapatha Brahmana, vol. xx. o.s.

3. On Manu, the Progenitor of the Aryan Indians, as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-Veda, vol. xx. o.s.

4. Does the Vaiseshika Philosophy acknowledge a Divinity or not? vol. xx. o.s.

5. Contributions to the knowledge of a Vedic Theology and Mythology, vol. i. N.S.

6. Yama and the Doctrine of a Future Life, according to the Rig-, Yajur-, and Atharva-Vedas, vol. i. N.S.

7. Progress of the Vedic Religion towards abstract conceptions of the Deity, vol. i. N.S.

8. Contributions to a knowledge of the Vedic Theogony and Mythology, vol. ii. N.S.

9. Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig and Atharva Veda, vol. ii. N.S.

10. On the Relations of the Priests to the classes of Society in the Vedic Age, vol. ii. N.S.

11. On the Interpretation of the Veda, vol. ii. N.S.

But, besides these more learned works, Dr. Muir contributed to that admirable periodical, the Indian Antiquary, a long series of papers, founded mainly on his own profound knowledge of the Sacred Language of India, the Sanskrit, most of these papers, or, as he preferred to call them, "Metrical Translations," having for their chief object to show how high was the moral sense of the compilers of the Mahabharata. *Inter alia*, he gives a metrical version of Parjanya, the Rain God, as represented in the hymns of the Rig Veda, vol. ii. 1873, with many others in subsequent volumes, which he has finally brought together into one volume, published in Trübner's "Oriental Series" under the title of "Metrical Translations from Sanskrit writers: with an introduction, prose versions, and parallel passages from classical authors," London, 1879. Since that time, till within a few months of his lamented death, Dr. Muir has continued to add to the pages of the "Indian Antiquary" from the papers bearing on the same general subject. In these later works (he would perhaps have hardly called them by this name) Dr. Muir's chief object seems to have been to supply illustrations, in however humble a way, for the student of the comparative Science of Religion. In conclusion, it should be ever remembered that Dr. Muir was far other than a mere scholar or man of learning, and that he did not confine his studies or interest to India or Indian literature. He was ever ready

to help on or to support young students by grants of books or of money, and showed his warm sympathy with many a philanthropic enterprize by liberally contributing to its funds. His name will be long remembered with gratitude by a far larger circle of men whom he had endeared to him by his genial simplicity of manner and character, and by his generous helpfulness, than by the scholars who resort for instruction to the rich stores of Sanskrit scholarship collected in his works.

In the person of *Professor Dowson* the Society has lost a valuable member, and Oriental studies a sound scholar; what he knew, he knew thoroughly, and his knowledge was always at the service of his friends, his speciality being, probably, Indian Palæography.

Mr. Dowson, who died on August 23, 1881, was born at Uxbridge in 1820. At the age of sixteen he came to London, as an assistant, in this Society, to his uncle, Mr. Edwin Norris, the then Secretary, who, noticing his aptitude in acquiring languages, induced him to take up the study of those of the East. In 1855, he was appointed Professor of Hindustani in University College, London, and, in the same year, he became Professor at the Staff College, Sandhurst, then just commencing its valuable duties—an office he held till 1877. Prof. Dowson was an indefatigable writer—some of the results of his various labours being, the translation of the Ikhwan-us-Safa, in 1869, the Arabic Philosophical Cyclopædia of the "Brotherhood of Purity;" a Grammar of Urdu or Hindustani, 1872; and the chief editing of "The History of India, as told by its own Historians," a work commenced by the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., who, at his early death, left behind him a mass of documentary matter, which he had collected and hoped himself to publish. This work, which now extends to eight volumes, shows a vast amount of labour and research, and is, indeed, the only reliable one for the history of India during the Muhammedan period.

In 1879 Prof. Dowson compiled for Trübner's "Oriental Series" a "Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography and Literature," a work intended, on Oriental subjects, to cover similar ground to that Dr. Smith's Classical Dictionaries have covered for Greek and Roman Literature—his last work being a very important article on Indian Inscriptions for the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, which he only lived just long enough to complete. Prof. Dowson contributed, also, many able and weighty reviews on Indian subjects to the *Saturday Review*, and to other periodical papers. He was a self-taught scholar and a self-made man—and will be long missed by his fellow labourers in the same branches of study.

Mr. W. Bramsen, whom we deplore as cut off, at a very early age, from active work, had, during his brief life, already shown how much was to be expected from him, had it been prolonged—foremost, as he was, unquestionably, among the small number of genuine Japanese Scholars.

Mr. Bramsen was born at Copenhagen, where he took his University degree in the ordinary course. After this, being desirous of going abroad, he offered his services to the Great Northern Telegraph Company, and in this capacity went to the East in the Danish Man-of-War, the Nordenskiold, about the year 1870, and was for some time stationed at Shanghai; having, however, acquired a taste for Japan and its people, he gave up his previous business, and came to Yokohama in 1873, where, for several months, he devoted himself to the thorough mastery of the Japanese language, of which, not long subsequently, he might justly have claimed to be one of the best and highest expositors. In pursuance of his special taste, he obtained an appointment in the Japanese Telegraph service, where he had to rely entirely on his own knowledge of the local dialects. In the spring of 1875, when the Mitsu Bishi Co. started their Shanghai Mail Line, and were anxious to increase their foreign staff, Mr. Bramsen

secured an appointment in their Head Office, and, rapidly rising in this profession, became, in the spring of 1879, the acting Chief Director. In August, 1880, Mr. Bransen returned to Europe, to carry out a long-cherished wish to study Law in the English Metropolis, with the hope of returning in a few years to Japan, and of there making due use of his legal attainments. But, unfortunately, his hopes were doomed to a sudden failure; for after a few months only of legal study, he died on Dec. 8, 1881, in the thirty-first year of his life.

Mr. Bramsen's intimate acquaintance with the Japanese written and spoken language, with his extensive general linguistic knowledge, enabled him to write with authority on the vexed question of transliteration—his papers, on this subject, which have appeared from time to time, in the Yokohama papers, being well worthy of attention, as the writing of a man who was thoroughly painstaking in all his work.

Besides other minor work—such as his "Comparative Tables of Japanese Weights and Measures," etc.,—his Japanese Chronological Tables, published in 1880, are a standing monument of his knowledge, unwearied industry and love of labour; the origin of this work being probably due to his passionate attachment to Numismatic Science. When Mr. Bramsen left Japan, he possessed one of the finest collections of Japanese Coins, of which, at the time of his death, he was engaged in preparing a descriptive and historical catalogue. The first portion of this catalogue, fully illustrated, has been already published in Japan, in the "Mittheilungen der Deutscher Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ost-Asiens," Aug. 1880, and reprinted, under the title "Coins of Japan, Part I. The Copper, Lead, and Iron Coins issued by the Central Government." There is, also, a French edition of the same work. Mr. Bramsen also read a paper before the Numismatic Society of London,

entitled "The Iron Coinage of Japan," which will be shortly published in their Chronicle.

In Dr. Theodor Benfey, an Honorary Member of the Society, Oriental learning has lost one of its ablest expositors, and, taken all round, one of the best Sanskrit scholars, who ever lived. Indeed, it may be doubted, with all deference to other distinguished men, who have worked in the same class of studies, if there be any man, who has more advanced the study of the language and literature of India, than Dr. Benfey. It has been given to some, notably to Prof. Max Müller, to edit for us vast collections of MSS. directly connected with this subject—and all praise is due to him and to others, who have had the opportunity of working in this field: but, it has been Prof. Benfey's especial merit that he covered the whole area, and, this, before Prof. Max Müller commenced the labours for which he is justly celebrated.

Prof. Benfey was born in 1809, being of Jewish descent. He was educated at the Gymnasium of Göttingen, and, after studying, subsequently, in the Universities of Göttingen and Munich, was appointed Professor at the former place in 1834, where he continued working and lecturing up to his death. His first important work was his "Griechisches Würtzel Lexicon," published in two volumes in 1839-42—a book of the highest value at the time it was published, as showing how much could be done by careful research into Comparative Philology. Of course, since then so much has been done, that this early effort has, in some sense, fallen into desuetude, but it ought not to be forgotten that Benfey, in this publication, distinctly led the way to other and, no doubt, more complete results. His book was that of a pioneer, in, at that period, a nearly new and untrodden path; and the criticisms it naturally evoked were, perhaps, as valuable for the progress of research, as the book to which—or against which—they were directed. The study

of Comparative Greek Philology has now advanced so far, that Benfey's book has little more than historical interest; but those, who will take the trouble of examining its pages, will be surprised to see, of how many accepted theories and etymologies only too often attributed to other writers Prof. Benfey was the real author. It is, perhaps, not easy to say who first suggested, that *viginti*, εἴκοσι, and *vinsati*, are really the same word, or to state who first dealt with such words scientifically. But, among the earlier scholars, it is certain, that Benfey made any number of suggestions, which have been since accredited to other and less eminent scholars. But few men, perhaps, have cared so little for fame of this kind.

To this early period in Prof. Benfey's career belongs his elaborate article on India, in *Ersch und Grüber's Encyclopädie*, which, like the *Würtzel-Lexicon*, is now, to some extent, antiquated, though it contains many things worthy of remembrance. Later in life, Benfey was mainly instrumental in bringing about that revival of Sanskrit Philology, which began with the study of the Vedas. Thus, in 1848, he published his text, translation, and glossary of the Sama-Veda, and, at the same early period, a complete translation of the first book of the Rig-Veda. He seems, then, to have paused for a while, probably because he saw that no real progress could be made in Vedic studies, before the text of the Rig-Veda, and, above all, before Sayana's complete commentary on the Rig-Veda, had been made known to students. In the mean time, he devoted himself to the publication of several Sanskrit Grammars, in which he showed a mastery of Panini, quite unusual at that period. He, also, published a Sanskrit Chrestomathy, Dictionary and other useful works.

A little later he astonished the world by a discovery in a totally new line of research, viz. his Pantchatantra, in which he established, on a sound basis, not only the Indian

origin of many European fables, but, what was, perhaps, of higher interest, the Buddhist origin of those of India. This work, alone, would have placed its author in the foremost rank of European scholars. With Benfey, however, it only represented one out of many victories in a life-long intellectual campaign. We cannot dwell on all his works: but we may call attention to his contributions to the knowledge of Zend, and to his scholar-like labours on the Cuneiform Inscriptions. Another truly monumental work, we must mention, his "History of the Science of Language and Oriental Philology in Germany" (1869)—showing, as this does, what can be achieved by the industry and genius of one man, if only he has a purpose in life and possesses the unselfish devotion of a scholar. The concluding days of Dr. Benfey's life were again devoted to Vedic studies, which he resumed with the ardour of youth and the experience of a veteran general.

The results of his work were published from year to year in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Göttingen and elsewhere, and as an idea of the minuteness of his studies, it may be mentioned that his treatises on the prolongation of vowels in the Rig-Veda occupy more than 400 pages 4to. Though this might seem an excess in accuracy, it shows what might have been expected from his long-promised Vedic Grammar; the future publication of which will, we fear, be scarcely possible unless the materials he has been so long collecting have been worked up by himself.

In conclusion, it is right to add that, during his whole life, Prof. Benfey bore the highest character among Oriental scholars: he seemed to care for nothing but work, true honest work. Through his long literary life, though controversies necessarily would sometimes arise, no one ever breathed a word against Benfey's independence, justice and straightforwardness. He never belonged to any sect; Science being to him a sacred thing, wherein no personal interests were

permitted to intrude; thus, in his few and rare controversies, he invariably treated his opponents with respect.

The following list is believed to be a tolerably complete collection of the works actually published by Prof. Benfey, though there may easily be some others latent.

1. Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alten Völker, insbesondere der Perser, Cappadocier, Juden und Syrer. 8vo. Berl. 1836.

2. Terenz Komödien im Versmass der Urschrift übersetzt. 9 parts. 16mo. Stuttgart, 1837.

3. Ueber das verhaltniss der Ægyptischen Sprache zum Semitischen Sprachstamm. 8vo. Leipzig, 1844.

4. Die Persischen Keilinschriften mit Uebersetzung und Glossar. 8vo. Leipzig, 1847.

5. Die Hymnen des Sâma-Veda. Herausgegeben und mit Glossar versehen. 4to. Leipzig, 1848.

6. Handbuch der Sanskrit-sprache. I. Abth. Volstandiges grammatik der Sanskrit-sprache. 8vo. Leipz. 1852. II. Abth. Chrestomathie aus Sanskrit-Werken. 2 Bände. Leipzig, 1854.

7. Kurze Sanskrit-Grammatik zum Gebrauch für anfänger. 8vo. Leipzig, 1852.

8. A Practical Grammar of the Sanskrit Language for the use of early students. 8vo. Berl. 1863.

9. Pantschatantra — Fünf bucher Indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzahlungen. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt. 2 Bände. 8vo. Leipzig, 1859.

10. A Practical Grammar of the Sanskrit Language. 2nd Ed. 8vo. Lond. 1866.

11. A Sanskrit-English Dictionary with reference to the best Editions of Sanskrit authors. 8vo. London, 1866.

12. Ueber einige Plural-bildungen des Indo-Germanischen Verbum. 4to. Göttingen, 1867.

13. Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und Oriental-

ischen Philologie in Deutschland seit den Anfang des xvi. Jahrhunderts. 8vo. München, 1869.

14. Ueber die Entstehung und die Formen des Indo-Germanischen Optativ. 4to. Göttingen, 1871.

Besides these fourteen separate articles or essays by him in his "Vedica und Verwandten," the following papers will be found in the Abhandlungen der Königlich Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen:

1. Alt-Persisch Mazda = Zendisch Mazdávisch = Sansk. Médhas. Abh. Band. xxiii. 1878.

2. Einige Derivata des Indo-Germanischen Verbums *ambh* =Sanskr. Nabh—*Ibid.*

3. Die quantitäts-verschiedenheiten in der Saṃhita und Padatexten. 4. Abhandlung in 3. Abtheilungen. Abh. Band. xxv. 1879.

4. With the same title as above: in 5. Abhandlung in 2. Abtheilungen. Abh. Band. xxvi. 1880.

5. Ueber einige Wörter mit dem Bind-vocal *i*. Abh. Band. xxiv. 1879.

6. Behandlung des auslaüternden *a* in *ná* "wie" und *ná* "nicht" in Rig Veda. Abh. Band. xxv.

7. Die quantitäts-verschiedenheiten, etc., etc. 6. Abh. 1. Abth. Abh. Band xxvii. 1881.

8. Under same title as No. 6. Abh. Band. xxvii.

Prof. *Vassily Vassilievich Grigorief*, an Honorary Member of this Society, was a scholar well known and highly appreciated in Western Europe. Grigorief, born at St. Petersburg in 1816, while yet a student in the University of that city, translated from the Persian, a "History of the Mongols." In 1836, he obtained a post in the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and, soon after, entered the service of the University as a Teacher of Persian. In 1864, he was appointed to the Head of the Censorship, a post he held till 1874, and, in the same year, he visited England as the Russian Delegate to the Second Congress of Orientalists. In

1875, he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Languages in the University—his knowledge of these tongues having been greatly increased during his residence, in an official capacity, at Orenberg, between 1851 and 1863. Two years later he acted as President of the Third Congress, which met at St. Petersburg, and his courtesy to the strangers, who visited the capital of Russia, on that occasion, will not easily be forgotten by those, who had the pleasure of experiencing it. M. Grigorief wrote chiefly in Russ, which is so far unfortunate, as this language is so little known beyond the frontiers of the Empire itself—but, among his works, may be mentioned "The Tsars of the Cimmerian Bosphorus," St. Petersb. 1851; "Some Events in Bokhara, Khokhand and Kashgar," Casan, 1861; an Academical disquisition on "The Charters given to the Russian Clergy by the Khans of the Golden Horde," Moscow, 1842; "The Site of Sarai," St. Petersb. 1845. He was, also, a large contributor to the pages of periodical literature—and to the "Transactions" of learned Societies. At one time, too, he was Editor of the "Journal of the Ministry of the Interior" and of the "Official Messenger."

Of scholars and others, not Members of the Society, but who have some claim to be noticed here, for their labours in Oriental investigations, M. Adrien Prevost de Longpérier claims the first place. M. de Longpérier, who died on January 14, was born in Paris on September 21st, 1816, and was educated in the City of Meaux (where he lived), entirely by his father, a man of remarkable ability. Early in life, he showed an especial love for Archæology, and, while yet quite a youth, had made and described for himself a very considerable collection of coins. In 1836, he was admitted as supernumerary into the "Cabinet des Médailles" of the "Bibliothèque," where he remained, till he attained the still higher position of "Conservateur Adjoint des Antiques" in the

Louvre. He was, at the same time, specially deputed to look after all things Oriental. In 1848, he was named Keeper of the Sculptures, etc., a post he held, till, in 1868, he was compelled, through ill health, to give up an occupation, which was in every way congenial to his tastes, and one, too, in which he had done very good service to the French Government and people. It may be added that, early in life, he became a member of the "Académie des Inscriptions et du Belles Lettres," of the "Société Asiatique," of the "Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France" (to which he was admitted when only twenty years of age), and of numerous other Societies.

M. de Longpérier's researches extended, as is well known, into almost every branch of Archæology, Numismatics having been from first to last, perhaps, the one subject dearest to his own heart: thus, at intervals, he published catalogues of the well-known Greek, Roman, and mediæval collections of J. Dassy, Manoncourt, and Rousseau, containing, in many cases, original and not previously suggested identifications. Hence, probably, he was led to his later study of Oriental Numismatics, in which he was naturally much aided by his previous knowledge of Arabic and of other Eastern languages.

His early service in the "Cabinet des Médailles" had familiarized him with almost all classes of figured monuments; hence, when he went to the Louvre, he took up warmly the study of the then recently discovered Assyrian monuments, of which he gave a brief but able notice in 1848. Turning, at the same time, his attention to the decipherment of the Cuneiform inscriptions engraven on these monuments, he is believed to have been the first to discern the name of a king, a discovery of much importance in the subsequent study of Assyrian Epigraphy. M. de Longpérier, also, edited two other sections of Antiquarian Science, which happened under his general care,

namely, "Notice des Monuments Mexicanes et Péruviens exposés dans les galleries des Antiquités Americaines" (1850), and "Notice des bronzes antiques exposés dans les galleries du Musée Impérial du Louvre" (1868).

It need hardly be added that M. de Longpérier was a ready writer in a large number of Archæological publications, more especially in the "Revue Numismatique," and in the "Revue Archéologique," of which he was, for many years, one of the chief Directors, and in the "Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France," the "Athéneum Français," and the "Annales de l'Institut Archéol. de Rome;" he made, also, several important communications to the "Comptes rendus" of the Académie des Inscriptions et du Belles Lettres, some of which, during the last year, were dictated by him from the bed of sickness he was not destined to leave. His principal separate publications were, "Sur la Numismatique des Rois Sassanides," 1840 and 1854, and "Le Musée Napoleon III. choix de Monuments Antiques," 1864–74. In 1877, M. de Longpérier was appointed by the Government to superintend the "Exposition rétrospective" of the "Palais du Trocadero" at the "Exposition" of that year, an office he fulfilled with equal success and ability. In fact, for the deciphering of a manuscript text, an inscription, or a medal, few men, from his long acquaintance with classical as well as Oriental literature, could have been found to surpass him. He lived, and he died, a consummate Antiquary.

Dr. Ludwig Krapf, a well-known missionary, died recently, at an advanced age, at Kornthal in Wurtemberg. On his table was found, after his sudden death, a proof sheet of his Suahili Dictionary, which he had corrected before he retired to what proved to be his last rest. He was not a member of this Society, but his name will be honoured as the first man who gave a real impetus to African discovery. He was in the field before Livingstone left Kureeman on his first journey

of discovery; and he worked to the last days of his life in the cause of Africa. Driven from Abyssinia, he settled in Mombaśa, and there published the first rumours of a great Equatorial inland sea, which at length led to the despatch of Captains Burton and Speke, and to the discovery of the famous Lake Tanganyika, and ultimately of those of the Victoria Nyanza, etc. Dr. Krapf fired the first great train of exploring, which culminated in the walk of Cameron across Africa and in the descent of the Congo by Stanley. He was, also, the first to announce to the learned world that all the tribes of Africa, south of the Equator, with the exception of the Hottentot-Beschuan, spoke languages as certainly descendants of a common mother, as are the languages of the Indo-European family. The following list gives a fair idea of his linguistic labours:—

Thus in *Amharic* (the language of Abyssinia), he completely revised for the British and Foreign Bible Society, the version of the whole Bible made in 1810–15, by Abu Rumi, a learned Abyssinian monk. This important task, which occupied several years, was finished in 1879, when the second half of the New Testament was printed at St. Chrischona, and published along with the ancient Ethiopic Version. Dr. Krapf wrote to the Bible Society:—"The Lord be praised for having permitted me to live to see this great work carried out by your Society!" He also published in Amharic Dr. Chalmers's Scripture References, a Scripture school-book, and a little book entitled "Man's Heart either God's Temple or Satan's abode."

Of the language of the great *Galla* nation, who stretch from Abyssinia southward to near Mombása, he prepared a Vocabulary and an Outline Grammar, which were published in London, in 1840; together with a translation of the whole New Testament, and of the Book of Genesis, Psalms, and other parts of the Old (part printed).

For the language of the fierce *Somali* tribes inhabiting the

northern corner of East Africa, he began a Vocabulary in conjunction with Mr. Isenberg, but was not able to complete it; but, for the "Enguduk Iloiçob," the language of the *Masai* nation, who occupy a wide territory between the Wanika country around Mombasa and the Victoria Nyanza, he edited the Vocabulary compiled by Mr. Erhardt.

In the "Engutuk Eloikob," the language of the *Wakwafi*, a tribe connected with the Masai, but more to the south (see Mr. Last's account, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 1879), he compiled a Vocabulary, with specimen translations of portions of Genesis and St. John, dialogues, materials for grammar, etc., which was published at Tübingen, in 1854, and for the languages or dialects of the *Teita* and *Usambara*, countries west and south of Mombasa, he compiled a Vocabulary, which has not been printed, though copies have been sent to the C.M.S. Missionaries in East Africa.

For the *Kinika*, the language of the Wanika, the people among whom he and Rebmann so long laboured, he prepared the "Beginning of a Spelling-book," with a translation of the Heidelberg Catechism, which was published at Bombay, so long ago as 1848. He also translated parts of the New Testament (including the famous one of the Gospel of St. Luke, [also printed at Bombay, in 1848,] to which is mainly due the Christian movement in the Giriama country). He translated, also, Barth's Bible Stories, and began a Dictionary of the same language or dialect, which, we regret to say, is still unpublished.

For *Kikamba*, the language of Ukambani, a country north-west of Mombasa, which he had himself visited, he translated the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark (the latter published at Tübingen, in 1850), and also a Vocabulary, appended to his "Six East African Languages," and, for *Kiniassa*, a language spoken far to the south on the shores of Lake Nyassa, he edited the Vocabulary and Dictionary compiled by Rebmann.

In the *Suahili* language he translated a part of Genesis (printed in 1847), the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer (Tübingen, 1854), and the whole New Testament: only parts of this have been printed, though each portion in MS. has been sent to the C.M.S. East Africa Mission. He also prepared an outline Grammar (Tübingen, 1850), and a complete Dictionary, the last sheets of which were passing through the press when he died.

In addition to these works, Dr. Krapf compiled a Vocabulary of Six East African Languages, viz. *Kisuahili*, *Kinika*, *Kikamba*, *Kipokomo*, *Kihiau*, *Kigalla*, which was published at Tübingen, in 1850, a work of which he may well have been proud.

Nain Singh, or as he was officially called Pundit No. 9, a most meritorious Indian servant, and one of the most remarkable of recent travellers, died a few months since at the age of fifty-five years. He was by race a Hill man of Kschattyra caste, and, being naturally very fond of adventure, offered his services, more than 30 years ago, as native assistant to the intrepid but unfortunate Schlagintweit; but, after serving under him for some time, the murder of his master in Kashgar left him without the opportunity of continuing the pursuits to which he had devoted himself, and he returned to his native village to pursue the monotonous and less active vocation of a schoolmaster.

From this retirement he was called in the year 1863 to become one of the staff of trained native explorers under the orders of the late Colonel Montgomerie of the Trigonometrical Survey, and it was in this occupation that he earned his chief reputation.

The experience Nain Singh acquired under M. Schlagintweit fitted him, in a peculiar sense, for employment in the most interesting department of Indian Geographical research, —the exploration of the Trans-Himalayan Regions; and

the success that attended his journeys beyond the great Northern boundary of India far exceeded the expectations of the able officer who had trained him specially for this work.

In 1866, Nain Singh determined the true position of Lhasa: in 1867 he visited the celebrated gold mines of Thok Talung, and seven years later, he was able to accomplish his most celebrated tour, that through the whole range of Tibet, from West to East. On this occasion, he visited the capital of the Dalai Lama, took numerous observations, and threw much fresh light on the long-disputed question whether the Sampu River, in its lower course, is, or is not, identical with the Brahmaputra. For this great effort, one alike of courage and of genius, the Royal Geographical Society justly awarded to him their gold medal, while the Indian Government granted to him a small estate, where he died towards the end of last January. Nain Singh was not a scholar; but the great work he accomplished fully deserves a record in the pages of a Society, the sole end of which is Asiatic research. He was the greatest, if not the first, of Indian Geographical explorers: and India may well be proud of his memory. Of such stuff were the famous Chinese travellers of the fifth and seventh centuries—who then crossed the Himalayas. Let us hope his example will not be lost on his countrymen, and that they will be ready to recognize him, as Western students already gladly do—as "*Primus in Indis.*"

During the past year, the Council have had before them many applications for their support on various subjects. *Inter alia*, they were asked to take an active part in the formation of a Pali Text Society, but, with reference to this, they were of opinion, that they could not directly interfere, though the subject was one, naturally, in which many Members of the Society might be expected to take an interest.

At a later period, they were urged to impress on the Government of India, the advisability of employing Mr. Bell, of Ceylon, to make further researches in the Maldive Islands, an excellent report of his previous work there, having been laid before them by their Members, Sir William Gregory, K.C.M.G., and Mr. Gray. To this request, the Council assented, and directed their Secretary to write the necessary letters to the Secretary of State for India and to the Governor of Ceylon.

The Council have, also, had before them letters from M. de Goeje and Colonel Nassau Lees, stating that M. Spitta Bey had undertaken to complete the publication of the Tâj-el Aroos. The Council felt, however, that, in this matter, they could not do more than they had done, some years since, in the case of the publication of Tabari. They were willing to subscribe for a copy of the Tâj-el Aroos, but could not undertake to do more than this. It appeared, further, that, some years ago, five volumes of this work had been printed, and the Council, naturally, expressed the opinion that these should be in their hands, so that their copy might be complete, before they undertook to support any further undertaking in this matter.

The Council have, also, had before them a memorial drawn up by Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., and signed by the Professors of Sanskrit at Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and others, requesting the Indian Government to allow Mr. J. F. Fleet to be, for a time, detailed from his ordinary duties, for the purpose of editing the vast collection of Indian Inscriptions which have now been copied and are available for this purpose. The Council, generally, acquiesced in the prayer of this memorial and desired their Secretary to write to the Under-Secretary of State for India, in support of it.

The Council have also had before them the question of the more careful preservation of their MSS. and of other valuable works in their General Library, and have come to

the following conclusions: 1. That their object in retaining possession of MSS. and other rare and valuable works is, that they may be able to lend to scholars, either personally known to them, or bringing sufficient recommendations, such of these works as they may desire to study at home; the Council alone having the power of granting any such request. 2. That, supposing the Council be satisfied in this matter, such loan be duly entered on the Minutes, with the name of the borrower and the time during which he may retain the given book. 3. That the Secretary be required to report to the Council the request for such a loan, which may be granted on the signature of any two Members thereof—but for a period not exceeding three months,—the borrower, at the same time, acknowledging in writing his receipt of the MS. or book and giving his usual place of residence. 4. That, previously to the Anniversary of each year (by Statute fixed to be held on the third Monday in each year, if not Whit Monday), all loans are to be called in, but that a borrower pleading for an extension of the time, may, at the discretion of the Council, be permitted to keep the same for a further limited period. 5. That all MSS., or books, required to be sent out of the country, be forwarded as registered parcels, or through the Minister or Ambassador of the country to which they are to be sent.

The Council beg further to report that they have been able to continue the Quarterly publication of their Journal, and that there is good reason to hope that this plan, at first necessarily tentative, will be continued.

The Auditors submit the following account of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society, which will, they hope, be considered satisfactory.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1881.

Dec. 31, 1881. RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bankers', January 1, 1881	310	10	6
142 Resident Members	447	6	0
70 Non-Resident Members	73	10	0
Arrears paid up	18	18	0
Compositions—One Resident, Four Non-Resident Members	73	10	0
Donation from Council for India	210	0	0
Dividend on Consols	20	9	7
Rents—			
British Association	117	0	0
University Extension	30	0	0
Royal Historical Society	24	16	3
Hellenic Society	25	0	0
Sale of Journals	0	13	0
Total Receipts	1351	13	4
Balance in Treasurer's hands	2	7	5
	£1354	0	9

Amount of Society's Funds,
Three per cent. Consols £700.

Dec. 31, 1881. EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rents	300	0	0			
Water Rate	10	10	0	315	10	0
Fire Insurance	5	0	0			
Salaries—Secretary	200	0	0			
Stewardson	2	10	0	237	10	0
Errand Boy	10	0	0			
Bedford (pension)	25	0	0			
Allowances—Royal Asiatic Society	30	0	0			
British Association	17	0	0	52	0	0
University Extension Society	5	0	0			
Journal—Trübner for Vol. XIII. Part 1	40	7	6			
" " " Part 2	48	4	9			
" " " Part 3	70	9	3	264	12	1
" " " Part 4	93	10	7			
" " " Illustrations (Griggs)	12	0	0			
Translation of Dr. Jülg's Paper	2	2	0	38	7	0
Expenses of Chinese Catalogue	36	5	0			
Books purchased—Trübner, Williams & Norgate,				31	13	3
Bickers, Hunton & Wilde				4	0	0
Advertisements and Reporter	40	11	6			
Bookbinding—Partridge & Co.	26	15	9	67	7	3
Hunton & Gyde	20	5	5			
House Expenses	47	12	0	67	17	5
Repairs and Rebuilding	15	5	1			
Stationery	26	4	9½	41	9	10½
Postage and parcels	5	0	0			
Paid in error	3	3	0	8	3	0
Subscription returned						
Total Expenditure				1128	9	10½
Balance at Bankers'				222	17	6
				1351	7	4½
In Treasurer's hands				2	13	4½
				£1354	0	9

Examined and found correct,

JAMES FERGUSSON.
ARTHUR RUSSELL.
H. C. KAY.

Proceedings of Asiatic Societies.—Royal Asiatic Society—Papers.—The following papers have been read at different meetings of the Society since the last Anniversary Meeting of May 30, 1881 :—

1. On the duty Mohammedans, in British India, owe, on the principles of their own Law, to the Government of the Country. By N. B. E. Baillie, Esq., M.R.A.S. Read June 20, 1881.

2. Extracts from a Report by Mr. H. C. P. Bell "On the Maldive Islands." By Albert Gray, Esq., M.R.A.S. Read June 20, 1881.

3. On the Sinico-Indian Origin of Indo-Pali writing. By Terrien de La Couperie, Esq. Read June 20, 1881.

4. On the Andaman Islands and the Andamanese. By M. V. Portman, Esq., M.R.A.S. Read July 2, 1881.

5. The Apology of Al-Kindi—an Essay on its age and authorship. By Sir W. Muir, K.C.S.I. Read Nov. 7, 1881.

6. A reply to some exceptions taken by Lord Stanley of Alderley, to the writer's previous paper "On the duty the Mohammedans of British India owe to the Government of the Country." By N. B. E. Baillie, Esq., M.R.A.S. Read Nov. 7, 1881.

7. "On the origin of the Phœnician Alphabet." By G. Bertin, Esq. Read Dec. 19, 1881.

8. "On a Sculptured Tope represented on an old stone at Dras, near Ladak." By W. Simpson, Esq., F.R.G.S. Read Dec. 19, 1881.

9. "On a Lolo MS. written on silk, procured by Mr. Colborne Baber, now Secretary of Legation in China." By Terrien de La Couperie, Esq., M.R.A.S. Read Dec. 19, 1881.

10. "On the probable meaning of the subjects in Pl. xxviii. fig. 1 of Mr. Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, Second Edition." By the Rev. Professor Beal. Read Dec. 19, 1881.

11. "On the Indian Balharâ and the Arabian Intercourse with India in the Ninth and following Centuries." By E. Thomas, Esq., F.R.S., Treas. R.A.S. Read Jan. 23, 1882.

12. "On recent Researches in Phrygia." By W. M. Ramsay, Esq. Read Jan. 23, 1882.

13. "On the Haúsa Language of Central Africa." By the Rev. Mr. Schön. Read Feb. 20, 1882.

14. "On African Scholars." By R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S. Read Feb. 20, 1882.

15. "On the date and personality of Priyadasi," supplementary to a former paper on the same subject. By R. G. Latham, Esq., M.D. Read March 20, 1882.

16. "On Buddhist Saint-worship." By Arthur Lillie, Esq. Read March 20, 1882.

17. "On the Vaishnava Religion." By Prof. Monier Williams, M.A., C.I.E., D.C.L. Read April 24, 1882.

Of these papers, as Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, 14, and 16 have been already printed in the Society's Journal, it is not necessary to say anything more about them here. Those only, therefore, will be noticed which are not at present in type, viz. Nos. 2, 3, 7, 11, 12, 15, and 17.

On June 20, Mr. Albert Gray read a series of extracts from a Report furnished by Mr. H. C. P. Bell "On the Maldive Islands." Mr. Bell, he stated, had been able to make a short visit to these islands, having previously obtained a considerable knowledge of the language of their inhabitants. No complete history of them has, as yet, been discovered, and what is at present known is derived from the notices of the Portuguese and from the early Dutch and English records at Colombo. Their language is certainly Aryan, and closely connected with Sinhalese, in its elder form of Elu. It is to be hoped that Mr. Bell may be enabled to return to these interesting islands, to complete his researches, but this time under official sanction.

M. Terrien de La Couperie, M.R.A.S., in his paper "On the Sinico-Indian Origin of Indo-Pali writing," gave reasons for disregarding the Semitic, Sabæan, and Greek hypotheses, implying as these do an Indian influence in Southern Arabia, while, at the same time, he also rejected any indigenous origin. On the other hand, he pointed out that historical facts, as well as traditions, clearly show that relations did exist between India and China so early as the third century B.C.

In support of these views, he laid before the Society a series of tables, proving, in his judgment, that the Indo-Pali, Corean, Japanese, Lampong, Rejang, Batak, Vatteluttu, and, most remarkably, the Lolo writing, of which Mr. Colborne Baber has recently sent home some specimens, are, really, all offshoots from an older system of writing, consisting, on the borders of China, of a certain number of Chinese characters, used, phonetically, for commercial purposes. The Indo-Pali writing has, he argued, been systematized in India from this elder form of writing.

The main argument in Mr. Thomas's paper "On the Indian Balharâ and the Arabian Intercourse with India in the ninth and following centuries" (which now forms part i. of the 3rd vol. of the "Numismata Orientalia"), depends on the decipherment of the Nagari legend, containing the word *Valá-Ratja*, described by Sir Arthur Phayre, in his paper on "Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma," pl. i. Nos. 5 and 6. This word, Mr. Thomas contended, suggests a new and unexpected explanation of the title Balharâ, as used by the Arabian merchants, who visited India in the ninth century. The meaning of the title is almost certainly the same as Bara Rai, or Lord Paramount, but it has been hitherto supposed that this appellation must belong to the king of Kanauj or of Western India, the Arab copyists of the merchant Sulaiman's narrative having

assumed that his mention of the kingdom of Balharâ must, in some way or other, coincide with the geography of their own Muslim province of Sind. Mr. Thomas, on the other hand, contends that it is clear from the text of the "Silsilat-al-Tuwarikh," or "Arab Voyages," of A.D. 851, that all the four kingdoms therein adverted to are more or less Gangetic, *intra* or *extra*, and would, therefore, naturally come under the notice of any mariner proceeding towards a Chinese mart. The sway of the Balharâ must, he thinks, have, as a rule, covered the outlets of the Ganges. The capital of the Balharâ was, at that time, at Monghir, and, although it is difficult to define this site exactly, it seems almost certain that one of the chief towns was that of Tipperah, Ptolemy's *τρίγλυπτον, τὸ καὶ τρίλιγγον βασίλειον*. The leading authority for the Arab voyages of this period is the merchant Sulaiman, for details about whom, Reinaud, "Relations des Voyages par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde," Paris, 1845, is our chief authority.

In his paper "On the Date and Personality of Priyadasi," a supplement to a previous paper on the same subject printed in the Journal of the Society twenty years ago—vol. xvii. o.s.—Dr. Latham argued that Priyadasi must have been the contemporary of three Kings or Magnates with whom he made three compacts, one of which was in the tenth, and the second in the twelfth year of his reign. Will, he urged, the other four compacts, viz. those of Ptolemy, Alexander, Antigonus, and Magas, be held to be supplementary compacts in the twenty-seventh year of his reign? All these he (Dr. Latham) in his previous treatise made not only contemporaneous with Priyadasi, but each with the other, and also with Antiochus.

In his present paper, Dr. Latham makes the four kings contemporary, each with the other, though not with Antiochus. From this point of view, his Antiochus is Antiochus III. (Epiphanes), his Ptolemy is Ptolemy Philometor, his Alex-

ander is Alexander Balas, his Antigonus is Antigonus, the son of Perseus, the last king of Macedon, and his Magas, a Satrap in the North of Syria. All these, he holds, must have reigned between B.C. 191 and B.C. 146. Dr. Latham then gave his reasons for believing that this was a better date for the reign of Priyadasi than any that could be given, under the doctrine that the four later kings were not only contemporary with themselves and Priyadasi, but contemporary with Antiochus also. This, Dr. Latham considered to be the only date to which we can ascribe the historical synchronism of five kings bearing the names stated—in combination with a sixth and equally synchronous king, Priyadasi.

Professor Monier Williams, M.A., C.I.E., D.C.L., read a paper "On the Vaishnava Religion," and laid before the Society the Sikshâ-patrî or Directory of the Swâmi Narâyana sect, as edited and translated by himself, from a MS. given to him, when at their head-quarters at Wartâl and Ahmedabad. In this paper, he showed very clearly the relationship between the Vaishnava religion and the three other forms of the Hindu religious system, viz. Vedism, Brahmanism and Saivism.

The two latter, he urged, were too severe and too philosophical for the mass of the people; hence, a reaction in favour of Vishnu, the worship of whom implied a personal devotion to a personal God, who could satisfy the yearning of the human heart for a Religion of Faith and Love. Such a God was Vishnu, who evinced his interest in human affairs by his frequent descents and incarnations. Vishnu-worship, connected as it was with that of the Sun, was unquestionably the popular worship of India, though much split up into sects vehemently opposed, each to the other.

The four principal sects, he added, were founded by Râmânuja, Madhva, Chaitanya and Vallabha. The Râmânuja sect was, again, divided into two sub-sects, the Vada-kalais and

Ten-kalais: their views as to the nature of the soul's dependence on the Supreme Being differing much in the same way as do those of the Arminians and Calvinists. The Ten-kalais have one of the finest pagodas in India, near Trichinopoly. The Madhva sect was, perhaps, the nearest to Christianity, in that they were strong opponents to Sankara's duality. The Chaitanya sect held that devotion to Vishnu was best symbolized under the figure of human love. The Vallabha sect held similar opinions, and were the Epicureans of India. They taught that the way to salvation was through eating and drinking and enjoying the good things of life.

It was in opposition to this sensual view of religion that the modern Reformer, Swâmi Nârâyana, founded a new sect and wrote his Sikshâ-patrî, a sort of Religious Directory, consisting of 212 precepts, which give a good idea of the purer side of Vaishṇavism.

Journals.—Royal Asiatic Society.—Since the last Anniversary of May 30, 1881, Parts III. and IV. of Vol. XIII. and Parts I. and II. of Vol. XIV. have been issued, containing the following papers.

Thus in Vol. XIII. Pt. 3,

———— On the Avar Language. By Cyril Graham, Esq., C.S.I., M.R.A.S.

———— On Caucasian Nationalities. By W. A. Morrison, Esq.

———— A Translation of the Mârkandeya Purâna. By the Revd. B. Hale Wortham, M.R.A.S.

———— Lettre à M. Stanley Lane Poole, sur quelques Monnaies orientales rares ou inédites de la collection de M. Ch. de l'Ecluse. Par M. Sauvaire, M.R.A.S.

———— On Aryan Mythology in Malay Traditions. By W. E. Maxwell, Esq., M.R.A.S., Colonial Civil Service.

——— The Koi, a Southern Tribe of the Gond. By the Revd. John Cain, M.R.A.S.

——— On the duty which Mohammedans in British India owe, on the Principles of their own Law, to the Government of the Country. By N. B. E. Baillie, Esq., M.R.A.S.

——— The L-Poem of the Arabs. قَصِيدَةُ لَامِيَّةِ ٱلْعَرَبِ by Shanfarà لِلشَّنْفَرَى. Re-arranged and translated by J. W. Redhouse, Esq., M.R.A.S., H.M.R.S.L., etc.

In Vol. XIII. Pt. 4, are papers

——— On the Andaman Islands and the Andamanese. By M. V. Portman, Esq., M.R.A.S.

——— Notes on Marco Polo's Itinerary in Southern Persia (Chs. XVI. to XXI., Col. Yule's translation). By A. Houtum Schindler, Esq., M.R.A.S.

——— The Epoch of the Guptas. By Edward Thomas, Esq., F.R.S., Treas. R.A.S.

——— Two Chinese Buddhist Inscriptions found at Buddha Gayâ. By the Revd. Samuel Beal, M.R.A.S.

——— A Sanskrit Ode addressed to the Congress of Orientalists at Berlin. By Ráma Dása Sena, the Zemindar of Berhampore. With a translation by Pandit Shyâmaji Krishnavarmâ, of Balliol College.

——— Supplement to a paper, "On the duty which Mohammedans in British India owe, on the Principles of their own Law, to the Government of the Country." By N. B. E. Baillie, Esq., M.R.A.S.

In Vol. XIV. Pt. 1,

——— The Apology of Al-Kindy. An Essay on its Age and Authorship. By Sir W. Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D., M.R.A.S.

——— The Poet Pampa. By B. Lewis Rice, Esq., M.R.A.S., Director of Public Instruction, Mysore and Coorg.

——— On a Coin of Shams-ud-Duniyâ wa-ud-din Mahmud Shah. By C. J. Rodgers, Esq., M.R.A.S.

——— On a Sculptured Tope on an old stone at Dras, near Ladak. By William Simpson, Esq., F.R.G.S.

——— Note on Pl. xxviii. fig. 1, of Mr. Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship," 2nd Edition. By the Revd. S. Beal, Professor of Chinese, London University, M.R.A.S.

——— On the present state of Mongolian Studies. By Prof. Jülg, in a letter to R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

——— A Sanskrit Ode, addressed to the Fifth International Congress of Orientalists assembled at Berlin. By the Lady Pandit, Ramâ-Bâî, of Silchar, Assam.

——— On the intercourse of China with Eastern Turkestan and the adjacent Countries in the Second Century B.C. By Thos. W. Kingsmill, Esq., Pres. N. China Branch R.A.S.

——— Suggestions for the formation of the Semitic Tenses. A comparative and critical study. By G. Bertin, Esq., M.R.A.S.

——— On a Lolo MS. written on satin. By Terrien de La Couperie, Esq., M.R.A.S.

In Vol. XIV. Pt. 2,

——— On Tartar and Turk. By S. W. Koelle, Ph.D.

——— Notice of the Scholars who have contributed to the extension of our knowledge of the Languages of Africa. By Robert N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

——— Grammatical Sketch of the Haúsa Language. By the Rev. J. F. Schön, of the Church Missionary Society.

——— Buddhist Saint Worship. By Arthur Lillie, Esq., M.R.A.S.

——— Gleanings from the Arabic. By H. W. Freeland, Esq., M.R.A.S.

——— Al Kahirah and its Gates. By H. C. Kay, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S.

——— How the Mahabharata begins. By Edwin Arnold, C.S.I., M.R.A.S., Officer of the White Elephant of Siam.

——— Arab Metrology. IV. Ed-Dahaby. By M. H. Sauvaire, M.R.A.S.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.—Vol. L., pts. i.-iv., edited by the Philological Secretary, contains, in Part 1, papers by Vincent A. Smith, Esq., B.A.;—Contributions to the History of Bundelkhand. In Part 2, On the Revenues of the Mughal Empire, by H. G. Keene, C.S.;—On the identity of Upello with Upaplava, by Rishi Kesh Bhattâ Chârya Shâstrî, a paper of considerable archæological interest;—Translations from the Hamâseh, by C. J. Lyall, C.S.;—and The Revenues of the Mughal Empire, by Edward Thomas, F.R.S., late Bengal C.S.; and in pts. iii. and iv. Relics from Ancient Persia, by Maj.-Gen. A. Cunningham; and Contributions on the Religion, History, etc., of Tibet, by Babu Sarat Chander Das. The papers on Coins, which are numerous, will be noticed under "Numismatics." In their papers "On the Revenues of the Mughal Empire in India," Messrs. Keene and E. Thomas criticize the views put forth by Mr. C. J. Rodgers in his "Copper Coins of Akbar," Jour. Beng. As. Soc. vol. xlix. p. 213, but do not themselves agree.

The Madras Journal of Literature and Science, for the year 1880, under the skilful editing of Dr. Gustave Oppert, continues its useful series of papers—this volume containing those on very various subjects, as, for instance, by J. H. Nelson, Esq., M.A., entitled "Hindu Law in Madras in 1714;"—"The predecessors of the High Court of Madras," by John Shaw, Esq., late Registrar of the High Court, Madras;—"The Madras Harbour," by W. Parker, Esq., M.I.C.E.;—and "Descriptive remarks on the Seven Pagodas," by Lieut.-Col. Branfill, C.S.I., a paper which

more naturally falls under the head of Archæology. In the first paper, Mr. Nelson goes over much of the ground he has traversed in his "Hindu Law at Madras," in the Journal of this Society, Vol. XIII. Pt. II. April, 1881—especially with reference to a famous letter, written in 1714, after he had been working at the Madura Mission for 26 years, by the Jesuit Father Bouchet to President Cocher, a leading magistrate in France, the gist of which is to show that the Indians he met with had no civil laws, but only certain religious precepts—"Ils ont ni Code ni Digeste," he says, "ni aucun livre ou soient écrites les loix auxquelles ils doivent se conformer pour terminer les differents qui naissent dans les familles." Mr. Shaw, in his paper, "The Predecessors of the High Court of Madras," ably describes the course of legal procedure in that Presidency from March, 1678, thirty-eight years after the Raja of Chandagiri had granted the strip of territory on which Fort St. George was built, to A.D. 1726. The three papers should be studied together, forming, as they thus would, a clear sketch of the old Law of Madras previously to the establishment of the Supreme Court. Mr. W. Parker's account of the construction by him of the first harbour between Trincomali and the Hugli, is worth attention though scientific rather than literary.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—Vol. xiv. No. 38 (1880), contains papers by Mr. E. Rehatsek, "On the History of the Wahhábys in Arabia and India,"—and "The Doctrines of Metempsychosis and Incarnation among nine heretic Muhammedan Sects": and vol. xiv. No. 39 (1881), four papers by the same gentleman, entitled, severally, "Picture and description of Borák,"—"The Alexander-Myth of the Persians,"—"Specimens of Pre-Islamitic poetry selected and translated from the Hamasah,"—and "Emporia, chiefly ports of Arab and Indian International Commerce

before the Christian Era" (with a Map). The Rev. A. Bourquin contributes a paper "On Dharmasindhu—or the Ocean of Religious rites." Other papers there are which will be noticed under their special heads. In the Proceedings for 1880 is an interesting account by the Hon. J. Gibbs, C.S.I., M.R.A.S., of the Order of the Cross and Seal of Solomon proposed to have been founded by King Theodore of Abyssinia.

Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—No Journal of this Society has, so far as we are aware, been published this year, but the address of the President Charles Bruce, Esq., C.M.G., M.R.A.S., has been forwarded to the Society, and deals with the literary progress of Ceylon, in a remarkably clear and satisfactory manner. Mr. Bruce divides his address under the various heads of:—1. History. 2. Religions. 3. Literature. 4. Art. 5. Social condition of the People. 6. Physical Science. In the first of these, Mr. Bruce bears high testimony to the valuable labours of Dr. E. Müller, —stating that his Report may soon be expected, with the further assurance that the well-known labours of Maha-Mudaliyar de Zoysa on the Translation of the Mahawanso have been only delayed by failing health and loss of sight, it being also thought more important that he should devote what remaining strength he may have to the completion of the Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Temple Libraries, on which he has been for many years engaged. Mr. Bruce adds that M. de Zoysa appears to have found in the Mahavanso a passage, which, if confirmed, will go far to explain the true origin of the Veddás. Mr. Bruce further states that two Vedda skulls have been sent to Prof. Virchow,—and that an essay on them, entitled, "Ueber die Weddas von Ceylon und ihre beziehungen zu den Nachbarstammen," has reached Ceylon. Full details of Prof. Virchow's views cannot, however, be published at present, as he has naturally asked for further

details with regard to the number of Veddas still surviving, their colour, shape of features, etc., etc.

We are glad to learn from Mr. Bruce that Mr. Albert Gray, M.R.A.S., has offered to the Society a translation from the French of Dufremery and Sanguinetti of so much of the Travels of Ibn Batuta (about A.D. 1344) as relates to Ceylon and the Maldive Islands,—that Mr. Donald Ferguson is preparing a translation from the work of Prof. I. de Vasconcellos Abreu, entitled, "Origem do Reino de Seoes e do nome de Ceilao," and further that there is good hope of much interesting historical matter being discovered in the old Dutch records still preserved in the Government Office. Under his second head, Mr. Bruce points out how much valuable literary work has been done by missionaries, whose first object has been, properly, to study any number of different languages, so as to fit themselves thereby for the highest task of all, the translation of the Holy Scriptures. In many cases, besides translating the Bible and other elements of the Christian Faith, the missionaries have been able to give critical editions of original texts of ancient books, which claim to be the repositories of primeval creeds: the result being that Christian scholars have now made it possible for the adherents of the four chief antagonistic systems prevalent in the world—Christianity, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Islâm—to study each of their dogmas, in the books held to be sacred by each. Much has been done in Ceylon for the promotion of Buddhist literature, mainly through the exertions of the Managers of Vidyâdaya College Library, and of the library of the Priest Subhuti Terannânse of Waskadawa. The College library was founded by the High Priest, Sumangala, the Principal of the College, and was opened about two years ago; and is rich in Pali, Sanskrit, and English works relating to Buddhism, being open for public use, without the payment of any subscription. The learned owner of the Waskadawa library has prepared a revised edition of the

Pali Dictionary, *Abhidánappadipiká*, which is now in the press, and has made a Catalogue of the works in his own Library, which will be of great use to the Pali Text Society.

Mr. Donald Ferguson has prepared for the Society the text and a translation of the *Jinacaratan*—a life of Buddha in Pâli verse: a private Society of Buddhists has lately published the *Sasavansa Dipo*—a history of the Buddhist Church in Pâli verse: Prof. M. M. Künte has written a paper on *Nirvana*, which will be published in a future number of the Journal: Mr. C. J. R. Le Mesurier has drawn up an account of the chief religious ceremonies observed by the Kandyans, and Mr. A. T. Shams-ud-din one on the Mira Kanduri festival of the Muhammedans—with the addition of an interesting note, supplied by Mr. H. C. Bell. Mr. Bell, in a paper before the Society, has shown that, till quite recently, Buddhism can hardly be said to have existed at all, as a religion, among the lower castes of the Sinhalese. Maha-Mudaliyar de Zoysa is preparing for publication the translation of a sermon by Buddha on Omens. Mr. Bruce, under his third head, gives very ample and interesting details of various works by Mr. Gunetilake, to some of which allusion was made in last year's report. Mr. W. P. Rapasiṇha is preparing a paper "On the Sinhalese Language." The physical portion of Mr. Bruce's able report need not be dwelt on here.

From the Proceedings, we gather that Mr. S. Mervin, a Jaffa Tamil, has contributed an able paper, "On Hindu Astronomy as compared with European Science," though some of the statements in it may be reasonably questioned:—and that Mr. Smither read a paper "On some ruins at Horana;" adding, somewhat later, an able letter, combating, at considerable length, the views set forth by Mr. Mervin.

Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—This Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is located

at Singapore, has continued its useful labours during the past year. Thus, in Part 6 are excellent papers by Messrs. F. A. Swettenham, N. B. Dennys, and the Rev. J. Perham. In the first the writer gives an interesting account of the "Independent Native States of the Malay Peninsula":—in the second, Mr. Dennys continues his valuable contribution to Malayan Bibliography;—in the third, Mr. Perham gives a very curious "Sea-Dyak Tradition of the Deluge and consequent Events." The two following Nos., 7 and 8, are full of matter, but, naturally, of more direct interest to the dwellers under the Equator, than to the readers of this Journal. It is worth while, however, to give a list of the articles published, as these will show better than anything else the range of study of the contributors to this Journal. Thus, in Pt. 7, we find papers by J. Errington de la Croix, On the mining districts of Lower Perak;—by W. E. Maxwell, M.R.A.S., On the Folklore of the Malays;—by J. J. L. Wheatley, On the Rainfall at Singapore;—by Capt. W. C. Lennon, Journal of a Voyage through the Straits of Malacca on an expedition to the Molucca Islands (in 1796);—A sketch of the career of the late James Richardson Logan, by J. Turnbull Thomson;—and a Memorandum of the various tribes inhabiting Penang and Province Wellesley, by J. R. Logan. It should be stated that the last two papers have been lying for years unnoticed in Government offices: and that the first was discovered in the India Office Library, and copied, when recently in England, by Mr. W. E. Maxwell, M.R.A.S. In Part 8, are papers On the Endau and its tributaries;—an Itinerary from Singapore to the source of the Sĕmbrong, and up the Mâdek, by D. F. A. Harvey, M.R.A.S.;—Setara, or Sea Dyak Gods, by the Rev. J. Perham;—and Klouwang and its Caves, on the west Coast of Achin, translated by D. F. A. Hervey from the travelling notes of M. L. H. Wallon.

Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. New Series, No. xv. 1880. The Journal for the year 1880, the last which has reached us, contains only papers by Messrs. Bretschneider, S. W. Bushell, and F. H. Balfour. Of these, the first and last relate to matters of physical science—Dr. Bushell's will be noticed under "Numismatics." —No. xvi. is entirely devoted to matters Chinese, and to physical science. It does not, therefore, come directly under the consideration of this Report. The titles, however, of the several articles shall be given—and it may be added that many of them are very interesting, and quite sustain the previously high character of this Journal. The subjects are, 1. Notes on the Hydrology of the Yang-tse, the Yellow River, and the Peiho, by H. B. Guppy, Esq., M.B. 2. Some Notes on the Geology of Takow, Formosa, by the same. 3. Botanicon Sinicum—Notes on Chinese Botany from Native and Western Sources, by E. Bretschneider, M.D. Appendix, Celebrated Mountains of China. 4. The Climate of Shanghai — its Meteorological Condition, by the Revd. Father M. Dechevrens, S.J.; and a list of the Ferns, found in the Valley of the Min River, Foochow, by G. C. Anderson, Esq.

Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan.—Vol. ix. part 2 contains Contributions to the History of the Japanese Transcription of Chinese Sounds, by Joseph Edkins, D.D.;—Historical Notes on Nagasaki, by Mr. W. A. Woolley;—Capture and Captivity of Père Giovan-Battista Sidotti in Japan, from 1709 to 1715, by Rev. W. B. Wright;—Descriptive Notes on the Rosaries (Jin-Dzu) as used by different Sects of Buddhists in Japan, by Mr. J. M. James;—and Ancient Japanese Rituals, by Mr. Ernest Satow. In vol. ix. part 3 are papers by Mr. W. G. Aston, "Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea, Chapt. 3, Negotiation";—by Mr. Basil H. Chamberlain, "A Translation of the Dou-zhi-

ken, Teachings for the Young";—and by Mr. J. Conder, "The history of Japanese Costume, No. 2, Armour." Dr. Edkins's paper is of value as showing that the intercourse between China and Japan was really older by centuries than Mr. Satow had urged in a former paper, there being evidence of embassies between the two countries as early as the first and second centuries A.D. Mr. Woolley's paper will chiefly interest dwellers in Japan; but there is in it a curious account of the visits of English and Russian ships of war in 1673 and 1804 respectively. On the latter occasion, when the Russian Envoy paid a visit to the Governor, the roads through which he and his suite passed were hung with curtains on each side, to prevent the Russians from seeing or being seen. The Rev. W. B. Wright's translation of the original native account of the Capture and Captivity of Père Sidotti is very curious. Mr. Chamberlain, in his paper, which is translated from the Chinese, states that the author of the "Teachings for the Young" is believed to have been an eminent Buddhist priest who lived about A.D. 884, who wrote many works on the Sacred Books of the Great Vehicle (Mahâyâna School), and made investigations into the Sanskrit (Pali) Language.

Journal Asiatique, vol. xvii. No. 3, April, May, June, 1881, commences with an elaborate article by M. Halevy, M.R.A.S., entitled "Essai sur les Inscriptions du Safa," the continuation and completion of a previous article already noticed in the Report of this Society for 1881. This is followed by an important article by M. Basset, called "Etudes sur l'Histoire d'Ethiopie," 1re partie, in which he examines the story of the early history of Ethiopia, together with an Ethiopian Chronicle, preserved among the MSS. of the "Bibliothèque Nationale." In this paper, M. Basset gives the Ethiopic text from the MS., with a translation, and a large number of valuable notes. This paper is followed by

one by M. M. J. Darmesteter, "Observations sur le Vendidad," in which he criticizes pretty freely the views held on the same subject by MM. Bréal, West, and de Harlez. The part concludes with a paper by M. Léon Feer, "Etudes Bouddhiques—Comment on devient Pratyeka Bouddha," in which he points out that there were, in reality, three Buddhas, 1st, the Bodhi des Çravakas — the most humble of the three; 2. The Bodhi of the Pratyeka-Buddhas, who occupies an intermediate position; and 3. The Bodhi of the Buddhas, who holds the highest place; M. Feer adds, however, that there is no *practical* difference between these different Buddhas—whatever difference there may be, when considered metaphysically, such differences, even if they exist, being of too refined a nature to be stated in popular language. The part concludes with a notice of the different matters discussed at the several meetings of the Society from April to June, the most important being, M. Halevy's criticism on Mr. Sayce's account of the Inscription at Siloam;—by the same writer, "On the names of some Babylonian Divinities mentioned by Berosus," with reviews by C. de Harlez of E. West's "Pahlavi Texts" translated for the Sacred Books of the East;—by M. Sénart, of "Le denouement de l'histoire de Rama-Outtara-Rama-Charita, by Prof. Nève;" and, by M. Barbier de Meynard, of "Haroun Arraschid, Caliph of Baghdad, by E. H. Palmer," and by M. Zotenberg, of "Die Arabischen Handschriften de Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha," edited by Dr. W. Pertsch.

Tom. xviii. No. 1, July, 1881, is, as usual, entirely devoted to M. Renan's Annual Report, in which, *inter alia*, he gives good notices of the late M. de Saulcy, stating that he was the first to read the name of *Sargon* on one of the Khorsabad Monuments, and of M. Mariette, whose recent death it is not only Egyptologists who deplore.

In the No. for August and September, M. Basset continues

his previous paper on the history of Ethiopia, with a collection of "*pièces justificatives*" of the highest interest. M. Rodet, always foremost in the application of modern mathematical science to the investigation of ancient problems of the same class, contributes a valuable paper entitled "Les pretendus problèmes d'Algèbre du manuel du calculateur Egyptien (Papyrus Rhind)," in which he discusses, at considerable length, the famous paper published in 1868 by M. Eisenlohr, entitled "Ein Mathematisches Handbuch der Alten Ægypter," and M. Cantor's "Vorlesungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik."—M. Amiaud contributes "Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire Assyrien," together with a brief notice on the Inscription of Siloe by M. Halevy.—M. Camille Imbault-Huart adds a paper, called "Miscellanées Chinoises," comprising "Une visite à un Etablissement Charitable Indigène près Changhai," and "Notice sur la vie et les œuvres de Oueï Yuan."—M. Huart reviews "Numounè-i Eilebiyyat, Modèles de litterature," by Abou-z-ziya Teotiq-Efendi, published at Constantinople in 1879; and M. Aristide Marre adds notes "Sur le Biographie Malaise."

In Oct. Nov. Dec. 1881, M. Basset continues his "Etudes sur l'histoire d'Ethiopie," with the same richness of "pièces justificatives" which characterize his earlier papers. M. Rodet follows up his essay "Les pretendus problèmes d'Algèbre." M. Léon Feer continues his "Etudes Bouddhiques" with a paper entitled "Comment on devient Arhat," the number concluding with a paper by M. Sauvaire, on the subject on which he has thrown recently so much light, viz. "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie Musulmanes," the first portion of which deals with "Monnaies." M. de Harlez adds "Un fragment d'un Commentaire sur les Vendidâd." Among the "Nouvelles et Mélanges," at the close of the part, M. C. Imbault-Huart continues his paper, entitled "Miscellanées Chinoises," comprising "Historiettes Morales," "Anecdotes et bons

Mots," "Les ponts suspendus au Yun Nana," and "Pensées et maximes inédits." M. Barbier de Meynard reviews M. Hartwig Derenbourg's "Le Livre de Sibawaihi, traité de Grammaire Arabe"; and the "Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum, drawn up by C. Rieu, vol. ii. 1881."

In part i. Jan. 1882, M. Renan contributes a paper, "Sur quelques Noms Arabes qui figurent dans les Inscriptions Grecques de l'Auranitide," in which he discusses, with his usual completeness, the whole question of the Haurán Inscriptions, his immediate subject being some twelve Inscriptions published by the American Oriental Society in 1855, the results of the researches of the Rev. Mr. Porter, of Damascus. His criticism will not (we think) be pleasing to the authors of this production. M. Sauvaire continues his paper "Sur la Numismatique et la Metrologie Musulmanes." M. Oppert gives an account of "Les Textes Sumériens rapportés du Tell par M. de Sarzic." M. Léon Feer adds a review of "Les Instructions familières du Dr. Tchou-po-lou"; and M. C. de Harlez, a review of "Dinkart, Le Future et la Foi," by Peshotu Behramji Sungara.

No. 2, Fevrier et Mars, 1882, contains articles by M. Sauvaire, "Sur la Numismatique et la Metrologie Musulmanes"; —by M. Clement Huart, "Sur les livres Turcs, Arabes et Persans," 2nd article;—by M. Abel Bergaigne, "Une Nouvelle Inscription Cambodgienne."—M. Huart's paper is a continuation of one published by him in October, 1880, and comprises a valuable notice of books that have been printed in Constantinople, together with others from the presses of Beirut and Cairo. M. Huart, also, gives a list of the different newspapers published in Turkish at Constantinople, and, also, of those in languages foreign to the Turks, with a further notice of the Journals issued in Rumelia, Smyrna, Egypt, etc. In the "Annexes" at the end of the volume, are a series of brief but useful papers, by MM.

Hauvette-Besnault, Sénart, D'Abbadie, Imbault-Huart, and Pavet de Courteille.

German Oriental Society.—Since the last Report, vol. xxxv. parts 2, 3, and xxxvi. part 1 have been issued, containing as usual a large quantity of interesting matter. Most of the articles are however on technical, not to say special, subjects, and will therefore be noticed hereafter under their respective heads.

American Oriental Society.—In vol. xi. pt. 1 of this Journal are the following papers, each and all of importance for the students of Oriental Philology—

"On the verbal roots of the Sanskrit Language," by A. Hjalmar Edgren:—"On the accentuation of the Vocative case in the Rig and Atharva Vedas," by William Haskell, Ph.D.:—"On the relation of the Palatal and Labial Vowels in the Rig-Veda," by A. Hjalmar Edgren:—"Notices of Fu-Sang," etc., by Prof. S. Wells Williams:—"Indra in the Rig-Veda," by Mr. E. D. Perry. The present volume gives an account of the different meetings of the Society during the years 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, and of the papers read at them, many of which are naturally of much value. The special papers in this volume and in the Proceedings for 1881 will be noticed hereafter under their appropriate subjects.

The twelfth volume (published six or eight months before vol. xi. pt. 1) is entirely occupied by Prof. W. D. Whitney's elaborate "Index Verborum" to the Rig-Veda, occupying 383 pages, closely printed with two columns on each page.

Archæology.—Considerable progress has been made this year, as in former years, in Archæological researches; but, with the exception of Mr. Rassam's work in Southern

Babylonia, which will be noticed under the head of "Assyrian," there is not so much specially to record. The last publications of Major-General Cunningham, with a few notes on the work done quite recently by Messrs. Sewell and Burgess must, however, be noticed.

Major-General Cunningham, in the twelfth volume of his Archæological Survey, gives a report of tours in the Central Doab and Gorakhpur districts made by Mr. Carlleyle, under his superintendence, 1874-5 and 1875-6. These have, of course, some interest, and would have had more, were it not, as we have pointed out on previous occasions, that so long a time has elapsed since these journeys were made. Doubtless, General Cunningham has done his best to expedite the publication of his Journals, but the fact remains that we are reading, for the first time, in 1880, the results of work done six or seven years ago. Time, in Archæological research, as in everything else, passes on rapidly, and the student, at home, if not in India, would prefer to know what was done last year, to what may have been accomplished several years before. The chief matters of the present volume are a description by Mr. Carlleyle of his labours in the two districts above mentioned, in each of which he made discoveries which may, hereafter, prove to be of importance. Thus, in the Doab, he examined thoroughly the great mound of Indor Khera (Indraputra), and obtained thence, a copper-plate inscription of Skanda Gupta, dated in the year 146 of the Gupta Era (or about A.D. 224-5), a translation of which has been supplied by Rajendra Lala Mitra.

The most valuable result of his researches (if indeed the data on which his reasoning rests should prove to be satisfactory on more careful study), is the determination of the position of the celebrated town of *Kapilavastu*, the birthplace of Sakya Buddha, and, for many years, the most venerated of the Holy Places of Buddhism. At present,

only a mere village, there still remain around it many old sites, the unchanged names of which tend, apparently, to confirm his identification. Of these, may be mentioned the *Sar-kuïa* or 'Arrow-well,' and the *Hathi-gadha* or 'Elephant Pit,' both of which spots are mentioned by the Chinese Pilgrim Hiouen-Thsang.

General Cunningham adds that, some time subsequently, he himself visited these places, and was convinced that Mr. Carlleyle's discovery was well founded, which of course it *may* be, though the evidence for the identification is somewhat shadowy and difficult to follow without more details than are at present available. Gen. Cunningham is, also, of opinion, that the sites of the birth-places of the two previous Buddhas, Kraku Chanda and Kanaka, have been correctly made out. It is not necessary to give here the details of Mr. Carlleyle's work, but it may be remarked that in these excavations, as at Nineveh, the discoverers noticed impressions of the feet of animals which must have walked over the soft clay of the bricks before they had hardened. *Inter alia*, Mr. Carlleyle observed one of a leopard $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth; while another brick bore further marks of the two paws of either a young leopard or of a wolf; another exhibited those of the hoof of a young deer or Sanbur; while yet another one had been broken in two by the spring of an antelope. There was, also, the impress of a human foot, 7 inches in length, by 3 in breadth, and, therefore, probably that of a child. The great mound of Indore (Indraputra?) measures 850 feet from N. to S. and about 1250 feet from E. to W. Mr. Carlleyle was so fortunate, as to discover the site of one of the original gate-ways, and to excavate, thence, a richly sculptured block of *Kankar* stone, which had evidently belonged to one of the side corners of the ancient entrance. It seems probable, that ancient *Indraputra* was a fortified city, not unlike Nimrud, consisting of a great earth-work platform, surrounded, perhaps, by a parapet wall, with a

lower and outer *fausse-braïe*. In the course of his excavations, Mr. Carleylle, at various places, found massive brick walls, many of the individual bricks of which measured 1ft. 4in. to 1ft. 9in. in length, $9\frac{1}{4}$ in breadth, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. It is curious to see, how nearly these measurements agree with the finest Roman brick-work of the time of Nero, as recorded in Mr. J. H. Parker's Roman Researches. It should be added that this volume is accompanied by a good index and by twelve plates, with maps and lithographs, variously illustrating its text.

We proceed now to give some Archæological details from the Journals of different societies, and we take first that of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Thus, in vol. L. pt. 1,

Mr. V. Smith, in a paper entitled "Contributions to the History of Bundelkhand," points out that the period of the great Tank-Work, in that district, admits of being clearly distinguished as *Chandel*, or pre-Chandel. In the Gaharwar, or later works, no cut stone is ever found in the embankments, whereas, those made by the Chandels are generally found to be of dressed granite blocks. The general antiquity of the Gaharwar works is attested, not only by the rudeness of their construction, but also by the fact, that, in several cases, the embankments are broken, and the beds of the Lakes or the Tanks are dry. The greatest of the Gaharwar works is the massive embankment of the Bijanagar Lake, a beautiful sheet of water about four miles in circumference, situated three miles east of Makoba. Mr. Smith's paper is of much Archæological interest, as giving a very full account of the Chandel princes and of their works, and, also, as supplementing the earlier reports of Major-General Cunningham (see Archæol. Reports, vols. ii. and ix.). Mr. Smith has, also, furnished a useful Chronological Table of the more important data, agreeably with which it has been drawn up.

In vol. L. part 3, General Cunningham gives a very

interesting notice, accompanied by nine autotype plates, of "Relics from Ancient Persia in gold, silver, and copper." These objects were found in 1877, on the N. bank of the Oxus, near the town of Takht-i-Khawât, opposite Khulm. The finders having quarrelled, the collection was, of course, dispersed. Two of the best specimens were given by Sir Louis Cavagnari to Lord Lytton; most of the remainder came into General Cunningham's hands. Many coins were found with them, ranging, in his opinion, over a period of about 300 years, from the time of Darius Hystaspis to that of Antiochus the Great and Euthydemus of Bactriana.

From the Proceedings of the Society we learn that, at various of their meetings, Dr. Hoernle exhibited a miscellaneous collection of relics excavated at Buddha Gaya, these being, however, by no means, necessarily, synchronous with the period when this building was perfect;—that Mr. Linche gave an account of his excavation of a mound near Imadpur;—and Mr. F. S. Growse a note on a photograph of a Buddhist Sculpture found at Bulandshahr, with details of other "curiosities" found at that place. The sculpture is that of a Buddha on a square block, 16½ inches each way, with a Buddhist inscription in characters of the ninth or tenth century. The "curiosities" seem to have consisted of a considerable number of rude vases or pots, found among the remains of an ancient potter's kiln.—At a subsequent meeting, Dr. Hoernle described a curious old seal, also found on or near the same site by Mr. Growse. On it was a name in characters of the fifth century, which would seem to read Satilla, or Mattila. Somewhat later, Dr. Mitra read a paper "On the Temples at Deoghar," wherein he stated that the principal buildings of the place are all located in a court-yard in the N.E. quarter of the town, the largest and the most sacred one, a Temple, being not more than 400 years old. The presiding Divinity is a lingam about 3½ inches high, and 4 inches in diameter. Some of

the images in the minor temples are probably of Buddhist origin. Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac has contributed a large collection of Stone Implements, many of them of entirely new types, found by himself and Mr. J. Cockburn in the Banda District, the latter gentleman having an especial claim to recognition for the zeal which he has personally shown in securing this remarkable collection of about 366 axes or portion of axes. As in Europe, these antiquities fall into the same two leading classes, of chipped or rough hewn, and polished Celts; the Celts from the far East and the far West having a remarkable similarity. What is, however, very curious, as confirming the manner in which Mr. John Evans thinks that these objects were hafted, is the fact that Mr. Cockburn discovered an old stone carving in the Banda district, on which is a man holding in his hand a stone implement, inserted in a handle. Mr. J. Cockburn, also, exhibited at one of the meetings of the Society, a multiple Phallus of an uncommon shape, known as the Panchanan or Panchmukki Lingam: he found it among a heap of fragments of sculpture, Celts, etc., just outside the village of Uchah, in the Banda district (see Maisey, Ant. of Kalinjar, J.A.S. vol. xvii. pp. 177, 187, 198).

In India itself, Mr. Sewell and Mr. Burgess have been busily employed, though, generally, independently, Mr. Sewell having been the first in the field—as Mr. Burgess was delayed for some time on his way from England to Madras, viâ Bombay. It appears that, in the autumn of last year, Mr. Sewell received a notice from the Kistna district of the discovery, in a mound of earth near the village of Mallevaram, in the Tumrikota division of Palnâd Taluk, of some sculptured marbles, the description he received leading him to think that the original structure was, probably, that of a Buddhist place of worship, most likely resembling the neighbouring Amravati. Mr. Sewell, at once, therefore, applied to the Government of Madras, and

an order was sent by the Chief Secretary, desiring that a guard should be placed over any sculptures that might be found, till they could be properly examined by Mr. Burgess. The actual name of the place seems to be Iaggayapet. Since Mr. Sewell first heard of it, there has been time to examine the remains thoroughly, and these turn out to be as important as he at first anticipated. We understand that Mr. Sewell's other Archæological work has been proceeding satisfactorily; his first volume, with a skeleton list of the Antiquities of each district in the Presidency of Madras, book references, notes on the inscriptions, and a brief historical outline at the commencement of each district, having been completed, with Preface and Index. The second volume will, doubtless, contain much general and practical information, as well as a table of known inscriptions arranged in order of date, together with genealogical lists of dynasties. The inscriptions are classed by Dynasties, so as to collect together all those belonging to any one ruler, chronologically. Added to the above will be a brief notice of the examination of 215 copper-plate grants. It will, however, probably be some time before the second volume can be issued from the press.

The following is the substance of what Mr. Burgess has ascertained during the examination he has recently given to the site of Mr. Sewell's discovery. The place is about 30 miles from Amravati, and, unquestionably, represents the remains of a Buddhist Stûpa, two or three centuries earlier than Amrávati, and probably as old as the Vihâra at Pitalkhorá and the Stûpa at Bharhut, *i.e.* about 200 B.C. The first discovery was that of some limestone slabs, one bearing sculptures, apparently arranged in a circle, together with an inscription on a broken pillar. These indications were sufficient to show that a Buddhist tope had been discovered on a mound on the Dhana Bodŭ hill. The monument had been, however, greatly injured, as it had

been used, from time immemorial, by the people of the neighbourhood, as a quarry, the slabs the villagers met with having been broken up and carried off whenever likely to be of service. Mr. Burgess thought that, originally, there must have been a systematic distinction of pillars, which covered a large platform, extending about 160 yards eastwards, from the Stûpa. About 30 bases of these pillars remain, but they are all broken off at the level of the ground. Stelæ, as at Amravati, had stood on the four sides of this Stûpa, and a fragment of one of these, with a long inscription of Madhariputra, one of the Andhra kings, was still found remaining in the roof of a ruined temple at the foot of the hill. It must have been carried off at least a century ago. Again, at the east gate of the Stûpa, another pillar was found, buried where it had fallen, and bearing a nearly identical inscription of the same king. The base of the Stûpa has been surrounded by slabs, about four feet high, the joints being covered by little pilasters carved on the edge of each slab. These pilasters have winged animals on their capitals, and a human figure on the shaft. The capitals are so like those in the Vihara at Pitalkhorâ (Cave Temples, pl. xvi.), that they must be relegated to the same age—that is, to a period long anterior to the probable date of Madhariputra. Only two sculptured slabs and a few fragments have been found, but the carving on these is in so archaic a style and in such low relief, that they could not have been executed within half a century after the Amravati sculptures, or at Amravati itself. Mr. Burgess was fortunate enough to discover an inscription of Pulumâvi Vaisiṣṭhâputra; and, over two of the pilasters, he found, also, fragments of short inscriptions in an alphabet identical with that used in the Pitalkhorâ Caves, and of a date quite four centuries earlier than that used at Madhariputra. This evidence shows that the tope was constructed about B.C. 200, possibly by one of the very first of the Andhra

kings, its existence in this district having a distinct bearing on the spread of Buddhism, as, also, on the state of the Arts in Telingana at that early period. The stone used is the same as that at Amravati, and, for both works, the quarry was, doubtless, at Muktiyâla, about six miles from this place, whence the blocks were carried down the Kistna to Amrâvati. Mr. Burgess was, also, successful in laying bare the Procession path, about $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, quite round the Stûpa, at the same time discovering fragments of the base, on which, no doubt, the rail once stood.

Many interesting papers have been printed in the Journals of different Societies, on the subject of Indian Archæology during the last year, of which the following may be specified. Thus, in the *Athenæum*, Sir George Birdwood has written "On Ajanta Cave-Paintings," in which he suggests a, probably, indirect influence on them from China, his opinion being that the flowers and fruits on these Buddhist frescoes have a remarkable resemblance to those roughly painted on modern Chinese tea-chests. In following out this argument, Sir G. Birdwood calls attention to four panels, embroidered *in appliqué*, and arranged exactly as at Ajanta, the floral decorations separating them having much resemblance to those at Ajanta. Again, in the mural decorations of Ajanta Cave No. 2, Sir George has noticed a Dragon's head, which might be Chinese, Japanese, Burmese, or Nipalese. Mr. Fergusson has pointed out the similarity between the Priests' tombs in Canara and the Pagodas at Katmandhu, in Nipal, China and Tibet (Hist. Ind. Arch. p. 275), at the same time, showing the almost identity of a figure on the archway behind the Great Wall at Nankin, Garuda, the half-man half-bird, on which Vishnu rides, with the seven-headed Naga or serpent on each side of him, — and the subject over the doorway of the Durbar house at Bhatgaon. This type of art, Mr. Fergusson thinks, represents one which came into China from the North. In both these examples,

below the Nagas, which flank Garuda right and left, there is represented the monstrous form, so common in Indian decorative work, the identity of the Chinese-like Dragon form at Ajanta with the Chinese and Burmese Dragon, being very striking. Sir G. Birdwood adds that the designs of the ornamental wares made in Kashmír, Bijnaur, and Purniah, as well as in other places in the N.W. Provinces and Lower Bengal, are still often copied from obscure Chinese examples, the originals of which rarely come to Europe.—In a later number of the same Journal, Mr. H. B. W. Garrick calls attention to a number of huge Monoliths in the provinces to the N. of the Ganges, apparently marking the direction of a road, perhaps a Royal one, between Pataliputra and Nipal. We know from history that the erection of such columns along roads was a common practice of the Magadha rulers, whose empire lasted from about 320 B.C. to 450 A.D. It is impossible, here, to go into details with reference to Mr. Garrick's interesting researches, nor need this be done, as they are to be printed *in extenso* with his drawings and measurements in the "Archæological Report for 1880-1," whenever this will appear. It may, however, be stated that the general design is, simply, two irregular lines running N.W. from Mozufferpur to Nipal on the E., and from Allahabad to Nipal on the W.

In the *Academy*, we find a paper by A. W. Franks, Esq., F.R.S., read before the Soc. of Antiquaries, giving a general description of the Amravati Sculptures, lately transferred to the British Museum, but not offering. so far as we can see, any new views on this subject, beyond the suggestion that they range over a period from A.D. 200 to A.D. 500, which will not, we think, be generally accepted.—A notice is also given of the "Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité," by MM. Perrot and Chipirz, which is so far valuable that M. Perrot has, up to the present time, explored more fully than any other man certain parts of Asia Minor. This work is coming out

in parts, of which 8 or 10 have appeared, and it may be stated that the illustrations are generally new, and could not have been produced without much labour and cost. Another book, of the same class, is in progress, that entitled, "Monuments de l'Art Antique," under the editorship of M. Rayet. Of this work, pt. 2 is out, and contains many plates of Greek monuments, with some of Egyptian—all excellently done. We wait, however, under part of this branch of study, to know the results of the recent researches of Mr. W. M. Ramsay, which are, now, in progress: some notes of his journeys have been read at a recent meeting of the Hellenic Society. In the *Academy*, also (July 23), we find a very full and careful review of Mr. Rajendralala Mitra's "Antiquities of Orissa," by Mr. W. Simpson, a writer who, from his widely-extended travels, and long-practised skill as an artist, is peculiarly fitted for such a task. His judgment is generally favourable, at all events from the Art-side of the question. Mr. Simpson was not called on to discuss the writer's peculiar views on Indian Archæology or Architecture, which are, certainly, not generally accepted by Western students.

Other papers in the same Journal are a review of Dr. H. A. Oldfield's "Nipal Sketches," a book of considerable value from the excellence of the author's own drawings, though very unsatisfactorily edited, and somewhat late in publication:—and a review by Dr. A. Burnell, of Mr. Burgess's "Archæological Survey of Western India—Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India," containing some useful suggestions.

In the *Indian Antiquary* Mr. Burgess has, under the title of "Is Bezawáda on the site of Dhanakaṭaka?" reviewed the opinions expressed by Mr. Sewell in an article in the Journ. R.A.S. N.S. Vol. XII. pp. 98–109, and has expressed, in somewhat plain language, his dissent from them.—It may be added that Mr. Ashbee has presented to the Society of

Antiquaries a stone carving of an Elephant, ridden by two men, which was given to him by the keepers of a Jain Temple at Bangalore, in Mysore, in 1880; he exhibited, also, at one of the Society's Meetings, a photograph of a statue of Buddha still in front of the Temple, the top of the building reaching scarcely as high as the thigh of the image.

The Rev. Archdeacon Hose has contributed to the Journal of the Straits Settlements, No. 6, a paper "On the Ruins of Boro Budur in Java," accompanied with a note, from W. von Goldstein, the Minister of the Dutch Colonies. In this paper, it is stated that the first knowledge of this famous building was brought under the notice of Europeans by Sir Stamford Raffles, who directed Lieut. Cornelius, an Engineer officer, to examine and report on them. After many years, photography was adopted in 1844, with the view of obtaining correct representations of what still existed *in situ*, but the preparation of accurate plans and drawings was not undertaken till 1847, when M. Rochussen was Governor-General of Netherlands-India, : in that year, M. F. C. Wilsen and M. Schumberg Mulder, of the Corps of Engineers, were appointed to make a general survey with sufficient drawings, a task which took up nearly, if not quite, five years—the general result being that, in 1871, eighteen years after M. Wilsen's drawings had been begun, and more than twenty-five years since Sir Stamford Raffles had first called attention to them, the whole series of 393 plates was completed. Much difference of opinion has naturally arisen on the date of this Sacred Edifice, but these are questions to which we cannot here refer. It may, however, be observed that if Crawford was mistaken in attempting to fix its date so late as A.D. 1344, Dr. Leemanns was scarcely correct in giving it to the eighth or ninth century of our era. Mr. Fergusson, on the other hand, for reasons set forth in his History of Indian Architecture, p. 646, is

inclined to place its commencement at least a century earlier. There can be little doubt that the original germinal idea of a Buddhist temple was a mound to contain a precious casket, in which some relic of the Buddha was enshrined. The paper then goes into details about Buddhism and its founder, which have been fully discussed elsewhere, and, besides, have in them nothing of any special or novel interest. All the evidence available goes to show that Buddhism was decaying during the period of the last great Hindu Empire in Java,—that of Majapahit,—and that it disappeared, finally, when Islám triumphed over this last refuge of Hinduism, about A.D. 1400. M. Wilsen thinks, with much probability, that the injuries Boro Budur exhibits are mainly due to the religious wars between the Old and the New Faith. Mr. Bramund, on the other hand, attributes the partial destruction of this grand monument to the natural neglect into which it fell, after the success of Islam, to the powers of nature, earthquakes, the luxuriant growth of tropical vegetation, and to the influence, respectively, of droughts and heavy rains. Further damage has, also, been done by the natives of the present day, who look on the Temple as an invaluable mine for building purposes, and by Europeans who, unable to remove the statues in their completeness, have not hesitated to chop off any heads, etc., they took a fancy to.

Indian Antiquary.—The Indian Antiquary, which has now reached its eleventh year, under the able editing of Mr. Burgess, has been in nowise inferior to former years, and has been the vehicle for the publication of much useful and valuable information. Indeed, with the names of Colonel Branfill, Messrs. Beal, Bühler, Morris, Tawney, Sewell, Fleet, Oldenberg, Howorth, and Capt. R. C. Temple, as contributors to it, it could hardly fail to contain many interesting papers. A good many people, however, will think that

this Journal has been, of late, rather overdone in the matter of Folklore, a special subject which can only appeal to a certain class of students, and this but a limited one, while Mr. Howorth would, we think, do well to abridge the somewhat overwhelming learning he has devoted to the dreary history of the ancestors of Chinghiz Khan. Among the more interesting papers is one by Colonel Branfill (to whose valuable abilities as an Antiquary we have on former occasions had the pleasure of calling attention), "On Vijnôt and other old sites in N.E. Sindh," which have been recently carefully examined by Mr. Robertson, the Engineer of a portion of the Indus Valley Railway. Colonel Branfill himself became first acquainted with the place and neighbourhood when employed, last year, in the field work of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India in N.W. Sindh. The general character of the architecture laid open to view by the excavations made on the site, and of which Colonel Branfill gives us two plates from his own drawings, exhibit a style of Hindu ornamentation, in all probability more or less local, as the same style, that is, the use of deep sharp-cut incisions with a little superficial tracery, is in vogue even at the present day in Sindh. A great part of the buildings have been constructed of good red bricks, large quantities of which are found in the neighbouring towns and villages, the place having, evidently, been used for years as a mine to supply building materials. That comparatively little stone has been met with, is probably due to the fact that the temple in which, alone, it would be used, was a small one, and that all of this which was not buried deeply in the ruins, had been carried away long since for use or ornament. The general appearance is as if the town had been destroyed by a tornado, or an earthquake, and that the ruins, composed of mud, or sun-dried bricks, mixed with inflammable materials, such as timber and thatch, had then caught fire. *Vichnor* is near "*Vichava-pura*"—M. Stanilas

Julien's rendering of Hiouen Thsang's "Pichen-po-pu-lo"—the capital of the Province in the seventh century.—Colonel Branfill, also, gives an account of two other places of antiquarian interest, Sarwahi (or Seorai) and Pattân Minara.

To Mr. Walhouse, we owe a paper entitled "Scraps and Legends of Folklore," containing a number of various stories, excellently told—the first being about a vast chasm said to exist in the bed of the great river Kâveri, at a seldom-visited locality, called the "Smoking-Rock," from a column of apparently white smoke, but, really of spray-mist, which continually arises from the middle of the river, and floats away with the wind. Mr. Grierson, also, contributes a paper "On Maithila Folklore; or, Vararuchi, as a guesser of Acrostics," taken from the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, Book I. ch. 5, which has been recently translated by Mr. Tawney, who, himself, prints a paper "On a Folk-lore Parallel," in which he points out the remarkable similarity between the story in Herod. iii. c. 118–20, of the answer to Darius by the wife of Intaphernes, and the words put into the mouth of Antigone by Sophocles (Antig. v. 909–912). The story is, really, part of the common heritage of the Aryan races, and will be found in the Uchchhanga Jataka, No. 67 of Fausböll's edition.—A good deal has been done for the promotion of the study of Buddhist remains. Thus Mr. Beal has given a further account of "Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India," with three plates, describing a stone covered with figures and inscriptions found at Buddha Gaya.—Dr. Oscar Frankfurter has written "On Buddhist Chronology;" Dr. Morris "On Buddhaghosa and Milinda-panha;" and Mr. Axon "On the myth of the Sirens," with a supplementary note by Dr. Morris.

Mr. Narayan Aiyangar, also, has given a paper in which he points out, that, while the Buddhist temples are called Chaityas, those belonging to the Brahmanic system are never so named, though this word often occurs in the

Ramâyana, suggesting the possibility, if not the probability, that the great Epic is subsequent in date to the establishment of the Buddhist religion.—Mr. Sewell has written on the Swastika, in which he sums up many of the views that have been written by different writers on this vexed question, and declares that, for himself, he is inclined to accept, with Mr. E. Thomas, its connexion with the worship of the Sun. There are some good notices of books, as, for instance, of Prof. Douglas's "Catalogue of the Chinese Books in the British Museum;" of Mr. MacCrindle's "Ancient India as described by Ktêsias," with a reprint of the late Prof. Lassen's review of the Reports of that Greek writer; and of Major Jacob's Manual of Hindu Pantheism. Two interesting papers are also given by Mr. K. Raghunathji, "On Bombay Beggars and Criers;" and several by Mr. H. H. Howorth, "On Chinghis Khan and his Ancestors." A large number of inscriptions, interpreted by Mr. Fleet, Dr. Hoernle, Mr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, and others, will be noticed under Epigraphy.

It should be added that, during the last year, some other good work, more or less of an antiquarian character, has been performed. Such is the excellent "Manual of the Nilagiri District in the Madras Presidency," by H. B. Grigg, B.A.; and the General Report of the operations of the Survey of India, 1879-80, chiefly in Northern and Southern Afghanistan and Beluchistan, but including, also, Colonel Tanner's important surveys round Gilgit.

General Progress of Oriental Studies.—Aryan Languages.—Sanskrit.—Many valuable reviews, essays, and books have appeared during the past year. Thus, in the Journal of this Society, Vol. XIII. Part 4, is a Sanskrit Ode addressed to the Congress of Orientalists at Berlin, Sept. 1881, by Rámа Dása Séna,—with a translation by Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma, of Balliol College, Oxford; and another ode

addressed to the same meeting, by the Lady Paṇḍit Rámá-Báí, of Silchar, Káchar, Assam, with a translation of the same by Monier Williams, Esq., C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford.—In the Transactions of the D.M.G. xxxv. 3, Dr. F. Bollensen contributes two papers "Zur Veda-Metrik, die Betonungs systeme des Rig und Samaveda": in xxxv. 4, also, are papers by Prof. R. Roth Ueber der Soma; by Prof. Pischel, on different points in the Rig Veda, under the title of "Miscellanea;" and by M. Bloomfield, Das Grhyasaṃgrahapariçishṭa des Gobhilaputra. In xxxvi. is a further paper by Prof. Pischel on the same subject and under a similar title.—In the Indian Antiquary (May, 1882), Mr. W. Goonetilleke gives a paper "On the absence of Guna change of *Bhû* in the Preterit."

The following books may be noted as having come out recently, if not strictly within the last year. The Dictionary of Mr. Anundoram Borooah, to which we have already called attention, is now completed in three vols., with a prefatory Essay on the ancient Geography of India. It should be added that Mr. Borooah's work has been very carefully reviewed by Prof. F. Max Müller in the Academy of August 13, who explains the severe tests to which he put it, his conclusion being that his Dictionary "supplies us, generally, with useful suggestions, and will form a safe and solid foundation for future labours in the same direction." Mr. Borooah is now, we hear, engaged on a comprehensive Sanskrit Grammar, with the especial view of explaining Vedic words.—We have, also, received the Benares Sanskrit Series, a collection of Sanskrit works, edited by the Pandits of the Benares Sanskrit College, under the superintendence of the Principal, R. T. H. Griffith and Prof. G. Thibaut, No. 1. Siddhantatattva Viveka, a Treatise on Astronomy by Bhatta Kamalákara, Fasc. 1:—the late Prof. Benfey's Ueber des auslauternden *a* in *ná* "wie" und *ná* "nicht:"—Böhtlingk, O., Sanskrit Wörterbuch in Kürzerer fassung, continuation pp. 161–301:—Foulkes,

Rev. T., Dáya Bhága, or Hindu Law of Inheritance according to the Sarasvati Vilása, Text and Translation.—The Desinámamálá of Hemachandra, edited with critical notes, etc., by Drs. R. Pischel and G. Bühler (No. xviii. of the Bombay Sanskrit Series).—Das Saptaçatakam des Hála, edited by Prof. Weber (Abh. D.M.G. vii. 4).—Hopkins, E. W., Inaugural Lecture on "The Mutual relations of the Four Castes according to the Mánavadharmaçástram."—Kaegi, A., Der Rig-Veda, die älteste Literatur der Inder, now, we believe, nearly, if not quite completed.—Nalopakhyanam, or the Tale of Nala, Sanskrit text in Roman characters, with Vocabulary, Grammar, etc., edited by the Rev. Thomas Jarratt.—The Kadambari of Bána, edited by P. Peterson, pt. 1.—The Ramayana, pt. 1 (School Edition), edited by the same.—The Daivata-Bráhmana and Shaḍbingsha Bráhmana, with the Commentary of Sayanacharya, edited by Pandit J. Vidyasagara, 2nd ed.—Saussure, F. D., De l'emploi du génétiv absolu en Sanskrit—an Inaugural disertation.—Steinthal, P., Specimen of Nayadhammakaha—an inaugural dissertation.

To these may be added, Whitney, W. D., Index Verborum to the published text of the Atharva-Veda, reprinted from vol. xii. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society.—E. Senart, Le Mahavastu—Texte Sanscrit publié pour la première fois, et accompagné d'introduction, etc., Tome 1. Das Oupnekhat—Die aus dem Veden zusammengefasste Lehre von dem Brahm, translated by J. Mischel.—Jacob, Major G. A., The Vedántasára, a manual of Hindu Pantheism:—Anundoram Borooah, Higher Sanskrit Grammar, or Gender and Syntax, a reprint from the author's Sanskrit Dictionary.—Die Vetátapañca vinçatika, with Çivadása's Text, edited by Dr. H. Uhle.—Dr. Zachariae of Greifswald has, also, just published at Berlin an edition of the oldest known Sanskrit Dictionary, the Sásvatakoska, based on a copy of an old palm-leaf MS., dated 1183 A.D., and of one belonging

to the Sanskrit College, Benares. In restoring the text the Editor has been much aided by many unpublished Dictionaries and Commentaries placed at his disposal by the liberality of the India Office and of the Government of Bombay. A carefully compiled Index completes the work. It is to be hoped that Dr. Zachariae will ultimately give us a new edition of Hemachandra's Anekártha-Sangraha, together with the newly-found Commentary, which he tells us, in a postscript to his Preface, p. xxxiv, is in his hands.

The following works may be noticed as in preparation: The Sarvardarsana Sangraha, edited by Profs. Cowell and Gough:—The Bhagavad-Gita, by the Rev. J. Davies, M.A.:—The Aphorisms of the Sankhya Philosophy of Kapila (originally translated by the late J. R. Ballantyne, Esq.), a new edition edited by Fitz-Edward Hall, Esq.:—Prof. Monier Williams's second Edition of his Sanskrit-English Dictionary:—MM. Pischel and Bühler's Deśiná-mamálá of Hemachandra (the 1st portion of which is already out):—a new edition by Professor Kern of Leiden of the "Saddharmapundarika," of which Cambridge possesses the oldest MS. in Europe, of the eleventh century—a translation of which, it is believed, will be published in "The Sacred Books of the East."

A prospectus has been issued by Atmárám Kanoba, the proprietor of the Ganpat Krishnaji Press at Bombay, of an edition of the Siva Purána, hitherto unpublished, with a commentary by Rágárám Sástrí of Benares, aided by two other Benáres Paṇḍits:—Die quantitäts verschiedenheiten in den Samhita und Pada Texten der Vedem, by the late Prof. Benfey, the last work he completed, before his lamented death:—Prof. Lanman, of Harvard University, has nearly ready for publication a Sanskrit Reader, embracing the first five chapters of the History of Nala, from the Mahábhárata, twenty fables from the Hitopadesa, six tales from the Thousand and One Nights of Kashmir, a selection

from the Laws of Manu and the Rig-Veda, and chapters from the Sútras, which give the wedding and burial ceremonials:—Miss Lee and Mr. John Bury, pupils of the late Prof. Benfey, are at work on a translation of the Mahábhárata. Prof. Whitney is about to edit the Talava Kára Bráhmana, which Dr. Burnell was fortunate enough to discover in 1878:—and Sir L. Jackson writes as follows: "This Grammar (Kalup Vyakum), which, next only to the Panini, is the most extensive and learned of Sanskrit Grammars, and the only one studied in Eastern Bengal, has, strangely enough, never been printed. It abounds with most valuable and learned Commentaries, but, there being no printed edition of this book, students have had to write out both text and Commentaries from the MSS. The result has been that these valuable Commentaries have been gradually falling into oblivion, and were almost on the point of extinction .... I was induced, at the request of several students and Professors of Grammar, to undertake the publication of this book, *with three of the leading Commentaries*. The undertaking has been attended with the greatest difficulties, owing to the different readings and clerical errors with which the MSS. abound .... As it was intended mainly to benefit the students of Grammar in E. Bengal, who, up to a recent date, were ignorant of the Devanagari character, I commenced ... in the Bengali character, and was therefore obliged to continue in the same character throughout, although in the mean time the students have almost all learned the Devanagari character.

"A year after I had sent the work to the press I saw that an edition of the book had been issued by Prof. Eggeling, which, however, gives only the Sutras and Vrittis, without the Commentaries, etc."—Dr. Bhandarkar has succeeded Professor Kielhorn as Sanskrit Professor at Poonah.

Hindi.—In the Calcutta Review (Oct.) is a paper by Mr.

Grierson, the sequel of one published by him more than a year ago with the title "A Plea for the People's Tongue," urging that the language of Bihar should, in future, be called Bihárí, as more appropriate than Hindi, which is not the language of the district.

Maithili.—The Asiatic Society of Bengal proposed to publish during the last year, but as a Supplement to their Journal for 1880, "An Introduction to the Maithilí Language of North Bihár, containing a Grammar, Chrestomathy and Vocabulary," drawn up by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., but, owing to the delay in printing, the Chrestomathy and Vocabulary, though in the press, have not yet reached us. Three alphabets, it would seem, are in use in the country, Devanagari, the least common, Maithili, and Káyathí. Of these, the former is that of the Maithil Bráhmans; the latter, that of all educated persons, not Bráhmans. The Káyathí is a corruption of the Devanagari, but has the advantage of being written with great facility and of being perfectly legible.

Bengali.—Dr. Rajendralala Mitra has recently exhibited at a meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society, a MS. in the Bengali character, known as Bhaṭṭi-Kávya. He showed by quotations from different MSS. that the specific name is Ravaṇabadha, and the author's name was Bhaṭṭi, not Bhartrihari, and, further, that he flourished in the middle of the fourth century at Balabhipur, in Gujarat, during the reign of Sridhara Sen, of the Balabhi dynasty. Of modern works that have issued from the press of Bengal, may be noticed the following:—Phula Bála (Lyric poems), by Debendra Nath Sen:—Banga Sáhitya o Banga Bhásá Bisaye Baktrita, an essay, read before the Dacca College, by Gangá Charan Sarkár, giving a rapid but clear survey of the various epochs of Bengali literature:—Kábya Sundari, by Purna

Chandra Basu, a critical estimate of the female characters in parents, all of these having contributed to its treasure of the novels of Bábu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, much in the style in which Mrs. Jameson has analyzed Shakepeare's heroines:—Nalini, a monthly Journal and Review, likely to prove a useful work, from the manner in which the articles on Science are handled:—Sarat Iswara Chikit-sa, by Dr. Jadunath Mukherji—an excellent medical Essay on the treatment of fever:—Udásin Satyasrabar, or Travels in Assam—an interesting work as showing great observation and good sense on the part of the writer:—Jagannath Tarakapanchánan Jiban Brittá, by the late Uma Charan Bhattácharya—anecdotes of the great Indian Lawyer:—Bhárat Mahilá—a Prize Essay, on the highest ideal of female characters as set forth in early Sanskrit works:—Madirá, by Bhubaneswar Mitra—a Treatise on the history of liquors and their effect on the human constitution:—a Bengali Primer in the Roman Character, by J. F. Browne:—Bharat Kosh, by Ráj Krishna Raya, Parts I., II. and III., the first Dictionary in Bengali, combined with the view of furnishing information about the Vaidic, Pauranic and Tantric Theology, etc.:—The Rámáyan, translated into Bengali verse by Ráj Krishna Raya, which may be considered to be a truly National work:—Banga Mahílá, by Rajendra Náráyan Ráya:—and Bhrantinirod, by Kali Prasanna Ghosh.

Sikh.—Dr. Trumpp, in his volume "Die Religion der Sikhs nach den quellen dargestellt," a Manual of the Sikh Religion by the best living authority, points out that the accounts of Nanak's system, in modern works in the Panjab, cannot wholly be relied upon. In his preface he expresses his intention of publishing hereafter a complete Grammar and Dictionary of the Granth.

Balochi.—The Bengal Asiatic Society has published an

extra number of their Journal to contain Mr. Longworth Dames's "Sketch of the Northern Balochi Language." Mr. Dames, as stated last year, is well known as a collector of Local Balochi Poetry.

Gujarati.—Mr. Behramji M. Malabari, a well-known Parsí poet and prose writer, has published "Gujarat and the Gujaratis — Sketches from Life." The same learned scholar has taken so much interest in Professor F. Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, that he has himself prepared a translation of them into Gujarati, which is said to be ready, though it has not, we believe, been actually issued from the press. Moreover, he has formed an association for the translation of the same lectures into Marathi, Bengali, Hindi and Telugu. The Marathi and Bengali translations are far advanced. It is further stated that Pandit Shyámaji Krishnavarma, of Balliol College, has undertaken the Sanskrit translation.

Tibetan.—Mr. Jaeschke, the well-known Moravian Missionary at Lahaul in the Panjab, has, at length, published in the English language his long-delayed Tibetan Dictionary, a work, unique in its kind, and supplying a new place of departure for Tibetan study. It is only just it should be known that this is one of the long series of valuable works which have been brought out at the expense of the Government of India, whether in the country itself or at home; and, further, that it could not possibly have been printed except by their munificent patronage.

Hindustani or Urdu.—Mr. T. J. Scott has given, in the Calcutta Review (July, 1881), an interesting account of "Hindustani Poets and Poetry." In this paper, the writer points out that Urdú, although still in an early stage of existence *as a language*, has great fertility of resource,

being the descendant of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian poetic power. The metre is taken directly from the Persian. Mr. G. Small has published a Laskari Dictionary, or Anglo-Indian Vocabulary of Nautical terms and phrases in English and Hindustani. Mr. Pincott is about to publish Alif-Laila wa-zubáni Urdú (the *Arabian Nights* in Hindustani, but in Roman transcription). The "General Advices" read this year at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Friends have been translated into Hindustani for the use of a small colony of Native Quakers in the Hoshangabad District. The late Mr. S. W. Fallon's New English-Hindustani Dictionary is proceeding satisfactorily, seven parts having already come out.

Pali, Sinhalese and Burmese.—In the Athenæum for July and August, 1881, a slight controversy has arisen between Drs. Frankfurter and Fausböll on the subject of the latter's "Játaka." In his first letter Dr. Frankfurter states that, besides the copy of the Játaka "without the Commentary," noticed in Dr. Forchhammer's List, two others are mentioned by L. de Zoysa in his Catalogue of the Government Oriental Library at Colombo, while there is a similar one in the Library of the British Museum, purchased in 1866. Dr. Fausböll, however, does not seem inclined to change or modify the title of his work, in the direction suggested by Dr. Frankfurter.

In the Academy for Nov. 12, Dr. Morris gives a further account of the conversation between Milinda and Nāgasena; and, in a later letter, Dec. 24, a paper entitled "An Oriental Bestiary," wherein he points out that in the Milinda-pañha there is a curious series of similes, metaphors, and "moralisations" on animate and inanimate objects, not unlike those we find in our Western "Bestiaries." They are contained in the Issatthassa-pañha section (pp. 363–419) of the Páli text. Dr. Morris has also reviewed, at great length (Acad.

Oct. 1), the "Buddhist Suttas," translated from the Pali by T. W. Rhys Davids, and forming one of the volumes of the "Sacred Books of the East."—The following books may be noticed as published during the last year, viz. the third and fourth volumes of Dr. Oldenberg's Vinayapiṭakam:—Mr. H. S. Olcott's Buddhist Catechism, printed at Colombo, which is stated on the title-page to have been "approved and recommended for use in the Buddhist Schools of Hikkaduwa Sumangala," the learned High Priest of Adam's Peak and the Principal of the Widyodaga Parivena, the training college for Buddhist recluses in Ceylon. It is, further, announced that Dr. Frankfurter is preparing a Páli Handbook, consisting of an elementary grammar, reading book, and glossary. For the reading book, Dr. Frankfurter has selected the so-called "Parittaṃ," a book compiled in Ceylon from different parts of the "Sutta Piṭaka," which is much used as a devotional book in Ceylon as well as in Birma.—Dr. Hermann Jacobi of Münster is editing the Acáranga Sútra, one of the Sacred Books of the Jains, for the Páli Text Society.

We have also to note for Sinhalese the appearance at Colombo of Parts 1 and 2 of a Scientific Grammar of the language (all in Sinhalese), by the Rev. S. Coles; also a Sinhalese-English Grammar and Exercise book on the Ollendorf system, by S. de Silva; and Swabhásha ratna-dámaya, a reading book, serving as an Introduction to the study of classical Sinhalese literature, by the Rev. C. Alwis.—Two *Pali* publications have been issued in Ceylon by the Buddhist priest Vimalasara; the one, Simálakkhana Dipani, a controversial work in prose; the other, Sásanavansadípo, a history of the Buddhist Church, in verse. A large number of Pali books have recently appeared in British Birma—of which the following may be noted: Lanká sásana visuddhikatha, a controversial work; two different recensions of the Dhammapada, with Birmese commentaries; Abhidham-

mattha sangrahas, with Birmese commentary; Parittam and Mahaparittam, with Birmese translations; of the latter work no less than three different editions have been issued. A fourth edition of this popular book contains, also, the Lokániti and a Pali-Birmese Glossary. In Birmese, too, we have to record among a number of new publications a critical edition of Temijatakavatthu by Prof. Forchhammer; an edition and English translation, with glossary, of the "Antecedents of Princess Thudammatsari"; a collection of popular songs (Mahágitamedáni); and a law-book (Vinichhayapakásáni).

Bibliotheca Indica.—Twenty fasciculi of this Series have been published during the last year; belonging to thirteen different works, three to the Arabic-Persian and ten to the Sanskrit Series. Of these, two in the Sanskrit and one in the Arabic-Persian series have been completed, and four, all in the Sanskrit series, have been commenced. The former are the Taittiriya Samhita and Tarikh-ul-Khulfa; the latter are the Patánjala Yoga Sutra, the Apastamba Srauta Sutra, and the English translation of the Lalita Vistara. One work, the Vishṇu Smṛiti, has been both commenced and completed during the year. Among these publications are four English translations, viz. those of the Taríkh-ul-Khulfa, the Katha Sarit Sagara, the Lalita Vistara, and the Pátanjala Yoga Sûtra. There are also ten text editions, two in the Arabic-Persian and eight in the Sanskrit. Of the Pátanjala Yoga Sûtra both text and translation are being published *pari passu*. [For more details on this subject see Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Proceedings, Feb. 1882, p. 27.]

Sacred Books of the East.—The following works in this Series have been issued during the last year:—

Vol. VIII. The Bhagavadgita, with the Sanat Sugatiya

and the Anugita. Translated by Keshinath Trimbak Telang, M.A. 1882.

Vol. XII. The Satapatha Brâhmana according to the text of the Mâdhyandina School. Translated by Prof. Eggeling. Part 1, books 1 and 2. 1882.

Vol. XIII. Vinaya Texts. Translated from the Pali, by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg. Part 1. The Mahavagga, i.–iv. 1881.

Vol. XIV. The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by Prof. J. Legge, D.D. Part 2. The Yî King. 1882.

Indian Institute.—The Council are glad to report that the progress of the Indian Institute at Oxford, though slower than many would wish, is yet steady in its advance, and that the Boden Professor of Sanskrit, to whose unwearied advocacy it owes its first commencement and much of its present success, is able to report favourably on its present condition. The site at the east end of Broad Street, adjacent to the Bodleian Library and, one of the very best sites in Oxford, has been secured at a cost of £7,800, a sum which, considering the excellence of its position, cannot be thought excessive. The building is now in the course of erection, from designs by Mr. Basil Champneys.

The total sum received from contributors, and invested in the names of the three Trustees, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Bart, M.P., Sir Thomas Brassey, K.C.B., M.P., and the Boden Professor of Sanskrit, with interest and profit on investments, amounts to £18,735 15*s.* 11*d.*; the expenditure for hire of rooms, Secretary's work, purchase of books, printing of circulars, postage, etc., having only amounted to about £100 per annum during the last seven years. It can hardly be expected that the present contributions will complete more than half of the proposed building; but it is to be hoped that the rulers of two hundred and fifty millions of

Hindus and Muhammadans will not permit the framework of such an Institution, at length actually set up in a great centre of education, to remain half finished, and its objects to be only half carried out, for want of the requisite pecuniary aid.

The Calcutta Review for the last year has many good papers and essays, of which the following may be specified :—Thus, Mr. H. G. Keene has written on "Codification for India," "India in 1880," "A new study of the origin of Christianity," and "Moral Cholera":—Mr. R. N. Cust, "The Languages of Africa":—Mr. D. C. Boulger, "The Indian Bayard" and "Tibet and the way thither":—Mr. J. C. Rodgers, "Indian portable Antiquities":—Captain R. C. Temple, "A Song about Sarhi Sarwar":—Mr. Thomas Edwards, "Henry Louis Vivian Derozio," three papers:—Mr. E. Rehatsek, "The Holy Inquisition at Goa," "The life of Jesus according to the Mohammedans," "Historical Sketch of Portuguese India," and "How the Portuguese obtained a footing in the Island of Diu":—Mr. Syamacharan Ganguli, "A Universal Alphabet and the transliteration of Indian Languages":—Mr. H. C. Irvine, "The Famine Commission on Tenant right in Upper India":—Mr. E. E. Oliver, "The Financial aspects of Indian Irrigation":—Mr. W. R. Hamilton, "Developments":—Mr. M. Macauliffe, "The Sikh Religion under Banda and its present condition";—Mr. W. Lee-Warner, "Persecution in the Western Ghâts":—The Rev. T. J. Scott, "Hindustani Poets and Poetry":—Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, "Our Joint Family Organization":—Mr. Arthur Harington, "Economic Reform in Rural India":—and Mr. G. W. Clive, "Sir Thomas Roe and the Court of Jehangeer." Special articles on languages, etc., are noticed under their respective heads.

Semitic Literature—Hebrew and Chaldee.—There has been a steady progress in this branch of Oriental learning during

the last year, but there is not quite so much worthy of special report. We shall, however, notice some of the various Essays and Reviews which have appeared in the leading literary Journals. Thus, the Athenæum notices that Rabbi N. Rabbinovicz has been able to continue satisfactorily his "Variæ lectiones in Mishnam et in Talmud Babylonicum," with the treatise "Baba Bathra," and the variations of the MSS. at Munich, in the Bodleian, and Vatican. In his preface the author gives a description of all the Talmudic MSS. now in the Vatican:—Much has been also done in the editing of the posthumous works of M. Luzzato, to which attention has been called in previous reports. The chief work now accomplished would seem to be a philosophical dissertation on the fundamental principles of the Law of Moses—a collection of eighty-one Hebrew Poems and Liturgical pieces by writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—and a catalogue of Luzzato's scattered articles and letters drawn up by his son:—The first volume of Berliner's critical edition of the Targum of Onkelos is finished, but we understand will not be published till the second is ready: this is, however, in the printer's hands:—Herr Chaim M. Horowitz has just brought out a fasciculus of small Midrashite works, and proposes to publish a monthly periodical on the Agadic Literature. In these papers, he will give critical editions, with introductions of the small Midrashim edited by M. Jellinek in his Beth-ha-Midrash, together with a number of inedited Agadic pieces. Much has, also, been done recently in illustration of the works of the famous Abraham ben Ezra, who was born at Toledo towards the close of the eleventh century, and was a voluminous writer on all sorts of subjects more or less connected with Sacred Literature. Thus we know that he commented on almost all the Books of the Old Testament—on some of them twice; composed Grammatical treatises, wrote on Astronomy, Astrology, and

Medicine; but, for some reason or other, does not seem to have paid any attention to the Talmud or Midrash.

Within the last decade Dr. Friedlander has made known to scholars, in his excellent "Essays on the Writings of Abraham ibn Ezra," his exegetical skill and philosophical opinions—while Dr. Steinschneider, in his monograph, "Abraham ibn Ezra zur geschichte der Mathematischen Wissenschaften im xii Jahrhundert," has given a clear exposition of his mathematical productions and astrological writings. It is worthy of remark that the latter were translated into Latin as early as the thirteenth century, and were much read by Christian scholars of that period. Dr. Bacher has recently issued a monograph, "Abraham ibn Ezra als Grammatiker—ein beitrage zur Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprachwissenschaft," which was originally published as a programme of the Rabbinical school of Buda-Pesth. Dr. Bacher, at the same time, mentions an unedited grammatical work by Ibn Ezra, called Yessod Diqdûq, of which he gives large extracts from two MSS. with reference to the Mediæval authors who made use of it. An English life of Ibn Ezra is, we hear, to appear in the miscellaneous volume of the Third series of the Publications of the Society for Hebrew Literature.

M. Léon Sée has published the first part of a translation of Jewish Chronicles, under the title "La vallée des pleurs, Chroniques des Souffrances d'Israël depuis la dispersion jusqu'à nos Jours—par Maître Joseph Ha-Cohen, médecin d'Avignon, 1574. It is curious that the chronicles written by the Jews of their sufferings during centuries are but few. In fact, only three of these seem to have come down to the present day, viz. that by Samuel Usque, in Portuguese, entitled Consolaçon as Tribulaçoes de Ysrael, by Judah ibn Vosga; Shebet Ye-hudah, the Rod of Judah; and this one by Joseph Ha-Cohen, who is one of the few writers who have attempted monographs in Hebrew on other subjects

than those belonging to their own race. Some of these are inedited, as, for instance, that of the Discovery of America, and of Celebrated women. The Annals of the French Kings and of the House of Othman were, as is well known, partly translated into Latin, and entirely into English, by Mr. Bialloblotsky, for the Oriental Translation Fund.—Also the late Dr. Wiener published, in 1857, the "Emeq-hab-Bakha," or Valley of Weeping, with a German translation. Since this period, the history of the Jews has been elucidated by many new documents, the late Dr. Jost and Prof. H. Graetz having paid especial attention to the History of the French Rabbis. Mr. Sée has taken advantage of the latest researches, and has much improved on Dr. Wiener's translations. The notes to his translation are instructive, and the Index to persons and places unusually complete.—M. Derenbourg's edition of the Anonymous Hebrew Translation of Kalila wa Dimnah, from the unique Paris MS., together with that by Jacob ben Eleazar, from an equally rare MS. in the Bodleian Library, will be shortly ready.—A valuable collection of MSS. relating to the Mendelssohn family has been recently made in Berlin, consisting of two thick volumes—the one an "Excerpt" book of Moses Mendelssohn; the second, a Kollectaneen-buch für das Jahr 1783, containing, *inter alia*, notes on his work on Rousseau, and copies of two letters addressed to Lessing.

A very interesting review has been given of the late H. von Ewald's Commentary on the Books of Haggai, Zakharya, Ma'laki, Yona, Barûkh, and Daniel, which seems to have been carefully edited by Mr. J. Frederick Smith.—M. James Darmesteter has recently brought out an interesting Monograph on the Jews, entitled "Coups-d'œil sur l'histoire du peuples Juifs," in which he gives a lively and summary picture of the different phases of Jewish History and literature, from the earliest date to the present time, without, however, entering into details.—The Rev. J. M. Rodwell

has followed up his Translation of Job, by one of Isaiah, in which he has shown conspicuously his knowledge of Semitic literature.—Mr. Davis's notice "Of the Mediæval Jews of Lincoln," in the Archæological Journal, is interesting as the result of researches among the Jewish deeds called *Shetar*: his identification of Jewish names in the vernacular, with probable quotations in Hebrew documents, is well done, if not altogether satisfactory.—Mr. Hirschon has published another work, which he calls "Treasures of the Talmud," but it may be doubted whether this work will increase any reputation he may enjoy as a translator or scholar. Dr. Graetz, of Breslau, has brought out his long-expected "Translation of the Psalms," and a second volume is to follow containing his Introduction and Commentary.

The Rev. Dr. Wickes has published an important work "On the accentuation of the Three so-called Poetical Books of the Old Testament, the Psalms, Proverbs, and Job." The value of these accents, as he justly puts it, is, that "they help us in the most effective way possible to the understanding of the Text, as they supply the meaning which Tradition among the Jews has assigned to it." Dr. Wickes's work, though only 120 pages in length, must have involved the labour of years—indeed, it was only possible for him to arrive at an intelligible conclusion, by collating the best accessible MSS., written in the various lands where the Jews have sojourned, in the East, Spain, France, Germany, and Yemen, the MSS. of which country have only recently become available. Dr. Wickes's treatise is, also, of value for the history of Jewish Grammar; as he has been able, for the first time, to give complete lists of the different denominations of the accents used in the various Jewish schools, and, also, those found in the marginal glosses called "Massorah," with explanations from the Syriac and Arabic. In his Appendix, he shows that the Hebrew treatise, entitled Horayyath-haq-Qoré ("Indication to the Reader"), is the work of an anony-

mous writer, who lived about 1100 A.D. A part of the original work has been recently brought from Yemen by M. Shapira, and is now in the British Museum. Dr. M. Jastrow, Rabbi of Philadelphia, is, we hear, engaged on a Talmudic Dictionary in English.

In the Revue Critique (No. 38), M. Neubauer has reviewed at some length M. Wogue's "Histoire de la Bible et de l'Exegèse Biblique"; and M. Wogue replies to this review in No. 43. M. Vernes notices briefly the 12th part of Dr. Dillmann's "Kurzgefasstes Handbuch zum Alten Testament"; and M. Halévy, in more detail, Delitzsch's "Wo lag die Paradies?" In a recent number of the *Academy*, Mr. S. R. Driver reviews, under the head of "Recent Hebrew Literature," Dr. F. Weber's System der Alt-Synagogalen Palästinischen Theologie aus Targum Midrasch und Talmud. There are, also, notices of Dr. W. Wickes's treatise on the Accentuation of the three so-called Poetical Books of the Old Testament, Psalms, Proverbs, and Job;—of M. Bacher's Abraham ibn Ezra als Grammatiker (to which we have already referred);—of Dr. August Müller's Outlines of Hebrew Syntax;—of Dr. E. König's Historischkritisches Lehrgebaude d. Hebraische Sprache (a very valuable and complete work);—and of Mr. W. N. Burgess's Notes, chiefly critical and philological, on the Hebrew Psalms.

From the *Academy* we learn that Dr. Wünshe is making good progress in translating into German the Midrash Echa Rabbati, being the Haggadic exposition of the Lamentations of Jeremiah;—that Dr. Bernhard Stade's Geschichte des Volkes Israel is steadily advancing;—and that M. Renan is about to publish a French translation of Ecclesiastes with elaborate notes. This work is, we believe, now out.—Dr. Ginsburg has also pointed out the great value of some of the MSS. which M. Shapira has brought from Arabia, and which the British Museum has acquired.

The new Zeitschrift für die Alt-Testamentliche Wissen-

schaft contains some valuable papers by Drs. Stade, Hollenberg, and Meyer; and an account by Dr. Harkavy of the MSS. lately added to the Library of St. Petersburg. In Dr. Graetz's Monatschrift are many minute investigations, which will be valuable to the future historian of Judaism, by Drs. Rosenthal and Graetz.—In the Theologische Tijdschrift are full reviews of Weber's Theology of the Targum, Midrash, and Talmud, and of Castelli's Edition of Donnolo's "Sefer Yezira."—In the first No. of the Anecdota Oxoniensia is a Commentary of the Eleventh Century on Ezra and Nehemiah, by Rabbi Saadiah, edited from three MSS. in the Bodleian, by Mr. H. J. Mathews, of Exeter College.

A recent number of the Jewish Chronicle gives a remarkable list of the English and Continental works which have been translated into Hebrew within the last few years. Among these may be mentioned the voluminous works of Josephus, Aristotle's Ethics and Euclid, the Inferno of Dante, Faust, Hermann and Dorothea, Nathan the Wise, Paradise Lost, The Pilgrim's Progress, Lord Beaconsfield's Alroy, and many parts of Ossian, Gay, Young, Goldsmith, and Pope: curiously enough, the Koran has been only in part translated.

In the Proceedings of the Bibl. Archæol. Society is a very interesting letter from Mr. A. Frothingham, Junr., on a Hebrew Inscription found in a Mosaic on the tomb of Galla Placidia, built A.D. 432-440. This inscription consists of the words "Adonai," "Lord"—formed of white cubes, while those of the Cross and nimbus of the figure of Christ are gilt. This is probably the oldest known Hebrew inscription. Before the same Society, the Rev. A. Löwy read a valuable essay entitled "Notices concerning Glass in ancient Hebrew Records." In the D.M.G. xxxv. 2, 3, Dr. Bickell has a paper entitled "Die Hebraische Metrik";—and Dr. Goldziher, in D.M.G. xxxv. 4, reviews at considerable length the Kitáb-al-Amanat, by Sa'adja ibn Jusuf, as edited by Dr. Landauer.

Among miscellaneous books published during the last twelve months, the following may be mentioned. There may be some others, which have escaped our notice:—Schulbaur, M., Deutsch-Hebraisches Wörterbuch; Müller, J., Reponses faites par des Rabbins Francaises et Lorrains du xi. et xii. siècles; Konig, F. E., Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebaude d. Hebr. Sprache, 1 Halfte; Lederer, P., Lehrbuch zum Selbsts-unterricht d. Babylon Talmud, 1 Heft; Levy, J., Neuhebraisches u. Chald. Wörterbuch über d. Talmudim u. Midraschim, 14 Lief.; Nathan, Plenum Aruch Targum Talmudico-Midrasch verbale et reale Lexicon, Band iii. 1, 2; Singer, A. u. W., Hamadrisch Talmudische Chrestomathie für d. ersten Unterricht in Talmud, Pressburg, 1882; Stier, G., Kurzgefasste Hebraische Grammatik für Gymnasien; Jedeschi, M., Thesaurus Synonimorum linguæ Hebraicæ cum dissertatione de eorum vi, quoad Etymon atque usum in Biblicis Libris; Vosen, C. H., Kurze anleitung zum erlernen d. Hebraisch-sprache für gymnasien; Wijnkoop, Durche Hannesiqah, sive leges de accentus Hebraicæ Linguæ ascensione; Veldez, Juan de, El Salterio, traduzido del Hebreo; Ballin, Ada S. and F. L., Hebrew Grammar, with exercises selected from the Bible: the first Annuaire de la Société das études Juives has recently appeared in Paris.

Arabic.—There has been no falling off during the last year in the number of essays and reviews, etc., bearing on Arabic subjects, which have been printed in various papers and magazines, or in the books issued from the press, whether at home or abroad. Thus, in the Athenæum there is a long and very able review of Dr. Badger's vast "English-Arabic Lexicon," in which his scholarship, judgment, and elaborate researches are duly praised.—We learn from M. Vambéry (in the same Journal) that the young and accomplished Hungarian scholar, Dr. J. Goldziher, has brought out, with the sanction of the

Academy of Buda-Pesth, "Az Islam," a series of papers in which Islamism is shown in its real character as the Religion of the inhabitants of the Desert.—Dr. Houtsma, of Leyden, is carrying through the press a new edition of Yakuti, and the third vol. of Dr. Pertsch's Catalogue of the MSS. at Gotha is now completed.—We hear that the Trustees of the British Museum have purchased, for somewhat more than £800, the most important of the MSS. which M. Shapira has brought from Arabia, and that the Bodleian has, also, bought some of them.

In the Academy, is a long and full review by Mr. W. Robertson Smith of Dr. W. Spitta-Bey's Grammatik des Arabisches Vulgar-Dialektes von Aegypten, in which he points out the value of Dr. Spitta-Bey's labours, as offering the amplest and most accurate account as yet put together for the local languages of Cairo—long years of residence in the Arab quarter, great facilities for observation, and an unflagging industry, having enabled him to bring to completion a very useful work.—There is also a notice of Dr. Hartmann's Arabischer Sprachführer für Reisende, which he has contributed to the Meyer-Series. This book is a remarkable example of a *multum in parvo*, containing, as it does, a grammar, a large number of useful examples, and a German-Arabic and Arabic-German vocabulary, running to nearly 400 pages. Dr. Hartmann, who is Chancellor-Dragoman to the German Consulate at Beirut, has, in this work, given two forms (with differing types) for every word, viz. the one spoken in Syria and that in Cairo.—Dr. Dieterici has, also, completed (the commencement of the work was noted last year) an Arabic and German Handbook to the Koran and to the Arabic fables, which he has already published under the title of "Thier und Mensch;" but, merely for the purpose of explaining the words of the Koran, Major Penrice's work is sufficient.—Mr. Stanley Lane Poole has reviewed Prof. E. H. Palmer's Arabic Manual, which

he thinks may serve to fill a gap, but is capable, also, of being much improved.—Dr. Badger supplies an interesting letter headed "Arabic Journalism," in which he states that the Arabic Al-Jawaib has been permitted to reappear at Constantinople after long suspension, adding that the principal articles in the paper are an elaborate notice of the origin and progress of the War between the French and the Arabs of Tunis, and of the Quarantine regulations in Egypt against the spread of Cholera from the Red Sea.—Dr. Badger, also, contributes a letter on Mr. Payne's proposed Translation of the whole of the "1001 Nights," and Mr. Hutt and Dr. W. Wright give further letters on the same subject.—Dr. Badger, also, notices at considerable length Mr. Howell's (of Allahabad) Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language, of which the second and third parts, "On the Verb" and "On the Particle" respectively, have been printed first. Dr. Badger gives the writer high praise for the persevering industry, critical judgment, and thorough knowledge displayed in this work.—Mr. Hormuzd Rassam supplies a note explaining how the word "Telegraph" is rendered by the Arabs of Mesopotamia.

In the D. M. G., in vols. xxxv. pts. 2, 3, 4, and xxxvi. pt. 1, are several articles bearing on Arabic subjects, such as the following:—By A. Socin, Der Arabische Dialekt von Môsul und Mârdîn; by the late Dr. Loth, On Tabari's Koran Commentar; by A. Socin, Zur geographie des Tûr 'Abdîn; by M. Klamroth, Ueber den Arabischen Euklid; with a review by M. Ign. Goldziher of Landauer's Kitâb Al-Amânât; and, by the same scholar, one of M. Spitta-Bey's Gramm. d. Arab. Vulgar dialectes u. Aegypten.

In the Journal des Savants, Feb. 1882, is an excellent review by M. Renan of a work published a short time ago by MM. Joseph and Hartwig Derenbourg, entitled "Opuscules et traités d'Aboul Walid Merwan ibn Djanah de Cordove. Texte Arabe et traduction Française."—In the

Revue Critique are notices by M. Rubens Duval of E. Prym and A. Socin's "Neu Aramäische Dialect des Tur 'Abdin," Arabic text and translation, under the title "Syrische Sagen u. Märchen aus dem Volksmunde gesammelt und übersetzt":—a notice by M. Stanislas Guyard of M. Hartwig Derenbourg's edition of "Le livre de Sibawaihi, traité de grammaire Arabe par Sibouya dit Sibawaihi; texte Arabe, publié d'après les MSS. du Caire, de l'Escurial d'Oxford, de Paris, de St. Petersbourg et de Vienne":—a review, in two successive articles, by M. Hartwig Derenbourg, of Tome 1er of Dr. W. Pertsch's "Katalogue die Arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha," vols. i.–iii. 1878–81.—Dr. De Jong, we hear, has undertaken to edit and publish the portion of Tabari which contains the life of Muhammad, prepared by the late Dr. Loth.

Of individual books which have, more or less, come out during the last year, the following may be specified, but there are probably others we have not noticed: Arabic Manual, by E. H. Palmer:—Alif Laila, or Book of Thousand Nights and One Night, in Arabic, to be completed in four vols., of which two are out:—a new edition of Prof. Dozy's Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne, 2 vols.:—a new edition of Prof. Dozy's History of the Almohádes, 1 vol.:—Mackuel, L., Manuel d'un Arabisant ou recueil de pièces Arabes, 2de partie, Alger:—an English-Arabic Dictionary and an Arabic-English Dictionary, by M. Steingass:—a new part of Tabari has recently appeared at Leyden, containing the end of the section which M. Guyard had undertaken, and the commencement of that of M. de Goeje:—M. Seignette has translated into Arabic "Le Code Penal," by order of the Government of Algiers.

A few papers in other Journals, not Oriental, may be mentioned: On Arabic Humour, by E. H. Palmer, in Temple Bar, June, July, August, September, and in the Times, Sept. 30, Oct. 1; by Dr. Badger, On the Controversy

about the Ottoman Khalifate (Academy, March 26), and Mussulmans of British India, Times, Jan. 3, 1882; by W. S. Blunt, The Future of Islam, Fortnightly Review, Aug. Oct. Nov. 1881, Jan. 1882; and by Colonel Yule, C.B., On Ibn Batuta, Encycl. Britann. vol. xii.

Syriac.—In the D. M. G. xxxv. 2 and 3, Prof. Noldeke reviews M. Georg Hoffmann's "Opera Nestoriana, Syriace":—Dr. Schiller-Szinessy makes a few remarks on Mr. G. Bickell's "Berichtigungen zu Cyrillonas."—M. F. Praetorius adds a short notice, entitled "Aegyptisch-Aramäisches."—In xxxv. 4, is a review by Dr. Nestle of M. Victor Ryssel's Gregorian Thaumaturgus—Seine Leben und seine Schriften.—In the Revue Critique is a review by M. Hartwig Derenbourg of R. Duval's "Traité de Grammaire Syriaque."

Æthiopic.—In the Academy for October, 1881, Mr. Sayce has pointed out the great value to linguistic science of M. D'Abbadie's Dictionnaire de la langue Amariñña (as he calls this language), which is more generally known as Amharic, a work fairly to be considered to be one of the most valuable contributions made of late years to Oriental Philology. The Amharic is one of the dialects which have replaced the now extinct Æthiopic or Ghéez, and is spoken in the S.W. of Abyssinia, being, thus, opposed to the Tigré of the N.—In the D.M.G. xxxv. 4, Dr. C. H. Cornhill has a paper, entitled "Noch eine Handschrift des Sapiens Sapientum," nachtrag zu bd. xxxiv. 232-240:—and a review by M. Prätorius of D'Abbadie's Amariñña Dictionary.

China Review.—Though this publication has not quite maintained, during the past year, the high reputation of previous years for papers of the deepest interest for those who dwell in that remote land, and for many, also, who, not being on the spot, have scarcely equal opportunity

of testing their general accuracy, it has, however, published some papers of real value. Thus, in vol. x. pt. 1, we have an able account of "The Foreign Trade with China during 1880," by "Hong-Kong," in which the writer points out that in the 22nd issue of the Returns of Trade at the Treaty Ports of China, published by the Inspector-General of Chinese Maritime Customs, no return is given for "Trade Statistics at Hong-Kong"; hence, the returns of the Treaty Ports afford but an imperfect account of the Foreign Trade of China: moreover, as it is well known, a large amount of merchandize finds its way from Hong-Kong to Khwang in Junks. Some important remarks are added on the effect of the Indian Trade in Opium [entirely confirming the views of Sir George Birdwood], as it is affected by the vastly increased native growth of that drug within the reach of the Northern and Upper Yangtse ports. It appears from the statements in this paper, that the *Papaver* is cultivated throughout the Empire, in Siberia, and Manchuria, as freely and as openly as rice, and that, but for the heavy *en route* taxes imposed on it while *in transitu*, which brings up its value to nearly the same price as the superior Indian article, it would inevitably oust the foreign product from the Southern markets of China, as surely as it is now doing in the North. The writer remarks that the present value of one hundredweight is about £240, and that it would form a convenient medium of payment for the "brick" tea sent to Siberia.—Mr. E. H. Parker, the writer of "Short Journeys in SzCh'uan," continues (from vol. ix.) his valuable and interesting account of his Travels, the result, assuredly, being, that no one in his senses would travel through that portion of the Celestial Empire if he could help doing so. Mr. G. C. Stent contributes an amusing paper "On the Double-Nail-Murders":—and Mr. F. H. Balfour a learned paper "On the Yin-fu Classic" or, "Key to the Unseen," [since, expanded into a book]—a treatise of value in the Taoist Canon. The rest of this

part is devoted, as usual, to the notice of new books, together with various "Notes and Queries."

In vol. x. part 2 Mr. G. Jamieson continues his valuable researches into and "Translations from the General Code of Law of the Chinese Empire," dealing with first "The Marriage Laws"—the "Hiring out of wife or daughter"—the "Position of the Wife or Concubine"—"Marriage during the Legal time of Mourning"—the "Marriage with Widows of Relations"—the "Forcible Abduction of Free women"—and "Illegal Marriages"—with a curious note "On the Origin of Family Names"—and on "The origin of the rule against Marriages between persons of the same Family name." A plate is given in illustration of the Chinese notions of consanguinity.—Mr. Parker, also, continues his amusing account of his "Short Journeys in SzCh'uan."—Mr. G. Phillips of Taiwan, Formosa, adds an important historical article, entitled "The Dutch occupation of Formosa." It is remarkable that the natives of Formosa, after the departure of the Dutch, employed Roman letters in drawing up deeds of mortgages, leases, etc. One of these, of the date of 1742, is still in existence, drawn up in the native dialect, but written in Roman characters, with a translation into Chinese by its side. Mr. Phillips found that many of the words in Klaproth's "Vocabulaire Formosan" are still intelligible to the savages of the West Coast. The part concludes with reviews or notices of several new books.

In vol. x. part 3, Mr. Herbert A. Giles deals with the difficult problem "Of the New Testament in Chinese," and speaks in high terms of an essay read at the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai in 1877, by the Rev. J. S. Roberts, entitled "Principles of Translation into Chinese." The chief points of Mr. Roberts's view would seem to be that, in all translations, there must be an exchange of idiom in its broadest sense; that the best practical equivalents should be selected; that translation should not be paraphrase, explanation, or

comment; and that there should be an exclusion, so far as is possible, of foreign idioms. It must, we fear, be admitted that Mr. Giles has but too clearly shown that the existing translations of the Bible into Chinese are anything but adequate.—Mr. E. H. Parker adds one more account of his enterprising "Short Journeys in SzCh'uan";—and Mr. Frederic H. Balfour an important paper "On the Emperor Chang, founder of the Chinese Empire,"—a dissertation of singular interest to even those who have made the study of the history of the Middle Empire a speciality.

In vol. x. pt. 4, are papers by A. T. Watters, Esq., "On A-mi-t'ê Ching;"—by Ch. Piton, "A page in the history of China";—"The Delegates' Version and Mr. Giles," by F. J. Masters;—and "Residence in the Interior and the Transit Trade," by Hong-Kong.—In the first of these papers, Mr. Watters makes allusion to Prof. Max Müller's paper "On Sanskrit Texts discovered in Japan," read before this Society, Feb. 16, 1880, and printed in Vol. XII. Pt. 2 of our Journal, and states that the Sukhavati-vyûha-Sûtra has in China several names, of which the best known is Amit'ê Ching, *i.e.* the Sûtra of Amitabhas—the Buddha who presides in the World of Extreme Delight (Sukhavati). Mr. Watters adds that there are two distinct Sanskrit texts with the same title, with Chinese translations of both.—Mr. Piton's "Page of the History of China" will prove interesting even to those who are not acquainted with the Chinese language, as showing how the various dynasties came into existence. He refers, also, to the K'i-tan Tartars, on whom Mr. Howorth has written much in the Journal of this Society and elsewhere. Mr. Masters gives a clear account of the great work of translating the Holy Scriptures into Chinese, in his notice of what has been called "The Delegates' Version," as having been carried out by certain "Delegates" who met at Shanghai in 1847, under the direct patronage of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Mr.

Masters then deals mercilessly with Mr. Giles and the articles in which he has attacked this "Version"—showing, it would seem, indisputably, that, however great his other excellences, Mr. Giles's *forte* is *not* translation into Chinese. A paper on "Residence in the Interior and the Transit Duties" shows how easy it is to misinterpret and misconstrue the plainest English, where one party to a treaty is desirous of evading the obvious conditions. At the close of the number are good reviews of many excellent works, such as:—"Yearly Festivals and Customs of the Amoy Chinese," from the Dutch:—of "Anecdota Oxoniensia," edited by Prof. F. Max Müller, the first part of which contains "Buddhist Texts from Japan."

China.—Besides the *China Review*, a considerable number of papers, essays, and letters, more or less referring to that country, have been published during the last year. Thus, *inter alia*, we have in the Athenæum (August) a very interesting account of the overland route from Burma to China, lately accomplished by the Revs. H. Soltau and J. W. Stevenson. Their starting-place was Bhamo, and the line taken was through the hilly Ka-Khyen country, between Burma and the Shan States. Throughout their whole journey the travellers seem to have been well received, they reached the Yang-tse, two days beyond Laowatan, at a distance of 858 miles from Bhamo, and 1756 from Shanghai.—M. de La Couperie, M.R.A.S., prints a letter pointing out the importance of his discovery that early Chinese civilization had been borrowed by the so-called "Hundred Families" from the South of the Caspian Sea. In the course of this letter, M. de La Couperie explains the nature of the translation he has undertaken, with Prof. Douglas, to bring out, and the views he has for some time entertained with regard to the derivation by the colonists of China of writing and of the elements of sciences, arts, and government, from a centre of activity where Babylonian or Accadian culture had

been more or less directly spread. M. de La Couperie adds that, in a short time, European scholars will have before them no less than six translations of the "Yh King" for mutual comparison.

In the Academy (Oct.) M. de La Couperie prints an interesting letter, in which he attempts to prove that the geographical name Ta-Tsin, whereby the Roman Empire is believed to have been called by the Chinese, is probably a representation (viz. Taitan) of Tidan or Didan (the low country along the Syrian coast), names which Chinese travellers might easily have met with on the east of the Caspian. The Romans, it may be remarked, had extended their domination to the Syrian coast, only a short time before this presumed Chinese expedition.—In the same Journal, Prof. Douglas reviews Dr. W. A. P. Martin's "The Chinese, their Education, Philosophy, and Letters," a book so far valuable, that Dr. Martin was for a long time connected with the Tungwen College, and had exceptionally good opportunities of studying the subjects to which his essays are devoted. His view of the influence of the "Imperial Academy" on the true education of the country is very unfavourable to the existing system.

Mr. Beal, in reply to Dr. Morris, states that he has found one Sutta at least of the "Sutta Nipáta" in Chinese—a version of the Sanyutta Nikáya, viz. the Kasibhá-vavaja Sutta. Mr. Hilderic Friend writes a letter in which he shows clearly that the statue in the Temple of the Five Hundred Genii at Canton (which has been more than once asserted to be that of Marco Polo) has no claim whatever to this distinction; but is, really, that of a certain Shen Chu Tsun Ché, a native of one of the Northern Provinces of India, and, for his zeal as an apostle in the service of Buddha, highly renowned.—Mr. Gardner (Acad. May 20) reviews at some length Mr. A. Giles's "Historic China and other Sketches," in which he points out many errors in this work

and a general want of care shown in its preparation; and, also, that in his sketch of the Chow and Han Dynasties, he follows Mr. Wylie more than blindly. On the other hand, his chapters on "Education," "The Book Language," "Chinese Fans, etc.," are well done.

Other essays of some importance are the following:—Colonel Yule, Hwen T'sang (Encyc. Britann. vol. xii.):—Ratzel, Die Chinesen in Nord-Amerika seit 1875 (Monatschr. für d. Orient. 12):—Rudy, Ch., The Chinese Mandarin Language (Ban-zai-San, vol. iv.):—Turretini, Fr., San-ze-King: les phrases des trois caractères en Chinois avec les Versions Japonaises, Mandchous, et Mongoles (*ibid.*):—Cordier, H., Bulletin critique des Réligions de la China (Rev. d. l'Hist. d. Religions, iii. 2):—MacDonald, A., Hong Kong (Encycl. Brit. vol. xii.):—Kreitner, G., Das Ajna-volk (Mitth. d. Geogr. gesellsch. für Naturk. Ost-Asiens, Heft 21–24).

The following papers, also, deserve record. Thus, Dr. Legge (in Acad. March 4) has given a review of G. von Gabelenz's "Chinesische Grammatic," the publication of which will, he thinks, make an era in the study of Chinese on the Continent. In this paper Dr. Legge does full justice to the remarkable early labours of the Jesuit Missionary Prémare, whose MS. (of the early part of the eighteenth century), after having remained more than 100 years in the Royal Library at Paris, formed the substantive base of Abel Remusat's "Elements de la Grammaire Chinoise," 1882.—There is, also, a valuable paper on La Religion de l'Ancien Empire Chinois, étudiée au point de vue de l'histoire comparée des religions, translated from the German MSS. of Julius Hoppel, in the Revue de l'histoire des Religions, iv. pp. 257–298:—an interesting pamphlet by Dr. Wilhelm Grube, Die Sprachgeschichtliche Stellung des Chinesischen (Leipzig, 1881), giving, in a German dress, many of the views held for several years by M. Terrien de La Couperie.

Of books recently published, the following may be mentioned:—Boulger, D. C., History of China, vol. ii.:—Ethnographie des peuples étrangers de la Chine, ouvrage composé au xxii^e Siècle de notre ère par Ma-touan-lin, trad. pour la première fois du Chinois, avec un Commentaire perpetuel, par la Marq. de Hervey de St. Denys, 1^e partie:—a reprint of the *Atsuma Gusa* of Turrettini, in which the second volume of the same work is nearly finished:—Hughes, T. F., Among the Sons of Han: Notes of a six years' residence in various parts of China and Formosa:—Schott, W., Ueber ein Chinesischen Meng-werk nebst einen anhange linguistiche verbesserungen zu zwei bänden der Erdkunde Ritters:—Se-Siang-Ki, ou l'histoire du pavillon d'Occident, comedie en 16 Actes, traduit du Chinois par St. Julien:—Tchou-Po-Lou, Les Instructions familières du Dr. Tchou-Po-Lou, Traité de Morale pratique, avec vocabulaire, par C. Imbault-Huart:—Uehle, Max, Beiträge zur Grammatik des Vor-Klassischen Chinesische, I.: Die partikel "Bêi" im Schu-King und Schi-King (a patient compilation):—F. H. Balfour, The Divine Classic, a valuable translation of the Nanhua of the Taouist philosopher Chuang Tsze:—Prof. Legge, Translation of the Yh-King, for Prof. F. Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East":—M. Cordier has, also, printed separately his Address as Professor.

Besides the books noticed above, especial notice must be taken of a work, now in course of publication (the first part being out), under the editorship of M. de La Couperie, entitled "Orientalia Antiqua, or Documents and Researches relating to the Writings, Languages, and Arts of the East." The Editor's object is, to publish by lithography, texts, inscriptions, drawings, and papers on Oriental Archæology, etc., which require, for printing, special characters. Among the papers are Early Chinese Texts: 1. The Calendar of the Hea Dynasty, by Prof. R. K. Douglas, M.R.A.S. 2. On the origin of the Phœnician Alphabet, by Mr. G. Bertin, M.R.A.S.

Japan.—If the number of essays, tracts, or books published in any one year be an adequate test of the successful progress of the literature of a country, it can scarcely be doubted that Japan is advancing at a pace few other nations have had the opportunity of. We can, only, here allude to some of the more important works of the last year. Thus, at Oxford, Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, Priest of the Monastery of Eastern Hongwanzi, Japan, has prepared a catalogue of Japanese and Chinese books and MSS. lately added to the Bodleian, which is, we believe, in course of publication at the Clarendon Press. These include, first, a collection made by Mr. Wylie, and bought by the Curators of the Bodleian in 1881, consisting of thirty-seven works in all; secondly, five Chinese and two Japanese law books, presented to Mr. S. Amos by the Japanese Government; and, thirdly, a collection of Japanese books and MSS. presented by Prof. F. Max Müller. Mr. Mongredien's essay "On Free Trade and English Commerce" has just been translated into Japanese by Mr. Miyoi Keinisin, the translation being preceded by two short addresses to the reader, one by M. Nomura, who has revised the translation, the other by the translator. It is in contemplation to publish translations from some of the other papers of the Cobden Club. This scheme has been taken up warmly by the editor of the Japan Gazette, an English journal published at Yokohama. It may be added, that the works of many leading European writers are now extensively translated or adapted in Japan, and that many of Macaulay's and of Herbert Spencer's Essays are reprinted in English at Tokio and sold by the booksellers there. At present there seems to be no law in Japan against literary piracy, from which the Chinese, as the nearest neighbours, are naturally the chief sufferers.

There are, also, articles by Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., on Japanese Art, in the Encyclop. Britann. vol.

xiii. :—Bälz, W., Japan (in Myers' Konvers. Lexicon, 1880–1) :—Benkema, T. W., Die Leichenverbrennung in Japan aus Holländisch (Mitth. d. Ges. für Naturkunde Ost Asiens) :—The Chrysanthemum, a monthly magazine for Japan and the Far East :—Eckert, F., Die Japanische National-Hymne (Mitth. d. Ges. f. Nat. Ost-Asiens) :—Guimet, E., Promenade Japonaises Tokio-Nikko, texte par E. Guimet, Dessins de F. Regamey :—MacClatchie, T. R. H., Japan, Encyclop. Britann. vol. xiii. :—Museums and Exhibitions in Japan (Nature, Oct. 13), with which may be mentioned the fact that the Japanese National Exhibition, when opened to the public on March 31, 1881, was found to have been supported by no less than 31,000 exhibitors :—A paper by W. Gifford Palgrave, entitled "Kioto," in the Fortnightly Review for Dec. :—Pfoundes, C., The Japanese People, their Origin, and the Race as it now exists (Journ Anthrop. Institute, x. 2) :—Ditto, ditto (Trans. Roy. Soc. Literature, vol. xii.) :—Zichy, A. Graf, Ueber die Kunst der Japanesen (Liter. Berichte aus Ungarn, Bd. iv.) :—Rios, E., Le Japon depuis la Revolution de 1660 (Bibl. Univers, Juillet) :—and Siebold, Ethnol. Studien über die Ainos auf der Insel Yesso (Suppl. Heft. Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, xiii.) :—and a very good translation of the "Don-zhi-ken," Teachings for the Young, from the Sino-Japanese, by our Member, Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain.

Among books recently published may be noticed Mr. J. R. Black's Young Japan, Yokohama and Yedo, a narrative of the Settlement and of the City from the signing of the Treaties in 1858 to the close of the year 1879, with a glance at the progress of Japan during a period of 21 years :—Pfitzmaier, Lebens-beschreibungen von der führen und Würdenträgern :—M. de Goncourt, Maison d'un Artiste, with the account of his museum of Japanese curiosities, added to his better known collections of prints and of long unknown drawings :—It is further understood that Mr. Maunde

Thompson, the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, is engaged in editing for the Hakluyt Society the Diary of Richard Cocks, who was resident for many years in Japan during the reign of James I.:—The Dictionary of the late Dr. J. J. Hoffmann, which was left by him at the time of his lamented death nearly, if not quite, complete, is being published by MM. Brill, of Leyden, under the title of Japaansch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, under the editing of M. Serrurier, Keeper of the Ethnographical Museum:—Mr. Kenchio Suyematzu, M.R.A.S., is translating the well-known Japanese romance, *Gengi Monogatari*, the author of which was a lady:—Mr. Satow has just completed and published a Handbook for Northern Japan.

Further India and Malayo-Polynesia.—To the Annales de l'Extrême Orient, as on former occasions, we owe much valuable information with reference to the dwellers in the remote parts of the East. Among the most important papers this year are—On the Island of Celebes, by the Count Meyners d'Estrey, in which he calls attention to the valuable labours of M. le Chev. J. K. W. Quarles van Ufford, a distinguished Oriental scholar, and, up to the present time, the only one who has given his serious attention to the Philology and Ethnography of that island, following in the steps of Dr. Matthes, whose labours on the Makassar and Bugi languages are well known, and who has been heartily received on his return to Holland by our member Prof. G. K. Niemann, who alone, we believe, in Europe, is a teacher of these languages.—It should be added that there are important papers by Dr. Matthes on the south-east part of Celebes in the publications of the Bible Society of Holland, two of which may be specially noted. One (published in 1872 by the Royal Society of Amsterdam) on the Bistous or Pagan priests and priestesses of the Bugi, the other on the Ethnology of Northern Celebes. On the Sandwich Islands,

by J. V. Barbier.—An interesting account of La Birmanie Independante in his recent work "Les Indes, La Birmanie, La Malaisie, Le Japon, et Les Etats-Unis," by the Count Julien de Rochechouart, with a second article on the same subject in a later number.—By Count Myners d'Estrey, giving a pleasant narrative of the honours done at Leyden last June to the veteran Professor, Dr. P. J. Veth, on his attaining the fortieth year of his professoriat.—There are also valuable papers "Sur une Scierie des Bois de Teak à Bangkok."—By M. Léon Feer, "Sur la Paponasie (New Guinea)," being, chiefly, a notice of the work by Count Myners d'Estrey, "Sur la Paponasie ou Nouvelle Guinée Occidentale," unquestionably, the best authority we have up to the present time of an island more than 1000 miles long by 200 broad; and, by the same writer, in two separate papers, a very full abstract of the history of the great monument of Boro-Boudour, the principal notices of which were published, as already stated, by order of the Dutch Government by Dr. Leemans, the Director of the Museum of Antiquities at Leyden, from the designs of M. F. C. Wilsen, and the MS. descriptions of MM. F. C. Wilsen and J. F. G. Grumund. M. Feer, as might be expected from his profound knowledge of this subject, while admitting the value of the labours of the draftsmen and editors of these remarkable volumes, criticizes very freely many of their suggestions and interpretations.—Another paper worth reading is by M. Louis Bazangeon, "Sur le peuple et le gouvernement Japonais": as is, also, the work by the Marquis d'Estrée, "Sur une nouvelle Caste de Java," which has been marvellously carried out, the lithographic stones on which it was drawn having been lost in a shipwreck and recovered from the bottom of the sea, only by great toil and exertion. In a subsequent essay the same writer gives a summary of the Congrès Géographique de Lyons, with the reply of Dr. Harmand to certain objectors, in

which he would seem to have been quite successful. The text is also given in the October number of the recent Treaty between Russia and China, which has been mainly negotiated by our Honorary Member, the Marquis Tseng, Ambassador of China at the Court of St. James. There can be little doubt that the Russians gave way and ceded Kuldja, after having distinctly conquered it, finding it impossible to maintain their own against so persistent and implacable enemies as the Chinese. It may be added here, that at a meeting of the "Société des Arts et des Sciences de Batavia" the Baron Textor de Ravisi made a speech of great importance, in which he pointed out the necessity to a nation of having an extensive series of Colonies, and showed to how great an extent the power of Spain, Portugal, Holland and England has been due to the careful nourishment of their Colonial Systems.

In the number for Dec. 1881, M. Cotteau gives a very pleasant account of a journey he made from Paris to Nagasaki in Japan, by the way of Siberia—a journey, the more remarkable, in that he left Paris on May 6, 1881, and reached Nagasaki in three months, on August 7, at a cost not exceeding £100. M. Senn von Basel, Consul-General of the Netherlands at Bangkok, gives a lively sketch of his experiences at Siam (in two papers), with some curious notes as to the mode in which commerce is carried on in that remote locality. There is, also, a good notice of M. le Comte Julien de Rochechouart's "Pekin et l'Interieur de la Chine," a work of much value as giving a clear narrative of the many curious things to be still seen in the "Environs" of Pekin. *Inter alia*, he gives an account of the celebration of Mass at which he was present in Manchuria, when the cold was so great that the Sacred Elements were frozen on the altar.

In the first number for the present year, Prof. Kern gives an important paper, entitled "L'Epoque du Roi Suryavarman," with reference to an article by M. Lorgean, on an

Inscription found at Lophabouri (this paper was published in the Ann. de L'Extr. Orient. August, 1880). The date is believed to be about A.D. 833. The importance of this document is—that it confirms the previous belief of scholars, that there is not the slightest trace of Pali in the Cambogian Inscriptions, though, at the same time, several Sanskrit words occur in them. Though, in some parts, imperfect, Dr. Kern has been able to show, that its purport is a decree of the King Suryyavarman (*ânjâ Srî Sûryyavarmmdeva*). The Inscription of the Prea Khan has already demonstrated that it was the Northern branch of the Buddhists who settled in Cambogia. It is right to add that the Marquis de Crozier has stated at a recent meeting of the "Société Académique Indo-Chinoise," that M. Aymonier did not agree with the interpretation of Dr. Kern. The grounds, however, of the difference between these two scholars, have not as yet reached us. In the number for February, 1882, four plates are given of the Cambogian Inscriptions sent by Dr. Harmand to Prof. Kern, with his transcription, etc.

Then follows a brief but useful notice of the History of Corea — which is of importance, as showing that the territory of Corea was, in early times, far more extended than at present—indeed, reached even into Manchuria, where many ancient tombs of the original population are still visible. A list is given of the chief rulers from A.D. 1391 to 1866; there is, also, a very curious paper, entitled "La Culte et la Fête de l'Ours chez les Ainos."

A remarkable account is added of the recent introduction of Electric Telegraphs into China, the line having now been completed between Tientsin and Shanghai,—possibly, at the present time, even into Pekin. It may, however, be reasonably presumed that the Telephone will, in the end, be of greater service to the Chinese than the Telegraph, as the nature of the Chinese language and alphabet does not lend itself readily to the construction of telegraphic

messages. On the other hand, in Japan, where, a year and a half ago, 848 of Morse's instruments were in use, the telegraphists have constructed an ingenious alphabet of their own, consisting of 47 symbols. A school of telegraphy has been founded, wherein, recently, 227 students were being taught the art. An interesting review is, also, given of Shib Chunder Bose's work, which has thrown much light on the actual state of social life among the natives of India.

The number for March contains a very valuable and exhaustive paper "On the tenure of Land in China," by M. Eugène Simon, and a second article on the Commerce of the Sandwich Islands; but the most important paper is that by the Baron Ernouss "Kashmír and Little Tibet (Ladakh)," in which the writer gives a picturesque account of his journey from Sirinagar to Leh, and at the same time, a plate of a remarkable figure of Buddha, of gigantic proportions, which he noticed on his way, carved out of the side of the mountain.

In the April part, we find a vigorous protest against the *laissez-aller* policy, which appears to actuate the French Government with respect to their Colonial system, and, in an especial manner, with reference to the Indo-Chinese colonies or Protectorate; and an able article, on a subject of great moment at the present time, viz. the possibility of cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Kra. Naturally the French colonists are urgent in a matter, which, if successful, will transfer to Saigon nine-tenths of the commerce of Singapore, and materially shorten both the time and the dangers of the transit between India and China. This idea is not a new one; indeed, in the last century, the cutting a canal to join the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam had been thought of: but it is only recently that this matter has been taken up warmly. M. Léon Dru's two papers, "La Peninsule Malaise," 1881, and "Projet du percement de l'Isthme de Kra," 1882, and the "Conference faite par M. Deloncle à la Société de Géographie Commerciale de Paris, Mars,

1882," will supply the student with all necessary details on this point.

One of the most interesting notices in the number is a notice of the ceremonials attending the celebration of the birthday of the young King of Siam, on which occasion our member, Mr. W. G. Palgrave, read the Address to the King, on the part of the European community. The speech of the King in reply exhibited much good practical common sense.

In concluding this part of the Report, it may be stated, that M. Edmond Fuchs, who has been sent by the French Government to explore the mine-district of Tongkin and Cambogia, has returned from his survey with a rich collection of materials for further research; and that M. Delaporte (to whom we owe a valuable work on Cambogia) has completed his Archæological and Scientific Mission to the Khmer Ruins in Indo-China. Details of his journal have been given by the Marquis de Crozier at the last meeting of the Society over which he so well presides. M. Delaporte left Marseilles on Oct. 31, 1881, and, after reaching Saigon, went directly to the celebrated ruins of Angkor, the result of his researches there leading him to believe the ruined temples are really Brahmanical. Angkor-Vat he found to be dedicated to Rama and Vishnu. M. Delaporte has been able to secure 300 photographs and a large number of impressions. He has just arrived in France, having left behind him Dr. Ernault and two other Frenchmen to complete his researches.

At a recent meeting of the Académie des Inscriptions, M. Aymonier read a paper on an Inscription in the Cian or Chan language from Dambang-Dêk in Cambodia. The people known as Cians were the dominant population throughout Farther India before the invasion of the Kmers of Cambodia. Some of them may still be found in scattered communities. Their power is attested by Marco Polo, who visited them in the thirteenth century. M. Aymonier states that they have three dialects:—1. The *Dalil* or Sacred Language; 2. The

Ciam or Vernacular proper; and 3. The Bani, a Muhammadan dialect, which has now superseded the other two. The inscription referred to is written in the second of these three, and contains the lament of a mother, whose daughter had abandoned her husband and children. It may be added that M. Aymonier has discovered in Cambodia many Sanskrit inscriptions. A "Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Further India," by the late Capt. C. J. F. S. Forbes, has been carefully reviewed by Lieut.-Col. T. H. Lewin, M.R.A.S., in the *Academy* for Sept. 10, 1881.

Comparatively few special books have been published lately on these subjects; but we may notice that M. H. Ravier has issued a "Dictionarium Latino-Annamiticum novo ordine dispositum, etc., ex typis Miss. Tunquini Occidentalis"; and that M. Ewald has published a Grammar of the Siamese Language.

Malay.—Mr. Maxwell, M.R.A.S., the Assistant Resident at Perak, has just published "A Manual of the Malay Language, with an Introductory Sketch of the Sanskrit Element in Malay," in which, taking, as his model, the Hindustani Grammar of the late Prof. Forbes, he has endeavoured to supply a work which shall be, at once, an elementary grammar and a compendium of words and sentences to teach the colloquial dialects as well as to explain the grammatical rules. In this effort Mr. Maxwell appears to have been quite successful. His introduction deals with the origin of the Malay language, referring, on this topic, largely to the opinions expressed by the late Mr. Logan, which, even if generally correct, are certainly of too advanced a character for a beginner. Mr. Maxwell, it will be observed, never mentions Pali, but attributes the Sanskrit words he finds to the direct influence of Brahmanism; but the Pali-speaking Buddhists must have had some influence too.—In Malay, we may note, further, Mr. F. A. Swettenham's Vocabulary in

2 vols., English-Malay and Malay-English, with Dialogues (Singapore, 1881) :—H. C. Klinkert's Conversatie boek voor het Maleisch (Haarlem, 1881) (containing, also, a grammar). On the language of Madura, we have now a grammar and vocabulary by W. J. Elzevier Stokmans and K. J. C. P. Marinissen, printed at Surabaya in 1880, and M. Vreede's Edition of the Travels of Raden Mas Aria Purwa Lelana (Leiden, 1882) :—also, a second edition of his Manual and Reader (Leiden, 1882).

For *Sundanese*, we have a Chrestomathy by C. J. Grashuis (Leiden, 1881), with a valuable introduction; and N. J. Oosting's edition of Charios Supena (Amsterdam, 1881).

An important contribution towards the study of *Old Javanese* has been made by the publication at Batavia of C. J. Winter's Kawi-Javanese Dictionary, while two treatises on *Modern Javanese* Grammar have recently appeared in Holland, viz. H. L. Humme, On the various forms of its Verb, and Ch. T. Mechelen, On Word-building in Javanese.

Formosa.—We understand that Mr. J. Dodd, of Tamsui, is preparing for the Journal of the Straits Settlements his vocabularies of the various dialects spoken by the aborigines in the interior of Formosa. These vocabularies will include, also, a large number of words collected from the Pepohuans, a tribe unconnected with either the Chinese on one side or Negritos on the other.

Polynesia.—In the D. M. G. (xxxvi. 1) Mr. J. Hersheim, who has already paid much attention to the dialects of the Marshall and adjacent islands, has given a valuable notice of the Vocabulary, published many years ago by Chamisso, of Radak Islands; and, in the Athenæum for Aug. 6, 1881, there

are very full reviews of Abraham Fornander's "Account of the Polynesian Race, its Origin and Migrations," and of Mr. Dawson's "Australian Aborigines; the Languages and Customs of several Tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia."

Miscellaneous Indian or Oriental.—Many interesting articles, reviews, or notices have appeared, on this subject, in different Journals, etc., of which the following may be specified:—Thus in the Athenæum, are reviews of the late Dr. Oldfield's Sketches from Nipal, historical and descriptive, a book of very pleasant reading, though somewhat late in publication:—of Fausböll and T. W. Rhys Davids' Buddhist Birth Stories (the Jatakavatthavannanâ):—of Mr. E. B. Eastwick's Handbook for the Bombay Presidency, admirably executed, but with a very poor map:—of Mr. J. F. Baness' Index Geographicus Indicus, a work of much utility for statistical purposes, and the most compendious geographical manual in existence:—of Sir George Birdwood's Industrial Arts of India, very useful to the student of Indian Art as distinct from Architecture:—of Mr. W. W. Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer of India:—of Mr. H. B. Grigg's Manual of the Nilagiri District of the Madras Presidency:—of Mr. J. H. Nelson's Prospectus of the Study of Hindû Law:—of Major H. G. Raverty's Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan, Parts I. II. and III., printed by order of the Secretary of State for India, a compilation whose value would have been greatly enhanced had it been provided with one or two good and recent maps:—of Mr. W. E. Maxwell's Manual of the Malay Language:—and of Mr. H. S. Cunningham's British India. There are, also, some interesting but less extended notices, as that of M. van der Gheyn's "Le Berceau des Aryas":—of M. C. Szasz's "The Great Epics of the Indians" (in Magyar):—of Archdeacon Baly's paper On the Education of the Eurasian peoples:—and of

M. Minayeff's important volume "On Ancient India," being an account of the notes of Nikitin, a Russian traveller in India in the fifteenth century, which has been translated into English by Count Vyelgoursky:—There is, also, a reprint, by Sir George Birdwood, of a curious English poem of the seventeenth century, called "Prince Butler's Tale," of interest as bearing on the Bombay Trade Ballads (*Kirtans*), one of which he published last year:—and more than one etymological paper by Colonel Yule.

In the Academy are reviews of many works, such as Mr. W. W. Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer, already noticed as examined in the pages of the Athenæum; and some others, also, to which attention should be called here; as, for instance, brief but good notices of sundry smaller works on India, such as of Mr. R. N. Cust's Pictures of Indian Life, which receives the commendation it so well deserves:—of E. L. Arnold's work "On the Indian Hills":—of Col. G. T. Fraser's Records of Sport and Military Life in Western India:—of V. Ball's Diamonds, Coal, and Gold of India:—of Shib Chunder Bose's The Hindus as they are:—and Dr. A. C. Burnell's most interesting volume of the Italian Version of a letter written in 1505 by Dom Manuel, King of Portugal, to King Ferdinand of Castile, giving an account of the early Portuguese Voyages from 1500–1505, thus excluding that of Da Gama, 1497–9. To these may be added reviews by A. C. Burnell of Nelson's Scientific Study of Hindu Law, and of the Second Voyage of Vasco da Gama (by Berjeau):—of Mr. Burgess's Archæological Survey of Western India, Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India:—and by T. W. Rhys Davids of Prof. F. Max Müller's Dhammapada—The Sutta Nipâta—being vol. x. of the Sacred Books of the East; and of A. Barth's Religions of India, translated by the Revd. T. Wood (Trübner's Oriental Series):—by J. S. Cotton, short notices of Sir John and General Strachey's Finances and Public Works of India, from 1869 to

1881; of Mr. Tayler's Thirty-Eight Years in India, vol. i.; of Colonel W. F. B. Laurie's Ashé Pyee, the Superior Country, or the Great Attractions of Burmah to British Enterprise and Commerce; of Rajendralala Mitra's Indo-Aryans; of Bishop Caldwell's Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly:—Mr. W. W. Hunter gives, also, an admirable review of Mr. Edwin Arnold's Indian Poetry:—Mr. Littledale one of Mr. Mandlik's Hindu Law:—and Mr. Sayce a brief notice of M. Lenormant's Histoire ancienne de l'Orient, vol. i. of the *ninth* edition.

Assyrian and Cuneiform.—A considerable number of valuable papers and books have been published during the past year, of which the following may be noted. Thus, in the Athenæum is a notice of a discovery by M. J. Derenbourg, which, even if it be not fully confirmed, is, at all events, an ingenious suggestion for the explanation of the word Ammi in the name Amminabad [which occurs in an Assyrian inscription, as the name of a king of Ammon], as really the denomination of an Ammonite deity, analogous to Kemosh, which is found in the name of Kemoshnadab, a Moabite king. He explains, in consequence, the name of Ben-Ammi (Gen. xix. 35) as the son of the god Ammi, like Ben-Hadad, the son of the Aramæan divinity Hadad. M. Derenbourg observes that one of David's ancestors is called Amminadab, suggesting that David may have been of Ammonite descent on the paternal side, and of Moabite on the maternal.—Mr. Boscawen has contributed several papers. In the first of these he deals with the discovery and decipherment by Mr. Pinches of an inscription which records the events in the reign of Nabonidus, the last native King of Babylon. Mr. Boscawen considers that this inscription fully confirms the statement of Daniel, Herodotus, Xenophon, and others, that the city of Babylon was taken during one of the great festivals of the people, and that, after the capture of Sippara,

the army of Cyrus, under the command of Ugbaru (or Gobryas), entered the city *without fighting*. Whether or not "Darius the Mede" is the same as "Gobryas the Mede," seems to lack further confirmation. In a second paper he gives memorials of a king of Babylon.

To the Academy Prof. Sayce contributes two papers: one on Kyaxarês and the Medes, in which he calls in question Prof. Oppert's identification of the Median King with the Uvakhsataru of the Behistun Inscription; on the other hand, he thinks that Kastaritu or Kastariti, the name found on the later tablets, approaches more nearly to it. He thinks, also, that Istuvegu (the Astyages of the Greeks) is as certainly non-Aryan. In his second paper he criticizes very favourably the recent work by Dr. Delitsch, "Wo ist das Paradies?" The true site of Eden Dr. Delitsch conceives to be in the district between Babylon and Baghdad, this name being derived from the Accadian "Edin," meaning plain or valley. Dr. Delitsch, also, holds that "Paradise" is not derived, as most people have supposed, from the Persian, but more probably from an Accadian word.—At more than one recent meeting of the Académie des Inscriptions Prof. Oppert has read papers on the great Inscription of Assurbanipal, King of Assyria (recently procured by Mr. Rassam). This Inscription is on a cylinder or prism, which was discovered, as have been so many others, inserted in a niche prepared for it, in one of the angles of the terrace of the Royal Palace. On one part of it, besides the usual account of his exploits and of his devotion to his god Nebo, there is a record of an eclipse of the sun, which astronomers are able to assign to June 24, 661 B.C., thus affording a fixed date in Assyrian chronology, independently of Greek or Hebrew chroniclers. In another place there is a narrative of the defeat and death of Samutsum Yukin, apparently a younger brother of Assurbanipal, who had raised Babylon in rebellion against him. Samutsum Yukin is said to have

been flung into the flames by the enraged inhabitants, thus furnishing the first idea of the story, which the Greeks transferred (with variations) to his victorious brother. Before the same learned body M. Ménant has also read papers "On the Portraits of the Kings of Assyria," and—arguing (1) from the portraits of contemporary monarchs of the Chaldæan line at Babylon and of the Assyrian at Nineveh, (2) from those of the different dynasties at Nineveh and Kalákh, and (3) from those of several kings of the same dynasty—has drawn the conclusion that the artists really meant to reproduce actual and not merely conventional features.—M. de Longperier, in one of the last—if not the very last—papers he contributed to the Académie des Inscriptions, has attempted to connect the discoveries of M. de Sarsec with the kingdom of Mesopotamia, as ruled over by Chushar Risha Chaim (Judges xi. 8, 16). The Hebrew word there used is Aram-Naharain—the Syria of the Two Rivers.

Since the lamented death of M. de Longperier, early in the present year, more details of M. de Sarsec's work have come to hand: we quote, therefore, the following, but in a form much abridged, from the *Times* of May 24. From this report, it appears that M. de Sarsec, with exceptional facilities, has explored the lower portion of Southern Babylonia, and especially a mound, called Tell Ho, on the Shat el Hie, near the shores of the Wasat lake or pool. By his thorough examination of this mound, M. de Sarsec has been able to bring to light the ruins of an important edifice, palace, or temple (which, is not clear), dating from the very earliest period of Chaldæan monumental history,—the founder of which would seem to have been contemporary with Urukh, the Orchamus of the Classics, the builder-king of Ur. In the remains of this edifice, were discovered various valuable monuments, statues of priests and kings, cut out of a hard kind of porphyry, granite, or diorite; while there were

numerous other statuettes in terra-cotta and marble, with a few specimens of what we must call primitive bronze-founder's work. The name of the ancient city, as recorded on various tablets, is "Sergulla"—the city of the "great light"—perhaps so called as one of the chief seats of very early Chaldæan Fire-worship. It is interesting to know that the modern Arabized form of Zerghul is still the local name of the district in which "Tell Ho" is situate. The majority of the monuments found *in sitû* bear the name of a Chaldean king, called Gudea, a monarch who seems to have held a vice-regal appointment under Dengi, King of Ur.

The most important objects obtained from this site have been secured by the French Government, and deposited in in the Louvre; the British Museum, however, has obtained many good examples of the primitive Art of Chaldea, *inter alia*, a rudely-carved statue of a goddess, and some other statuettes in bronze, evidently those of two priests, who seem to have been attached to the chief temple of the city. The general results are, that, ethnologically, we can trace two distinct types of peoples, whose features have been here recorded with singular fidelity by the primitive sculptors. The first represents a beardless type, with a head of the brachycephalic type, but, at the same time, with markedly orthognathous features—possibly those of a Mongoloid or Ugro-Finnish type. The same type is found in the Elamite and Susianian people, as represented on the sculptures from Nineveh. The head found by M. de Sarsec resembles that of the Elamites of the time of Sennacherib. The second type is that of a bearded race, with more distinctly Caucasian features, the hair being long and straight. The figures, generally, it may be added, bear a remarkable resemblance to the bearded race, whose statues are found on the so-called Hittite sculptures, from Jerablus or Carchemish, and from Boghaz-Ḳeui in Phrygia. Here then, at the very earliest dawn of Chaldean history, we find a population in the land

of an apparently Mongoloid or Turanian type, with inscriptions in an agglutinative form of writing, bearing, as M. Terrien de La Couperie has shown, a striking resemblance in its commonest ideographs, to that first propagated in China by "the Hundred families of the Celestial Empire."

The city of Sergulla was clearly, also, the earliest seat of the workers in metals,—this primitive centre being that which supplied the surrounding cities with weapons or statues for temples or shrines. The discoveries of M. de Sarsec, so gladly welcomed by Western scholars, show clearly that, in the marshes of Southern Chaldea, there still remain untold records of the primitive settlers in the land of Shinar, and that we have good reason for believing that in the ruined cities of the Tigro-Euphrates delta, we may find the solution of many problems of the primitive culture of mankind. Anyhow, there is no room for doubting that, on the banks of these canals, we do find remains of the most ancient cities in the world—the Shat el Hie being, unquestionably, the greatest of the engineering works of this remote people. It was in this neighbourhood that Mr. Rassam was for months engaged in making explorations for the Trustees of the British Museum, his chief labours, as noticed in last year's Report, being at the Mound of Abu Habba, which is believed to mark the site of the ancient city of Sippara, the Chaldean Heliopolis. To the Architect and Archæologist, his researches have been of the greatest interest, in so far that they have restored to us the remains of a temple, the latest portions of which date from the tenth century B.C.; one, too, which, in construction, bears a remarkable resemblance to the Jewish Temple, as built by Solomon. It seems certain that Bit-Sarra, the chief fane of the Sun-God at Sippara, was not only the dwelling-place of the patron Deity of the city, but, also, the centre from which, or to which, flowed all the commercial and fiscal transactions of the province of Akhad or Northern Chaldea. Early in the present year, over ten

thousand tablets have been found at Sippara, relating to the commercial life at Babylonia—a discovery which supplements, in a way quite unforeseen, the discovery in 1875 of the Egibi tablets. These recent documents are dated in the reign of Samassumukin and Kindulani, Chaldean Kings, whose reigns have been identified with those of Saosduchinus and Kiniledanus of Ptolemy's Canon: we have, thus, therefore, a complete series of documents to guide the student of history. Mr. Rassam is, now, again, busy among these ruined cities, and, guided by his discoveries at Abu Habba, and by the topographical information to be gathered from the inscriptions, we have reason to expect many and valuable results from the campaign of exploration of 1882. Anyhow, it is certain that, by the labours of M. de Sarsec and Mr. Rassam, the recovery of the past is making great and important progress in the Tigro-Euphrates Valley.

Before the Society of Biblical Archæology a number of valuable papers have been read, of which the following is a list, as far as at present published. Thus, Mr. Sayce has contributed two papers on the Nahr-el-Kelb Inscription, and a much more complete account in the Academy for May 19, 1882.—Mr. G. Pinches has communicated two papers, one on a Cappadocian Tablet in the British Museum, obtained some years since from M. Alishan, and the other on a similar tablet now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Both are believed to have come from Cappadocia, which is confirmed by the text, and neither, though in a Cuneiform type, is written in either the usual Assyrian or Akkadian—a matter on which Messrs. Sayce and Bertin have contributed important letters, the latter believing that the two tablets are non-Semitic. Mr. Pinches has also contributed a paper, being "Observations upon Calendars of the Ancient Babylonians, now in the British Museum." Prof. J. Campbell has given a paper entitled "A Key to the Hittite Inscriptions," and Mr. F. W. Eastlake one entitled "Uraku *versus* Sisku":—

The Rev. W. Houghton has followed up his usual Natural History subjects by a paper "On the Birds of the Assyrian Records and Monuments":—Lastly, Mr. Bertin has written "On the Rules of Life among the Ancient Akkadians." M. Oppert has also read before the Académie des Inscriptions a paper "On the Chaldæan Inscriptions of Gudea," his chief argument being that Inscriptions known as Sumerian are written, not only in a different character, but, also, in a different language, to that of the ordinary Cuneiform Inscriptions.

A good many books of interest in these studies have been published separately during the past year, some of them being enlargements of papers read at the meetings of different Societies. Of these the following may be noted. Thus, Dr. Heinrich Fischer of Freiburg, and Dr. Alfred Wiedemann of Leipzig, have published three tables of photographs and fifteen woodcuts of Babylonian cylinders in the Museum at Grätz, which were originally presented to the Archduke John of Austria by Mr. C. J. Rich, fifty years ago the British Resident at Baghdad. The tables are accompanied by mineralogical and archæological introductions. Mr. Hayes-Ward has published a curious book entitled "The Serpent-Tempter in Oriental Mythology," which appeared as a paper, some time since, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra;* in this paper he claims to have proved that the Cuneiform legend supposed by the late George Smith to contain an account of the Fall, is really a hymn to the Creator. Be this as it may, it is certain that Mr. Ward's paper is one of much research and not to be passed over without careful examination by future students of these matters.—Prof. Paul Haupt has recently published at Leipzig "Die Keil Inschriftliche Suntfluth-bericht, eine Episode des Babylonischen Nimrod-Epos," a popular tract, which the writer proposes to follow up with the text of the Flood-tablets, translation, and notes; and, bearing on the same

subject, indeed in some degree supplementary to it, Prof. Schrader has issued (or is about to issue) a new and revised edition of his "Keil-Inschriften und das Alte Testament."—It is understood that Dr. Haupt will, also, shortly publish as a separate *brochure* his paper on the pre-Semitic Dialects of Babylonia, the Accadian and the Sumerian, which he read before the Berlin Congress.—The 4th *Lieferung* has also been issued of the Bibliothek Assyriologische, edited by Drs. F. Delitsch and P. Haupt.—*Inter alia*, it may be mentioned that Mr. Pinches is about to publish a series of unedited texts in the Cuneiform character.—A large collection of new Assyrian remains has been deposited in the British Museum during the past year. Among these may be specified a considerable number of Contract Tablets found at Babylon, and dated in the fifth year of Antigonus and the eighth year of Alexander IV. or Ægus, to whom the Canon of Ptolemy assigns twelve years, though historians only give him six. The Museum has, also, received nine cases, representing a portion of the results of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam's last year's researches in Babylonia. The tablets are generally small, but, in whole or in fragments, are estimated at not less than 5000 in number. Their subjects, as far as yet ascertained, are generally trade documents, contracts for the supply of corn and the like. Most of these are dated in the reigns of Samassumukin and Kandalana, the Chinladanus of the Greeks, who were contemporary with the latter half of the reign of Assurbanipul, B.C. 646.—Most recently we may notice an important paper by M. Hommel, slightly modified by Prof. Sayce (Acad. May 20, 1882), on the definite meanings of Sumir and Accad. The paper is too long for even an abstract in this place; but those who are interested in this branch of Assyrian research will do well to give it their special study. Mr. Hommel, in it, does ample justice to the previous researches of MM. Lenormant, Pinches, Haupt,

and Delitzsch.—Before the Académie des Inscriptions M. Halevy has again repeated his views on the question of Sumir and Akkad, but without, as it would seem, advancing any new proofs in favour of his contention. It may, however, be added that the king whose name, in M. de Sarsec's Inscriptions, M. Oppert reads as "Gudea," is called by M. Halevy "Nabu."

Egyptology.—The work of the last year has certainly not been inferior to that of former years, and the Societies which devote themselves to this branch of antiquarian study have not been idle. Thus, from the Transactions of the Biblical Archæological Society we learn that Dr. Birch gave at their first meeting an account of the Discoveries at Deir-el-Bahari; that the Rev. H. G. Tomkins read a "Notice of the Campaign of Rameses II. in his fifth year, against Kadesh on the Orontes"; that Mr. P. Le Page Renouf contributed a paper "On wrong values commonly assigned to Hieroglyphic groups," and also one "On Egyptian Mythology, Mist, and Cloud"; that Prof. E. L. Lushington wrote "On the Stêle of Mentuhotep"; and W. Flinders Petrie "On Pottery and Implements collected at Giseh and in its neighbourhood"—the large majority of these specimens being of a late period, not earlier than the Persian invasion, and in a character essentially domestic. There were a few fragments, the writer remarked, of a more remote antiquity, perhaps as early as the Fourth Dynasty, the same being, in manufacture, decidedly superior to those a thousand or more years later in date.—The chief events of the year, however, have been the remarkable discoveries which have been made in the country itself. Among these, the most important has been that at Deir-el-Bahari (a very full account of which has been recently drawn up by M. Maspero, with twenty photographs), the exact site of which has, at last, been revealed by an Arab, the spot having doubtless been

known to the native explorers for many years, though the secret had been well kept, for obvious reasons. The main facts of these discoveries were the finding of a shaft, four feet square, twenty-five feet deep, by which a horizontal passage about sixty feet long was reached, which was found strewed with coffins and other remains. These have been secured, and are now deposited in the Museum at Boulaq. It appeared, further, that the coffins and mummies of various royal persons had been removed from their earlier places of sepulture, as, for instance, the coffin and mummy of Taakan III., described in the account of the robbery of Rameses IX., which is found on the Abbot Papyrus in the British Museum. One of the mummies of the Eighteenth Dynasty may have been that of Aahmes I., the monarch who drove the Shepherd Rulers out of Northern Egypt; but, as this mummy had been subsequently placed in the coffin of a private person, there is some doubt on this subject. The wife of this king, Aahmes-Nefert-ari by name, was apparently an Æthiopian, and her mummy has also been found with those of the princes and princesses of the family of Aahmes. The coffin and the mummy of Amenophis I., the successor of Aahmes, has also been discovered; and that of Thothmes III., but so mutilated, that neither his features nor his stature could be made out. The latest monarchs whose remains have been found are those of the Twenty-first Dynasty, for whom this mummy-pit seems to have been originally constructed.

In the Athenæum and Academy, as usual, are many important essays, reviews, or letters, bearing on Egyptian matters. Of these, in the former Journal, may be noticed an account of the newly-discovered pyramids, viz. that of Unas, near the step-shaped Pyramid of Sakkarah, and the so-called Mastubat el Fardoom, which M. Maspero has shown, from the paper impressions of the Inscription he secured, to be that of Noferkera (Nephercheres), the grandson of

Pepi I. :—A letter from the late Mr. Sharpe "On the Inventor of the Leap-year," in which he expresses the opinion that Ichonuphys, an Egyptian astronomer, was the real inventor of the intercalary day of every fourth year (our February 29th), as it is known that he was the teacher of Eudoxus, the reformer of the Greek calendar. Hitherto, the invention has been given to Sosigenes, who aided Julius Cæsar, in what, from him, has since been called the Julian era :—A notice, only fuller, of the discoveries at Deir-el-Bahari, with the further statement of M. Maspero's researches in the Pyramid of Meydum.—There is also a careful review of Prof. Rawlinson's "History of Ancient Egypt," a companion volume to his previous labours on "The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient World," and, as such, "not the exposition of a cherished theory, but the outcome of careful reading" :—of M. Pierret's Panthéon Egyptien, a well-conceived system of Egyptian mythology, and a useful book of reference for Egyptologists :—and a very full review of M. Maspero's now published work "La trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari" :—and of Mr. Laurence Oliphant's amusing work "The Land of Khemi."

In the Academy, the following are deserving of notice :—Thus, Miss Edwards, so well known for her knowledge of ancient and modern Egypt, as for the zeal with which she has pursued this class of studies, contributes several interesting reviews or letters. Of the former, are those of Mr. S. L. Poole's book on Egypt, a well-written and succinct notice of the country, with good maps and illustrations :—of Canon Rawlinson's History of Ancient Egypt, which she does not consider a valuable addition to existing, or even a popular knowledge on this subject :—a clear account of the great discovery of the Deir-el-Bahari, Aug. 13 :—and two much fuller accounts, Aug. 27 and Sept. 3, mainly furnished to her by the courtesy of M. Maspero, and correcting, as might have been expected, some exaggerated reports which

had appeared in the papers, shortly after the first discovery became known. Miss Edwards's general conclusion in this case seems to be, that the hiding-place of the Deir-el-Bahari had been certainly known to the Arabs for the last twenty-two years. In the number for Oct. 1 the same writer gives a description of the Prince of Wales's Papyrus, now in the British Museum, and suggests its connection with another papyrus, found, it is believed, at or near Deir-el-Bahari, and now in the Louvre. The Louvre Papyrus, she says, "is a document without a beginning; the Prince of Wales's Papyrus is a document without an end: what the Louvre Papyrus wants, the Prince of Wales's Papyrus supplies:"—also, a further paper (Nov. 5) on "A New Royal Papyrus":—On Jan. 7, 1882, Miss Edwards recurs to the Deir-el-Bahari discoveries, and states that they were really those of M. Maspero, though M. Emil Brugsch brought these treasures to Boulaq:—in the same number, describing M. Maspero's second successful adventure, the opening of the Pyramid of Meydoom, and, in reference to the last subject (Feb. 18), giving, also, a valuable letter from the Hon. J. Villiers Stuart:—Miss Edwards has, also, found time to provide for the Academy a review of Sir Erasmus Wilson's work:—of Mr. Laurence Oliphant's "Land of Khemi," with a notice of an Early Christian Church at Philæ.—Other papers, etc., of importance, are Dr. Birch's notice of the new Pyramid at Sakkara:—Mr. Le Page Renouf's account of the Stêle of Menuhotep:—A good suggestion of Mr. Spencer G. Perceval of a loan exhibition of Egyptian antiquities, for the purpose of identifying many such objects as are probably in private hands:—a letter from M. Naville, entirely confirming Miss Edwards' suggestion that the Prince of Wales's Papyrus and that in the Louvre are in fact two halves of a single roll:—a Report of the French School of Cairo, presented by M. Maspero, to the Minister of Public Instruction, demonstrating, in a remarkable manner, the

activity of France in the department of Egyptology:—a long and important letter from Prof. Sayce, "On a new find of Inscribed potsherds in Upper Egypt," some of the Inscriptions on them being in Demotic, while the majority are in cursive Greek. Mr. Sayce states that they are of all sorts of ages, some being as late as Domitian, and others, as early as the remote period when the Thebaid was occupied by Æthiopian kings. We may add, that though written with Greek letters, many of the texts on these potsherds are not in the Greek language. Lastly, it must be noted that, in the Times of Aug. 4, a very full account has been given of these recent Egyptian discoveries.

Among books issued during the past year, are—"Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Egyptiennes et Assyriennes, vol. iii. pts. 1, 2," in which are Notice sur un texte hiéroglyphique de Stabel-Antar par W. Golenischeff:—Notice sur un *Ostrakon* hiératique du Musée de Florence (avec deux planches) by the same:—Deux Inscriptions de Mendés par Karl Piehl:—Dialectes Egyptiennes par Auguste Baillet:—Les Fêtes d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak par V. Loret:—Sur un papyrus inédit du British Museum par W. Pleyte:—Petites notes de critique et de philologie par Karl Piehl:—Le Temple d'Apet (avec une planche) par M. de Rochemonteix:—Observations sur une date Astronomique du haut Empire Egyptien par F. Robiou:—and Rapport sur une Mission en Italie (suite) par M. Maspero. The twelfth, and for the present the last, of the useful series called "Records of the Past," is entirely devoted to Egyptology, and contains five articles by Dr. Birch, two by M. P. de Horrack, and one by M. Lefébure, M. Ludwig Stern, M. Pierret, M. Naville, M. G. Maspero, Mr. P. Le Page Renouf, and Dr. E. L. Lushington, respectively. Mr. W. H. Rylands, M.R.A.S., gives, at the end of the volume, a very useful table of contents for the whole twelve volumes. Parts ii. and iii. of the second year of

the Revue Egyptologique contain papers by F. Lenormant, Sur les Monnaies Egyptiennes, etc.:—and by M. Revillout, numerous short papers, of which the following is a list—Second Extrait de la Chronique Demotique de Paris:—Statue d'un Royal Ministre, etc.:—Les Affres de la Mort:—Le Serment décisoire chez les Egyptiens:—La Requête d'un Tarichente d'Ibis à l'Administrateur du Sérapeum:—L'Antigraphie des Luminaires:—L'Entretiens philosophiques d'une chatte Ethiopienne et d'un petit chakal Koufi:—Un quasi-marriage après Concubinat:—La Femme et la mère d'Amasis:—Un prophéte d'Auguste et sa famille:—Authenticité des Actes:—Le Papyrus Grec 13 de Turin:—La Loi de Bocchoris et l'interêt à Trente pour cente:—and Le Reclus du Sérapeum:—together with a brief paper by M. P. Pierret.

Of individual books that have come out recently may be noticed, the republication of A. J. Letronne's "Egypte Ancienne," in 2 vols., under the editing of M. Fagnan:—M. Pierret, Le Decret Trilingue de Canope:—M. K. Piehl, Petites études Hiéroglyphiques, Stockholm:—and Brugsch Pasha, Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch, vol. vi. 2 Heft.

Zend, Pahlavi and Persian.—In the Athenæum are reviews of Mr. A. N. Wollaston's English-Persian Dictionary, collected from original sources—a work which has been long wanted. Mr. Wollaston, who is well known for previous works connected with Persian, has on this occasion been aided by Mirza Baker, formerly a Bushire Munshi, and a large number of new words were obtained from a collection made by Mr. Binning, of the Madras Civil Service. From the same paper we learn that Dr. Neubauer has obtained in Paris a few Persian MSS. written in Hebrew characters. MSS. of this class are not common, indeed we believe that none of our great libraries have had any till M. Neubauer

procured these. The Paris Library has some, among others an apocryphal history of Daniel. The Imperial Library at St. Petersburg has two, one of which contains a fragment of a Hebrew Talmudical Dictionary. There is, also, an elaborate as well as appreciative review of Major Wilberforce Clarke's two translations from the Persian, viz. the Bustán of Sa'di and of the Sikandar Náma e Bara; and we learn from the same paper that Miss Helen Zimmern is refashioning in simple language the stories told by Firdusi in his Shah Nameh, which were partly Englished in 1832 by Mr. James Atkinson. Miss Zimmern's book will be called the "Epic of Kings," and have etchings in it by Mr. Alma Tadema, R.A.:—and, we hear that, on the recommendation of the Fifth Oriental Congress, Messrs. Asher & Co. have undertaken to publish the Monuments and Inscriptions of Persepolis, Istakhr, Pasargadæ and Shahpûr, from the Photographs of Dr. Stolze. Prof. Noldeke supplies a commentary on the Inscriptions. The first volume is out.

In the Academy is a review by Mr. S. L. Poole of Mr. Redhouse's Mesnevi; and of Mr. Whinfield's Omar Khayam; and, from the same periodical, we learn that Mr. W. H. D. Haggard, M.R.A.S., late Secretary to the English Legation at Teheran, and Mr. Guy Le Strange, M.R.A.S., are going to publish jointly the Vazîr of Lankurân. The object of the joint editors is to provide a text-book of modern colloquial Persian for the use of students and travellers. Appended is a translation, a grammatical introduction, and a vocabulary showing the pronunciation of the words: and further that Dr. F. C. Andreas has published a facsimile of the Pahlavi text of the *Book of the Mainyo-i-Khard*, a MS. of the sixteenth century, brought from Persia by the late Prof. Westergaard in 1843. It is the only known MS. of the original Pahlavi text of this work. The codex has been finally deposited in the University Library at Copenhagen, and proves to be more valuable than Professor Westergaard supposed. The

Revue Critique states that the Bibliothèque Orientale Elzivirienne has recently published the thirty-first volume of this Collection, entitled *Kitabi Kulsum Nameh*, or the Book of Persian Women, containing Rules for Manners, Customs, etc., under the editing of Mr. Thonnellier. In the same Journal M. Darmesteter reviews M. Geiger's Handbuch d. Awesta-Sprache—Grammatik, Chrestomathie und Glossar, which he considers to be very well done; and, also, M. C. Bartholomae's Die Gathas und heiligen Gebete d. Alt-Iranischen Volkes, of which his notice is equally favourable. There is, also, a brief review of Major Clarke's Sikandar-i-Nameh, by Mr. S. L. Poole, in which the merits and demerits of this work are well pointed out.—The same reviewer has, also, noticed a very different work, the Translation of Jami's Yusuf and Zuleika by the distinguished head of the Sanskrit College at Dehli, Dr. R. T. H. Griffith, whose previous practice in his translation of the Ramayana must have fitted him for that of Jami.

In the D.M.G. are articles by M. Noldeke, entitled "Die beste d. Arischen Pfeils im Awesta und im Tabari"; by F. Justi, Ueber die Mundart von Jezd; by F. Spiegel, Ueber das Vaterland und das Zeit Alter des Awesta; a brief communication from M. C. Bartholomae, Ueber die Kopie einer Zend-Handschrift in der Bibliothek der D.M.G.; by M. Houtum Schindler, Die Parsen in Persien, ihre sprache und einige ihrer gebräuche; a notice by M. F. Teufel of Dr. Ethe's Text and Translation of Nâsir Chosrau's Rusanainâma; and by the same, of M. Fagnan's Le livre de la Felicité, by Naçir-ed-din ben Khosrou. In the Revue Critique for July, 1881, is a review of Dr. Rieu's Catalogue of Persian Books in the British Museum, by M. Fagnan.

We are glad to learn that the *Prix Volney* has been awarded to M. Darmesteter.

Kurd.—The indefatigable M. James Darmesteter has

given in the Rev. Critique for April 2, a very interesting review of M. Auguste Jaba's Dictionnaire Kurde-Français, published by order of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg;—of F. Justi, Kurdische Grammatik, and by the same writer, Ueber die Mundart von Yezd. M. Darmesteter prefaces his paper by an useful summary of what has been done up to the present time on the subject of this language, from Father Garzoni in 1787, to the Rev. A. Rhea in 1872.

Armenian.—In the Trans. D. M. G. xxxv. 4 and xxxvi. 1, Dr. H. Hubschmann gives two more papers under the title of "Armeniaca," ii. and iii.

Turkish.—More than half a century ago, Von Hammer introduced to his countrymen the rich and varied poetry of the Ottomans in his "Geschichte d. Osmanischen Dicht-Kunst." Recently, M. de Sugny has done nearly the same service to French readers. In England very little has been hitherto done—but Mr. Redhouse has published a brief but excellent little treatise On the History, System, and Varieties of Turkish Poetry, originally read by him before the Royal Society of Literature in 1879. Mr. E. J. W. Gibbs, M.R.A.S., has now proceeded a step farther, and has issued a selection of Ottoman poems from the foundation of the Empire to the present time, translated into English verse in the original times and measures. In a recent number of the *Vakit*, or Turkish *Times*, is a Ghazal in six verses, by one of the Cabinet, a late Prime Minister, the learned Munif Pasha. From the Athenæum we learn that a new Turkish and French Dictionary is now being compiled at Constantinople by Munif Pasha and Constantinidi Effendi. Having both been engaged in the Foreign Office, both are familiar with many words that have been recently adopted as representatives of Western ideas;—and, also, that a new Literary and

Scientific Journal has been authorized, entitled Khazina-i-Eorak (Treasure of Documents), which will appear weekly. Its supporters include Munif Pasha and other known writers.

M. Barbier de Meynard is publishing, under the auspices of the Haute Ecole des Langues Orientales a Supplement aux Dictionnaires Turcs, which is remarkably rich in Turkish proverbs and idiomatic phrases. Two parts are out, bringing down the work to the third letter of the alphabet. There is to be a History of the Turkish Language and a Bibliography of all European works having any relation with its elucidation.

Numismatics.—For Numismatics the following papers, etc., may be cited. Thus in the Journal of this Society, are papers by M. Sauvaire, Sur quelques monnaies orientales rares ou inedites de la Collection de M. Ch. de l'Ecluse:—by Mr. E. Thomas, F.R.S., On the Epoch of the Guptas:—by Mr. Rodgers, On a Coin of Shams ed Dunyâ wa ud Din Mahmud Shâh:—and by M. Sauvaire, On Arab Metrology, Ed-Dahaby. In the Numismatic Chronicle, are papers by Gen. A. Houtum-Schindler, On the Coinage of the decline of the Mongols in Persia:—by the Hon. J. Gibbs, On Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty:—by E. Thomas, F.R.S., Bilingual Coins of Bukhára:—by M. H. Sauvaire, Lettre à M. Stanley Lane Poole, Sur un fels Saffaride inédit de la Collection de M. Ch. de l'Ecluse:—by M. de La Couperie, On the Silver Coinage of Tibet. In the D. M. G. xxxv. 2, 3, is a paper by Dr. J. G. Sarekel, entitled Morgenlandsche Munz-Kunde. In the Academy are notices of the sixth volume of Mr. Poole's Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum; a severe review by M. La Couperie of Mr. Delmar's Monograph on the History of Money in China from the earliest times to the present. In the Indian Antiquary are papers by Dr. Oldenberg, on the dates of

ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins; and remarks by the Editor on Coins of Kharibael, described by Major Prideaux, and by Mr. Thomas, On Coins of the Arabs of Sinde.

The most important work of the year is, no doubt, the continuation of the "Numismata Orientalia," the second volume of which is entirely occupied with Mr. Madden's Essay on the Coins of the Jews, a second and much enlarged edition of his well-known work "The History of Jewish Coinage, etc." This work has been fully reviewed in the Times and Academy, and also, in "Le Monde," Mai 5, 1882. Vol. iii. pt. i. is also out, and contains Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma, by Lieut.-General Sir Arthur P. Phayre, C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I. In the Calcutta Review is an amusing article by Mr. Rodgers, On portable Indian Antiquities, chiefly Coins; and, in the Revista de Ciéncias Historicas, for June and July, 1881, there is an excellent article, with engravings and translations, by F. Codera y Zaidin, On the Arabic Coins of Tortosa in the twelfth Century, forming a most authentic history of this petty Moorish kingdom.

From the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society we learn that a good many small collections have been exhibited at the different meetings of the Society, with notices of them by different members and others. Thus Rajendralala Mitra has exhibited some coins of the Sah Kings, sent to him by Mr. Rivett Carnac:—the Hon. Mr. Gibbs has given an account of a gold Ramtunki:—Mr. Tawney has exhibited a coin of Sophytes. In the Journal are papers by Mr. Rudolph Hoernle, On a new find of Muhammedan Coins:—by Mr. Rodgers, On the Coins of the Sikhs:—and by Major F. W. Prideaux, On the Coins of Charibael, the King of the Homeritos and Sabæans.

In the North China Journal, Dr. S. W. Bushell, M.D., writes at some length on coins of the present Dynasty of China, with 90 plain cuts, and two coloured plates.

M. Zobel de Zangroniz has, we hear, obtained the Hauteroche prize.

Epigraphy.—We noticed last year, at some length, Mr. Schlick's discovery of a Hebrew inscription in a watercourse leading to the Pool of Siloam, at Jerusalem, and the detailed account drawn up by Mr. Sayce, and published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, of all that was at that time known about it. Since then different scholars, in different countries, have taken up its study, such as Mr. Isaac Taylor, MM. Derenbourg and Halevy, Mr. T. K. Cheyne, Mr. Neubauer, Drs. W. Wright, Guthe, and Kautsch, the present opinion being, generally, that it is not quite so old as Mr. Sayce originally thought, but, probably, as early as B.C. 700.—Another Inscription, in cuneiform writing, which has recently much interested students, is one found on the cliff above the Nahr el Kelb, near Beirut, the first notices of which we owe to Canon Tristram. Here, again, a number of letters and papers have been written by various scholars, as by Mr. Boscawen and Mr. Sayce, the latter of whom read two papers on it before the Society of Biblical Archæology. Sir H. C. Rawlinson briefly noticed it before this Society on Nov. 19, 1881. Long exposure to the weather and other accidents had, however, so injured it, that, at first, only the general drift of it could be made out, even from the squeezes procured by Dr. Tristram. Quite recently, however (see Acad. May 13, 1882), Mr. Sayce has received from Dr. Loytved, the Danish Consul at Beirut, some fresh photographs and squeezes (M. Lenormant has, also, presented a similar set to the Académie des Inscriptions). The result being, that it is, as was at first seen, a monument of Nebuchadnezzar, not, however, historical, but rather an account of the construction of certain public works in Babylonia, with a notice of the sacrifices made by the King to some of the gods of Babylon. Some of the details are

curious, as the occurrence of the name of Khibunu or Hilbon, the place whence the wines were procured for the service of the Babylonian temples.

But the most important work of the last year has been the publication, after fourteen years of preparation, of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum," issued under the auspices of the Académie des Inscriptions. This work was appropriately presented by the French Government to the Orientalists assembled last autumn at Berlin. It would be out of place here to go into any general description of this important volume. Suffice to say, that under the general editorship of M. Renan, no scholar can doubt the accuracy of the work done. This first portion, now published, contains fifty Phœnician Inscriptions, with a Latin translation and commentary by MM. Renan, Derenbourg, and others: they include the two most important ones found by M. de Vogué at Gebel; and the Sidonic inscription on the Sarcophagus of King Asmunazar. The bulk of them come from Cyprus, and are now in the British Museum or at New York. Full details of this work will be found in the Athenæum of Jan. 21, 1882. We wish "God speed" to the rest of this valuable work of the French scholars. It may be added that in the Revue Critique of Nov. 14, 1881, M. Halevy has given a careful review of this work.

In the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology are two papers by Mr. Pinches (already noticed under the head of "Cuneiform") on Inscriptions from Cappadocia:—a letter from Mr. Sayce to Mr. W. H. Rylands on the same subject, with a tentative reading:—on three seals bearing Phœnician Inscriptions, by Dr. W. Wright:—and by Mr. Frothingham on the Hebrew word "Adonai," recently detected in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna.

In the Indian Antiquary, Mr. Fleet goes on with his Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Nos. xcix.–cxxiii.:—Dr. Bühler offers a new Kshatrapa Inscription:—H. H. Dhruva,

an Inscription of the Chaulukya King, Jayasimna Deva:—J. F. Fleet, one of Rudradêva from Anamkond, and thirteen sent to him by Mr. Sewell:—the translation of a paper by H. Oldenberg, On the Dates of Ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins, originally published in Mr. von Sallet's Zeitsch. f. Numismatik, Berl. 1881:—a continuation of the readings from the Bharhut Stupa, by Dr. A. F. Rudolph Hoernle:—a note on the word "*Siddham*" used in Inscriptions, by Dr. Bühler:—Forged Copper Plate Grant of Dharasena II. of Valabhi, by the same:—Readings from the Arian Pali—the Suë Vihar Inscription—by Dr. A. F. Rudolph Hoernle:—On a Chinese Inscription from Buddha-Gâya, by Prof. Beal:—On an Inscription at Gâya, dated in the year 1813 of Buddhâ's Nirvana, by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji:—Sanskrit Grants and Inscriptions of Gujarat Kings, by H. H. Dhruva, Nos. 2, 3, and 4:—A Baktro-Pali Inscription of Suibâhâra, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji:—and three Inscriptions from Raichor, by E. Rehatsek, Esq.

In the Annales de l'Extrême Orient for Feb. 1882, is an interesting account of what M. Kern has been able to do towards the decipherment of the Cambogian Inscriptions, to which we have already alluded. Dr. Kern's paper is accompanied by four excellent lithographic plates.

In the Revue Critique are notices of a remarkable discovery, *in sitû*, at Palmyra, by the Russian Prince Lazarev, of a long Palmyrenian Inscription, and of another in Palmyrenian and Greek:—of a collection of Phœnician Inscriptions, in number seventy-seven, originally, as it would seem, in the collection of the Bey of Tunis and preserved in the Palace at Manouba, but without record of the places where found. They have, already, been partially described by M. de Maltzan, and will hereafter be included in the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum:—by M. Renan of a discovery by M. Ganneau, near Gezer, of an Inscription supposed by him to mark the limit of a "Sabbath-day's

Journey," and, also, of a stone inscribed with Phœnician letters, scarcely decipherable:—by M. Aymonier, on an Inscription in the Cian or Chan Language from Dambang-dêk, Cambogia, with a translation.

In the D. M. G. are papers by Dr. Sachau, on Inscriptions from Palmyra and Edessa:—by F. Prætorius, on the Bilingual one from Harran, and on the Trilingual one from Zebed:—by J. H. Mordtmann, junr., on two Himyaritic Inscriptions:—by H. Oldenberg, On the date of the new pretended Inscriptions of Asoka.

In the Athenæum are notices of the first part of Dr. A. Berliner's edition of the Hebrew Epitaphs, still existing in Italy, containing about 200 tomb inscriptions in Venice from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the title of his book being, "Loohoth Abanim, Hebraische Grabschriften in Italien." The collection here described belonged, originally, to Dr. Moise Soave. In the work of the Palæographical Society is an important inscription (now in the British Museum), Greek at the top, Palmyrene below, recording the dedication by Ay-Thangelus of Abila, in the Decapolis, of a canopy and couch to Zeus Keraunios, for the safety of the Emperor Hadrian, Seleucid era 447, A.D. 134. There is much interest in the palæographical details. In Dr. Rahmer's paper issued at Magdeburg, under the title of "Das Indische Literaturblatt," is a notice of the discovery, in Palestine, at Amoras (Anwas?), of an Ionic column, bearing two inscriptions, the one in Greek, the other in Samaritan:—with a further detail of the same (Dec. 10) in a letter from Mr. Besant:—and a further note from Dr. Neubauer, on the same subject (Dec. 17, p. 184):—In the new part of the Palæographical Society's publication are facsimiles of a Latin-Greek-Phœnician Inscription of B.C. 160–150:—the Oriental Series, in twelve plates, containing, *inter alia*, a Sanskrit MS. of A.D. 1198–9: the Gotha MS. of the Mabsât, written by a Turkish woman in

the years A.D. 1109-10: a Kalilah-wa-Dimnah of A.D. 1259: a series of Arabic Coins, A.D. 1221-1819: the Siloam Inscription: the Pentateuch in Hebrew, Arabic, and Samaritan of A.D. 1227: the Siphrâ of A.D. 1073: and a Coptic MS. of A.D. 979. It may be added here that Dr. Caruana has completed his report on the Phœnician and Roman Remains in the Island of Malta—the first portion being wholly devoted to Phœnician antiquities, and giving an account of the rough stone monuments, pottery, glass vessels, monuments of sculpture, inscriptions, coins, and Phœnician remains in the Maltese idiom. The French Asiatic Society has received from M. Aymonier copies of fifty-two inscriptions collected by him in Cambodia. The majority of these are in Sanskrit, mixed, however, often with vernacular dialects. M. Aymonier, is, we believe, now in Cambodia, on an Archæological Mission.

Africa.—During the past year two articles have appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society with reference to work done in the case of Africa. Thus, the Rev. Mr. Schön has given us an exhaustive account of the Hausa Language, of which, during his long residence as a missionary in Africa, he had a large experience; and Mr. R. N. Cust, our Hon. Secretary, a brief *resumé* of the chief work done by African scholars, grouped under the leading heads, it is understood, of a more complete work on the Languages of Africa, on which he has been for some time engaged. In the Calcutta Review, Feb. 1882, Mr. Cust has published an article on these languages.

The following remarks, which are in no sense exhaustive, represent fairly the activity of the Missionaries and others who take an interest in acquiring and making known the various languages and dialects of Africa. Thus, in the *Hamitic Group*, Prof. Leo Reinisch, of Vienna, has just issued "Die Bilin-Sprache in Nord-Afrika" (Wien, 1882),

as he had, also, a short time previously, published "Die Kunama-Sprache in Nord-Ost-Afrika":—Prof. Ahlqvist, of Upsála, in Sweden, a Grammar of the Bishari Language on the Middle Nile:—and the veteran scholar, F. W. Newman, a Dictionary of the Numidian Language, that is, of the language spoken, in the time of Augustus, by the Numidians, Mauritanians, and Gætulians. Mr. Newman derives his material from the modern tongues spoken in the North of Africa, after carefully eliminating all words borrowed from the Arabs or from the adjoining Negro districts. His work, and the manner of his treating of it, are of the highest interest to all scholars.

Negro Group.—Bishop Crowther is publishing, with the aid of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a Vocabulary of the Isóama Dialects of the Ibo Language, one of the most important vernaculars of the Niger basin.—Mr. Schön has prepared a Grammar of the Mende Language, on the Sierra Leone Coast, which is in course of publication by the same Society:—Dr. Christaller has published at Basle a Grammar of the Ashanti Language of the West Coast (with English renderings):—Other Dictionaries and Grammars are, a Dictionary of the Suahili Language on the East Coast, with English renderings, by Dr. Krapf, who just lived to see the completion of a work to which he had given so much of his time and labour:—The Missionaries of the Livingstone Congo Mission have republished a Grammar of the Congo Language, which belongs to the great Bantu family. Two centuries since, when the Portuguese power flourished in those regions, Brusciottus di Vetralla, a Jesuit, published a Grammar in 1659 in Latin. It has been lately translated into English by Mr. Grattan Guinness. Copies of the original exist in the British Museum and at Rome:—A Grammar of the Ruganda Language, on the Victoria Nyanza, by the Rev. C. T. Wilson, published by the Society

for Promoting Christian Knowledge:—A Grammar of the Bondei Language, on the East Coast, by the Rev. H. W. Woodward:—Another Grammar of the Congo Language is preparing from original sources by Mr. Guinness:—and a Dictionary of the same language, with French renderings, will be published from a MS. in the Grenville Library:—The Rev. Mr. Kolbe, with the aid of the Rev. Mr. Brincker, has also compiled, at Cape Town, a Dictionary of the Heréro Language, spoken in Damara Land, on the West Coast:—while Messrs. Sanders and Miller (of the American Mission) have already learned sufficient of the Ambunda language on the West Coast to speak a little with the people:—Mr. Sanders has collected 1000 words and is at work on the structure of the language, previously to writing it down:—Mr. G. McCall Theal, who has resided for twenty years in Africa, has just brought with him to England a collection of Káfir Folk Tales, which are to be sent at once to press: they will be prefaced by an introduction on the Káfirs, their customs and mythology:—A letter from the late Bishop Comboni, written just before his death, states that his companion, Père Losi, had compiled a Dictionary of the language spoken in the Nuba Mountains, containing 3000 words in ordinary use (Acad. Dec. 10, 1881):—A Hymn-book has also been published in the Nika Language of the East Coast by the Church Missionary Society.

In addition to these separate works, linguistic notices have appeared in the text of many volumes of general Travel, which are of the highest importance. The second volume of Dr. Nachtigall's Sahára and Soudan supplies most important (and previously unknown) information on the languages of the Chad basin. Again, in the Portuguese volumes of travel, by Capello and Ivans, on the West Coast, are vocabularies of previously unknown languages. The monthly Reports of the great Missionary Societies abound in brief notices, which promise, in a few years, an abundant

harvest of new grammatical works, both for the East and for the West Coast. Professor Reinisch notifies the immediate publication of a series of works in the Bogos and Dankali languages, which are spoken to the north and south of Abyssinia.

British and Foreign Bible Society. Report of the Bibles or parts of Bibles translated during 1881.—*Ararat Armenian.*—The printing of an edition of Amirchanianz's revision of the New Testament at Constantinople, is now nearly completed. The edition consists of 5,000 copies, and the proofs are being read by Pastor Simon.

Amirchanianz has given a final revision to his version of the Old Testament, and the work will be printed under the care of Pastor Simon at Constantinople.

Amoy Colloquial.—The printing of the Books of the Old Testament progresses steadily under the care of Dr. Maxwell, the editor. During the year, I. and II. Samuel, I. and II. Kings, Esther, Isaiah and the Book of Psalms have been completed.

Hakka Colloquial (Roman character).—At the request of the Rev. Inspector Schott, of Basle, the Committee have authorized the printing of an edition of 1,000 copies of Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians. The translation, which was forwarded by a Conference of Chinese Missionaries, was made from the Greek by the Rev. Kong Ayun, and revised by the Rev. G. A. Gussmann and the Rev. R. Lechler.

Hakka Colloquial (Native character).—The Committee have also, at the request of the Hong Kong Bible Society, sanctioned the publication of the Acts of the Apostles, uniform with the Gospel of St. Matthew, translated from the Greek, by the Rev. C. Piton, of the Basle Mission, who proposes to complete the translation of the remaining books of the New Testament.

Japanese.—The Reference Edition of the standard New Testament, prepared by the Rev. John Piper, was carried through the press by Mr. Lilley, and published on the 8th of June, 1881, at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the National Bible Society of Scotland. The first edition was one of 6,000 copies, of which 4,000 were on Japanese paper, and issued in two volumes in Japanese form; and 2,000 on English paper as an English book. Comparatively few of the Japanese book have been sold, but a second edition of 2,000 copies of the English book has been called for and sold, and a third edition of 2,000 copies is now issuing from the press.

The Permanent Committee have published at the expense of the American, Scottish, and British and Foreign Bible Societies the translation of the Book of Joshua, made by the Rev. G. K. Fyson, of the C. M. S., and the three societies are now making arrangements by which it is hoped that the translation of the Old Testament will be greatly expedited.

Biruhi.—The Committee have resolved to print an edition of 1000 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke, translated by the Rev. J. Sheldon, with the assistance of a learned Munshi, and compared with the Urdu, Sindhi, Persian, and Arabic translations. The Biruhi are Mohammedans of the Suni sect, scattered throughout Biluchistan. The greater number are nomadic, and may be found with their flocks in Kutch Gundāvāra and about the Bolan Pass. Some of them are soldiers in the Biluch regiments, and some are in the police force. The men and women are employed in the cotton industry and other labour. They live in poor huts outside the towns, poorly fed and clad. Very few of them can read, but the children have good natural abilities. The Khan of Kelat is a Biruhi.

Persian.—The Rev. Robert Bruce's revision of Henry Martyn's New Testament has been thoroughly revised by Mr. Bruce and Professor Palmer, of Cambridge, and an

edition of 6000 copies, in good type, has been printed by the Committee.

Santali.—The Revision Committee in Santalisthan revised the Gospel of St. Matthew, and an edition of 1000 copies has been published by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. The Revision Committee, unable to determine which of the rival terms for *God* and *Holy Ghost* should be exclusively used, printed half the edition with the terms *Cando* and *Sonat*, and half with *Isor* and *Dhurm Atma*, and a note is added to each part explanatory of the terms. The Rev. Mr. Skrefsrud has informed the Committee that he has the whole of the New Testament translated, and that he is willing to submit his translation to a committee for final revision.

Tibetan.—The Rev. H. A. Jaeschke is carrying through the press at Berlin for the Committee an edition of 5000 copies of each of the Four Gospels. St. Matthew has already been published. The other portions, and the whole New Testament, will follow.

Trans-Caucasian Turkish.—Amirchanianz continues his translation of the Old Testament, and Dr. Sauerwein is reading over the MS. of the Pentateuch with a view to test its general accuracy. After Dr. Sauerwein, Amirchanianz will go over the whole Old Testament with a learned Trans-Caucasian, in order to test the correctness of the idiom.

Mandári.—An edition of 7350 copies of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and 3000 copies of St. John, have been issued by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, and the Gospel of St. Luke is now ready for the press. This, with the Gospel of St. Mark, published in 1876, completes the Four Gospels, which the Rev. C. A. Nottrot, of the Gosner Missionary Society, has provided for the 25,000 Christians of his own mission, and the 10,000 Christians of the S. P. G. Mission, and the still larger number of non-Christian Koles of Chutia Nagpúr.

Rajmahâli.—The edition of 1000 copies of St. Luke, sanc-

tioned by the Committee, has been published, and is now being circulated among the people, numbering 100,000, who inhabit the hill country round Bhagulpore. The Rev. E. Drœse, who has spent nearly a quarter of a century among the people, and who is the only European that knows anything of their language, has also completed a translation of the Gospel of St. John, which is about to be printed.

Bengali (Roman character).—An edition of 1000 copies of the Gospel of St. Mark, transliterated from the common Bengali Testament, is being printed by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, accompanied by a key. The book is intended for those chiefly who wish to read Bengali to their servants, but who have not mastered the language.

Nyika.—The Rev. Thomas Wakefield's version of St. Matthew, for the Wanika tribes of the East Coast of Africa, has been published, and forwarded to the people for whom it was intended.

Nama (*Khoi-koiv*).—The translation of the old Testament was completed by the Rev. J. G. Krönlein, of Stellenbosch, on Oct. 25, 1881, early portions of the same having been begun on May 23, 1873. Mr. Krönlein, who is working at the joint expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Rhenish Missionary Society, is now revising into one harmonious whole the entire books of the Old Testament.

Yoruba.—The printing of the books of the Old Testament has proceeded throughout the year, with some delay in waiting for copy from the Translating and Revising Committee at Lagos. The Rev. D. Hinderer still continues to edit the edition for the Committee.

Swahili.—Bishop Steere of Zanzibar has completed his revision of the entire New Testament, and the Books of Kings, and the Committee have resolved to print an edition of this work. The Gospel of St. Luke was the work of the Rev. J. Rebmann of Mombása, but the transliteration has been altered by Bishop Steere, who has provided a series of

reading lessons containing Old Testament History down to the time of David, and the two Books of Kings have been translated to complete the History. He and his helpers are now engaged in translating the Old Testament. He has printed Genesis at Zanzibar, Exodus and Isaiah on paper provided by the Committee, and these, when revised, will be forwarded to the Commiteee for publication. The Bishop writes that he hopes at no very distant period to complete the whole Bible.

Joloff.—The Committee, at the request of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, have resolved to print a tentative edition of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. Matthew. The translation was made by the Rev. R. Dixon, of Bathurst, Gambia, for a people numbering about 50,000 souls. Mr. Dixon had used his version in the services, and found it was understood and liked, and he had gone over it twice with one of the Joloffs.

Telugu.—The interim Bible published by the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society, with the sanction of the Committee, has been eagerly received, and another edition has been undertaken. The Old Testament consists of the old version, Genesis as revised by the Delegates in 1873, and Exodus, Leviticus, Psalms, and Proverbs as translated by Mr. Hay. The New Testament consists of the Revisers' first revision of the Four Gospels, and the remainder of the book as originally translated by Messrs. Wardlaw and Hay.

Malayalam.—The new edition of the Bible, except the closing books of the New Testament, the revision of which is almost complete, has been issued by the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society. The Revision Committee met at Calicut, and carried their work to the end of Hebrews, and Mr. Knobloch carried through the press the Epistle to the Romans. The Revision Committee hope to give a final touch to the New Testament in 1882, and begin the Old Testament in 1883. Dr. Gundert is proceeding with his translation of the Old

Testament in Germany, and his work will form the basis of revision.

Gujarati.—The Revision Committee, consisting of seven or eight missionaries, meet every week to revise the Old Testament.

Marathi. — An edition of the Old Testament, with paragraph headings prepared by Mr. Baba Padmonji and approved by the Translation Committee, has been issued by the Bombay Auxiliary. An edition of St. Mark, with paragraph headings, has also been issued.

Marathi (Roman character) *and English.*—An edition of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. John has been carried through the press by Dr. Murray Mitchell.

Tamil.—The Jaffna Revision Committee has met, and now propose in company with the Madras Committee to revise the entire New Testament. The aim is to secure a translation acceptable at Jaffna in Ceylon and Madras.

Palæographical Society.—The Seventh Part of this valuable work has just been issued, and contains the following "Facsimiles of Ancient MSS., Oriental Series":—

Sanskrit.—A.D. 1198–99. Pañchâ-kâra and Guhyâvalî-vivṛiti.

——— A.D. 1322 and fourteenth century. Ashṭa-ṣabdikâ and Râvana-vâha.

Arabic.—'Al-Mabsâṭ, A.D. 1109–10.

——— Tarjumân-al-'Ibar, A.D. 1401?

——— Coins, A.D. 1221–1819.

Phœnician, Latin, and Greek.—Trilingual Inscription, *circa* B.C. 160–150.

Hebrew.—Siloam Inscription, *circa* A.D. 700.

——— Siphrâ Inscription, A.D. 1073.

——— Arabic and Samaritan Pentateuch, A.D. 1227.

——— *and Aramaic.*—Haphtârôth, A.D. 1484.

Coptic.—Life of Onuphrius, A.D. 979.

Persian.—Kalilah-wa-Dimnah, A.D. 1259.

The Oriental Congress at Berlin.—The Fifth Oriental Congress met at Berlin in September last, under the Presidency of Prof. A. Dillmann, and must be pronounced to have been a complete success, whether we look at the number of distinguished scholars who were present, or at the variety and importance of the subjects discussed. It would appear that the total number of members was, at the time of meeting, 296—of which number, no less than 189 were present, at least, during some part of the week's proceedings. Most of the leading Oriental Institutions or Societies sent Delegates specially nominated for the purpose; thus, the India Office was represented by Dr. Rost, its Librarian, and Prof. Monier Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford; the Government of India, by Mr. James Burgess; the Royal Asiatic Society, by its Hon. Sec., R. N. Cust, Colonel Keatinge, V.C., and Prof. A. H. Sayce; and the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, by Prof. F. Max Müller, Mr. Bensley, and Prof. Eggeling, respectively. Besides these, three native gentlemen from the East were present, viz. Messrs. Bunyiu Nanjio and Kasawara, Buddhist Priests from Japan, who have been residing for some time at Oxford, and Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma, a member of Balliol College, who owed to the liberality of the Home Government for India his being able to take part in the Proceedings.

The business of the Congress was comprised under five leading sections:—1. Semitic; 2. Indo-Germanic (Aryan, etc.); 3. African (Egyptian, etc.); 4. East-Asiatic and Ural-Altaic; 5. Archæological and Ethnological—under the respective Presidencies of Dr. Schrader, Dr. Weber, Dr. Brugsch (in the place of Prof. Lepsius), Dr. v. d. Gabelentz, and Dr. Bastian; and the members of these sections met regularly from Monday, Sept. 12, to Saturday, Sept. 17. It would be impossible, here, to give at any length, even the names of the many valuable papers submitted to and discussed in these sections. Indeed, it is scarcely necessary

to do so, as, with true German alacrity, Prof. Dillmann and his colleagues have, already, published (Nov. 21, 1881) the First Part of the Proceedings of the Congress, comprising a brief sketch of the work done during the early days of the week in each section. The Second Part, which has arrived, while these last sheets were passing through the press, comprises the papers read before the Semitic and African sections. Prof. Dillmann promises yet a Third. It is, however, worth while to notice one or more special events in this Congress, which may not, perhaps, occur at any future meeting. Thus, *inter alia*, the Congress received two addresses in Sanskrit by Râma Dâsa Sena, the well-known Zemindar of Berhampore, and by a Lady Paṇḍit, Ramâ-Bâi of Silchar, Kâchâr, Assam—both of which have been printed, as already noted, with translations into English, in the Journal of this Society. Then, too, the Congress had the pleasure of hearing (certainly for the first time in Europe) a native Paṇḍit, Mr. Shyâmajî Kṛishṇavarman, read a paper (not in his native tongue, but in English) "On Sanskrit as a living language in India," his views on this subject being a remarkable confirmation of the opinions Prof. Monier Williams has so repeatedly expressed. Besides, the Congress had, also, the opportunity of hearing four important Essays by English Delegates—one by Prof. F. Max Müller, Ueber die Leistungen der Oxforder Universität auf dem Gebiet der Orientalischen Literatur in jüngsten Zeit, namentliche über das Unternahmen der "Anecdota Oxoniensia"; one by Mr. R. N. Cust, Ueber unsere gegenwärtige Kenntniss der Sprachen Afrika's; and two by Prof. Monier Williams, "On the place which the Rig Veda occupies in the Sandhyâ or Daily Morning and Evening Prayers of the Hindûs,"—and "On the application of the Roman Alphabet to the expression of Sanskrit and of other Eastern Languages." It ought, also, to be added that two books of great importance were presented to the Oriental Congress,—viz.

the first part of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum" (so long hoped for), by M. Schefer, on the part of the French Government, and the "Anecdota Oxoniensia," by Prof. F. Max Müller, on the part of the University of Oxford. The English and Foreign Bible Society forwarded for inspection Translations of the Bible or of parts of the Bible, in the languages of Asia, by the hands of Mr. R. N. Cust, a member of the Committee of that Society; but as there was no Museum attached to this Congress, they were not exhibited.

At the conclusion of the reading of the Report, its adoption was duly proposed and seconded, on which, the President,

Sir T. Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., after alluding to the satisfactory financial position of the Society, as shown by the balance sheet, spoke as follows: "A very pleasing duty remains for me to perform on this occasion, as I am able to congratulate you on the new sense of life and prosperity which have been awakened in our old Society. The older members of the Society can remember what our position was some years ago, when a very different financial report was laid before us, and when the necessity was impressed upon us of largely increasing the number of our members in order that the special work of the Society might not be cramped by want of sufficient means. Those days, however, of discouragement and gloom have happily gone by, and we are now able to extend our operations, and work out the objects of the Society in the spirit of its founders. I must add, however, that even at its lowest ebb, I never, at any time, despaired of our ultimate success; it seemed to me that we could not look around us and fail to observe the great advances which the study of Oriental science and literature was making all over the world. The motto of this Society (quot rami tot arbores) seemed revived in the branches which the parent Society has thrown forth, while

at the same time the work was taken up with new activity, not merely on the continent of Europe, but in the United States. I have always cherished a belief that, could we only secure the support of those who have passed their lives in the East, we might again assume a lead in the great work before us, and these expectations seem now revived; and with the funds at our disposal we trust that our Journal will appear regularly at quarterly intervals, a matter to which your Council attach great importance, as it affords a promise to contributors that their papers will appear in due course. I am happy to add that the materials at our command have, in consequence, largely increased, and there is no want of contributors to swell our publications. The responsibility of the Council in the selection of papers for our Journal have no doubt been thus increased. We do not vouch for the soundness nor accuracy of the views of contributors, nor do we feel it incumbent on us to print, as a matter of course, every paper that has been read at our meetings. It is our duty to recognize, as far as possible, the sound scholarship and industry which can alone make the contributions valuable. The work of our Society is that of pioneers, and those who come with tools to work, and with industry to apply them, will always receive a welcome. Each of these contributions may only represent a brick in the edifice, but the whole structure may be shapely and its foundations be strongly placed. It is with much pain that I have to notice the loss by death of so many of our members distinguished by their learning, as Count de Nöer, etc. Yet it has been said of old, the leaves fall, but the forest flourishes, it is renewed in the spring. Younger and not less able men are coming forward to emulate the zeal, and to follow up the spirit of our predecessors. I need hardly say that it is a particular satisfaction to me to make these few remarks, as I have now, for many years, watched the progress of this Society, and have had

the honour of presiding over it and its meetings on more than one occasion, and it is a great source of gratification to me that, now I am about to retire, I leave the Society in such a state. It is a source of further pleasure to me that, on my retirement, the Chair will be filled by a gentleman of such great experience and literary taste, one, too, who has taken a deep interest in the welfare and prosperity of the Society, and has, himself, also, presided over it before. Sir Bartle Frere will, I hope, do much more for the Society than I have done. For myself, I beg to return my warmest thanks to the Council and all the members for the support and courtesy shown me during the time I have occupied the Chair, and to express my hope that the Society will never in the future be found wanting in the most active support of every class of Oriental literature, which it was the chief aim of its founders to encourage to the utmost."

Sir EDWARD COLEBROOKE then read the following list of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, as previously recommended by the Council, and this list was accepted in its entirety.

President.—The Rt. Hon. Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., D.C.L., F.R.S.

Director.—Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.—Sir E. C. Bayley, K.C.S.I.; Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.; Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I.; Colonel Yule, C.B.

Council.—Sir Barrow Ellis, K.C.S.I.; James Fergusson, Esq., F.R.S.; Arthur Grote, Esq.; Colonel Malcolm R. Haig; H. C. Kay, Esq.; Colonel Keatinge, V.C.; Colonel T. H. Lewin; J. W. McCrindle, Esq.; General Maclagan; Henry Morris, Esq.; Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B.; Sir W. Robinson, K.C.S.I.; The Lord Arthur Russell, M.P.; The Lord Stanley of Alderley; J. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L.

Treasurer—Edward Thomas, Esq., F.R.S.

Secretaries.—W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.; H. F. W. Holt, Esq.

Hon. Secretary.—R. N. Cust, Esq.

Sir BARTLE FRERE, on rising to return thanks for his election as President of the Society, said, "I cannot for a minute admit a difference between the qualifications of the retiring President and of myself for such a position; on the contrary, the best and wisest thing, I think I can say, is that my chief endeavour will be to follow in the footsteps of my excellent predecessor; as, so long as I do so, I feel that I can rely on the confidence and support of the Council, as well as of the individual members of the Society."

Sir HENRY RAWLINSON then said:—"Gentlemen, I wish, with your permission, to tender, as your Director, our best thanks to Sir Edward Colebrooke for the manner in which he has managed our affairs, not only for the last single year, but for many preceding ones. I said here, when speaking on a former occasion, that he bears an honoured name and one regarded with reverence by all Orientalists; and I now heartily congratulate the Society on securing so fitting a successor to Sir Edward Colebrooke. We do not talk politics here, but I am sure I may say that, though there may have been differences of opinion as to his political career, not only this Society, but the Nation at large are unanimous in admiring the noble, self-denying and genial spirit, which throughout have characterized his public career. I shall have great satisfaction in again acting with him on our Council. Before sitting down I wish, also, to refer to our indefatigable Secretary, whose exertions have raised us from a despairing, not to say embarrassing, position. For much of the present prosperous position of the Society we are mainly indebted to his personal labours and unflagging energy."

Sir BARTLE FRERE, in reply, added, "I am bound to say that Sir Henry Rawlinson has spoken much too kindly of me. I have been a most unworthy member of your Council during the past year and I have been quite incapable of discharging my duties in this capacity at all as I could have wished. My future task is, however, I feel certain, an easy one, as I confidently rely on the support I shall receive from the Council, the Director and the Secretary. Even with their aid, I must still regard myself as the ornamental portion of a capital, the strength of which lies in its base. During the past year the members of the Council have really done all the work there was to do, and to them the thanks of the Society, as well as my own, are justly due."

Donations to the Library.—The Council have to report donations to the Library from—

The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
The Madras Literary Society.
The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Japan Asiatic Society.
The Straits Settlements Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Royal Society of London.
The Royal Society of Edinburgh.
The Royal Irish Academy.
The Royal Institution.
The Royal Geographical Society of London.
The Royal Horticultural Society.
The Royal United Service Institution.
The Royal Society of Literature.
The Royal Geological Society of Ireland.
The Royal Society of Victoria (Australia).
The Trustees of the British Museum.
The Council of the British Association.
The East India Association.
The Society of Antiquaries of London.
The Zoological Society of London.
The Linnæan Society of London.
The Numismatic Society of London.
The Statistical Society of London.
The Geological Society of London.

The Royal Astronomical Society of London.
The London Institution.
The Anthropological Institute.
The Society of Arts.
The Society of Biblical Archæology.
The Cambridge Philosophical Society.
The Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
The Liverpool Literary and Scientific Institution.
The Philosophical Society of Manchester.
The Proprietors of the Canadian Journal of Science.
The Société Asiatique de Paris.
The Société Ethnologique de Paris.
The Société Géographique de Paris.
The Société de la Géographie de Bordeaux.
The Académie des Sciences de Montpellier.
The Royal Academy of Belgium.
The Royal Academy of Turin.
The Royal Academy "dei Lincei" of Rome.
The Royal Academy of Vienna.
The German Oriental Society.
The Royal Academy of Berlin.
The Geographical Society of Berlin.
The Royal Academy of Munich.
The University of Bonn.
Bataviaasch Genootschap.
Konigkl. Institut. d. Nederlandsche-Indie.
Hungarian Academy of Pesth.
The Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg.
The Academy of Natural Science, Philadelphia.
The American Oriental Society.
The American Geographical Society.
The Institute of New Zealand.
The Proprietors of the Athenæum.
——————— of the Academy.
——————— of the London and China Telegraph.
——————— of Allen's Indian Mail.
——————— of the Homeward Mail.
——————— of the Mission Field.
——————— of the Journal of the National Indian Association.
——————— of Light for India.

The Society also takes in the following papers:

The Indian Antiquary.
The Revue Critique.
The Oriental Publications of the Palæographical Society.
The Athenée Orientale.
Annales de L'Extrème Orient.

The Journal of the Society is sent to

The Royal Library at Windsor.
The Secretary of State for India.
The Royal Society of London.

The Royal Society of Edinburgh.
The India Office Library.
The Royal Institution.
The Society of Antiquaries of London.
The Linnæan Society of London.
The Zoological Society of London.
The Royal Astronomical Society.
The Royal Geographical Society.
The Geological Society of London.
The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
The Royal Society of Literature.
The Library of the House of Commons.
The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
The Numismatic Society of London.
The Royal United Service Museum.
The Society of Arts.
The Statistical Society of London.
The Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
The Philosophical Society of Manchester.
The Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.
The London Institution.
The Devon and Exeter Institute.
The Royal Dublin Society.
The Royal Irish Academy.
University College, London.
The Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
Trinity College, Dublin.
The British Museum.
The Bodleian Library.

The following may be mentioned as individual donations:

From the Secretary of State for India in Council. Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, vol. vi., by Major-Gen. Walker, F.R.S.—Archæological Survey of India, by Major-General Cunningham, C.I.E., R.E., vols. x. and xi.—Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language. Parts 2 and 3. By M. S. Howell. Allahabad, 1880.—The Voyages of W. Baffin. Edited by C. R. Markham. Hakl. Soc. vol. 73. 1881.—Alvarez' Portuguese Emb. to Abyssinia. Edited by Lord Stanley of Alderley. Hakl. Soc. vol. 74.—Selections from the Records. No. 174. Calcutta, 1881.—General Report of the Survey of India, by Major-Gen. Walker, C.B., 1881.—Indian Meteorological Memoirs, by Blanford, vol. i. part v.—Memoirs of Geological Survey. Palæontologia Indica, 4 pts.—Do. 8vo. vol. xv. pts. 2 and 3.—Do. Records, vol. xix. pt. 3, 1881.—Report of the Administration of Baroda, 1879-80.—Do. Do. of Central India Agency, 1879-80.—Do. of the Political Administration of the Rajpootana States.—Administration of North-West Provinces. Allahabad, 1881.—Administration of Central Provinces. Nagpur, 1881.—Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency, 1880-81.—Professional Papers of Indian Engineering. 2nd series, vol. x. Roorkee, 1881.—Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1880-81.—Do. Bengal, 1880-81.—Do. Coorg, 1880-81.—Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1881.—Sanskrit MSS., N.W. Provinces, part 6, 1881.—Do. Do. in Oude for 1880.—Chronological Tables of Southern

India, vol. xviii. pts. 1, 2, 3.—Manual of the Geology of India, pt. 3, by V. Ball.—Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, vol. xviii. pts. 1, 2, 3.—Records of Geological Survey, vol. xv. pt. 1.—Report on the Administration of British Burma.—Manual of Indian Timbers. Calcutta, 1881.—Report of the Administration of the Punjab, 1880-81.

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—— A. N. Wollaston, Esq. An English-Persian Dictionary, compiled from original sources.

—— H. C. Kay, Esq. A MS. entitled "Kitab al Kanum," by Ibn Sina (Avicenna).

—— Rajendra Lala. "Indo-Aryans. Collected Essays." 2 vols. 1881.

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